



Acton. a. 26. 159

A
General Chronological
HISTORY
OF
FRANCE,

Beginning before the Reign of
King PHARAMOND,

And ending with the Reign of
King HENRY the Fourth :
Containing both the Civil and the Ecclesiastical
Transactions of that Kingdom.


By the Sieur *DE MEZERAY*,
Historiographer of France.

Translated by *John Bulteel*, Gent.

L O N D O N,

Printed by *T. N.* for *Thomas Basset*, *Samuel Lowndes*,
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Tonson. 1683.

Duke of Yorke, &c.

 Hen this Chronicle of *France* thus confidently intrudes under Your *Royal Highnesses* Roof, it arrogates no other Pretence for so bold an Approach, but that they are *Crowned Heads* that make it ; And there it is, that these *Royal Strangers*, the *Kings of France*, may find the *Hospitality* of an *English Court*, and by gaining an Access to a *Goodness* and *Greatness* so equally *Illustrious*, obtain not only Your favourable *Reception*, but also Your *Royal Protection*. The History of their Reigns is a noble Subject, and the Compiler of it, so Judicious an Author, that if the Ingenious are believed, he may be Ranked amongst the most Eminent Historians. Were I Master of such a Pen, I might adventure to mention Your *Royal Highnesses* just Praise, a Theam too lofty for my groveling Quill, though perhaps it were but a needless Task, since the lowd Cannon has Proclaimed Your Valour sufficiently on the Sea, as Your Prudent Administration of the Government

The Epistle Dedicatory.

in *Scotland* hath evidenced Your Excellent Conduct at Land, while Your more familiar Vertues are attested by all that ever had the Honour to Reside within the Verge of the Court, or have been placed in the Sunshine of Your Favour, the smallest Ray whereof would satisfie my greatest Ambition: But having no Title to such a Blessing in the least, I may wish, but cannot hope ever to attain it. Wherefore I shall only beg Your Royal Highnesses Pardon for this Zealous Presumption, and descend to my own Place, contented to be owned at Your Feet,

Your Royal Highnesses

Most humble and most

Devoted Servant,

John Bulreel.

TO THE

READER.

Courteous Reader,



*Y*OU have in this Volume the History of the Kings of France traced up, so high to the very Nonage of Empire, even to the obscurest Annals of Time; like the Head of Nile from the Mountains of the Moon: as far upwards, as even the faintest Light from Record, or almost Fable could lead: and from thence derived down through the whole Succession of their Kings, even to the end of the Reign of Henry IV. in the year 1610. a descent of LXII Crowned Heads.

This History upon Crossing the Narrow Seas, and Travelling into England, assumes the Habit of the Country it Visits, and comes drest a Britain.

But to satisfie the Reader to what Original Hand we owe this Excellent Labour'd Piece, the Author is the famous Mezeray of France, a Person living to this very day: and to manifest all his Qualities and Perfections that might render him to the World both a faithful and an accurate Historian; In the first place, he is a Gentleman of that Birth, and Fortunes, that he Writes not the Lives of Kings for his Bread from Kings, not like too many of those unhappy Chroniclers, whose humble Station under that servile Fate Dependence, makes them too often rather play the Panegyrist than the Historians, whilst Truth from such Discoverers is too often warp't into Soothing and Flattery.

Secondly, Though by Religion a Romanist, yet he values himself upon the honour of an Historian, not an Enthusiast; he consults not the Conclave when he Characters the King; nor Shades or Brightens the Diadem in favour of the Miter, a fault too common in the World; but with that Indifference, yet Boldness withall, that's requisite to render the Truth naked; he Writes like a Gentleman, not a Bigot.

And thirdly, Not to offend in another as gross, or grosser fault then all these, an Error amongst too many Chronologers, viz. the Flattery of his Native Country; he Paints not beyond the Life,

TO

The Epistle to the Reader.

but makes Uprightness and Impartiality the Standards he moves by, and Writes the Annals of France, for the Reading of Christianity.

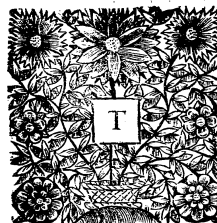
And for his Personal Knowledge, Learning, and Parts, he has the Universal Fame of all Men to be highly the best of all his Countrymen, that ever wrote on this Subject. With these Advantages and Accomplishments in so Renowned an Author, this Piece appears in England. For 'tis for these only Charms that the Translator of this Book could not see so much Excellence confined to its own Native Country and the bounds of Home, and forbear stepping out for its Interpreter, to make it visit the World abroad.

What Esteem it may find, time only will produce, but that it may want nothing to render it acceptable, the Translator has laboured to do Justice to so deserving an Original, and has rendered it so English, as may obtain an Entertainment abroad answerable to its Reception at home. The success of which lies wholly in the Approbation of all ingenious Readers, in whose good Hands, I leave it to its own good Fortune.

Farewell.

A

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE General History OF FRANCE.



THE Romans gave the Name of Gaul to that Extent of Lands, which lies between the Alps and the Pyreneans, the Mediterranean, the Ocean, and the Rhine: at present, excepting the Low-Country, and some others, which for the most part, hold of the German Empire, It is named France, from the name of the French, who subdued it under their Power. Julius Caesar had completed the Conquest of it about 48 years before the Birth of JESUS CHRIST; so that when the French had perfectly settled themselves, it had been almost Five Ages under the Laws of that Empire.

Now without reckoning those Countreys that Gauls had Conquered between the Alps, from those Mountains, to the little River of Rubicon * and which was named Gallia Cisalpina, in respect of the Romans: It was divided first by Augustus, into Four Parts, Gallia Narbonensis, which they named Province, because they had subdued it first, and reduced it into a Province; Gallia Aquitania, Gallia Celtica, and Gallia Belgica: To these three last they gave the name of Gallia Comata; and when they laid absolutely Gaul, they understood the Celtica. Then by succession of Time, and under divers Emperors, it was again divided into Seventeen Provinces, that is Five Viennensis, of which number was the Narbonensis Prima & Secunda; Three Aquitani; Five Lugdunensis, if we comprehend the Sequani; Four Belgicae, whereof Two were called Germanica, because some German People had inhabited there for a long time; and Two Belgicae, properly so called.

Each of these Provinces had its Metropolis, viz. the Five Viennensis, Vienna, Narbonne, Aix, Tarentaise, and Embrun; the Three Aquitani, Bourges, Bourdeaux, and Saugle; the Five Lugdunensis, Lyons, Rouen, Tours, Sens, and Besançon; the Two Germanick, Metz and Colen; the Two Belgick, Treves and Rheims.

Under these Seventeen Metropolitans, there were above an hundred Cities and Towns that were the Chief of the rest, in which the Church did afterward place their Episcopall Sees: under these Cities, there were yet a greater number of other

* Pijacette:
Years of our
A.D.

other Towns, which they called *Oppida*; they reckoned Twelve hundred, which were Walled in when the *Romans* conquered *Gaul*; but they broke down the Enclosures of most of them, or let them run to ruin.

As for the Government of these Seventeen Provinces, six of them were *Consulary*, and Eleven were under *Præfidents*, sent by the Emperor. *Constantine* the Great placed Counts in the Cities, and Dukes in some of the Frontier Towns: their Laws were according to the *Roman* Rights, only withal, as I believe, some Municipal Customs they had preserved. They were little vexed with the Soldiers, because the Legions, even to a great part of the Frontier Provinces: But the Country being Good and Rich, and the People extremely submissive, they were laden with all sorts of Exactions; so that their plenty begot their misery, and their Obedience aggravated their Oppression.

An. 330. When *Constantine* the Great divided the Office of *Præfides Prætoris* into Four, *Gaul* had one, who had Three Vicars under him, one in *Gaul* it self, one in *Spain*, and one in *Great Britain*: the First that held this Office, was the Father of *Saint Ambrose*, bearing the same Name as his Son; This *Præfides* ordinarily resided in the City of *Treves*; which for that reason was the Capital of *Gaul*, till having been four times Sacked by the *Barbarians*; the Emperor *Honorius* would needs transfer this Prerogative to the City of *Arles*, which was afterwards dismembered, and cut off from *Vienne*, and became the Eighteenth Metropolis.

From *Augustus* to *Galenus*, the Peace of these Provinces was not disturbed, but only by two Revolts, that of *Saxons* and *Florus*, in the 23 year of *JESUS CHRIST*, and that of *Christus* *Ymagis*, and *Chelcius*, much more dangerous in An. 70. After the death of the Emperor *Decius*, the *Barbarians* began to torment them by frequent Incursions. The first hundred years there were none but the *French* and the *Alains* that made any on this side the *Rhine*; but afterwards the mischief increased by the Devastations, and horrible irruptions of the *Vandals*, the *Alains*, *Burgundians*, *Sueves*, *Visigoths* and *Huns*, which never ended, but by the ruin of the *Western* Empire.

As to the Original of the *French*, the common opinion is, that they are naturally *German*, and that *France* is a Name, which in their Language, signifies *Free*, or as others say, *Wild*, and *Unmolested*. Indeed the Authors of the Third and Fourth Age, by the Name of *German*, do almost ever understand or mean, the *French*. For the time wherein they first began to appear, it was exactly two years after the great Defeat of the Emperor *Decius*, in *Messia*, which happened in the year 254. by the *Goths*, and other People of *Scythia*; the *Goths* had not begun to make themselves known, till about Twelve years before, when they came out of their own Country, (which was the *Scythia* Europeæ, between *Pontus Euxinus* and the *Tanis*) to ravage the Provinces of the Empire: they were divided into *Othrogaths* and *Visigoths*, which is to say, according to some, *Eastern-Goths*, and *Western-Goths*.

After that Defeat, all the Enclosures of the *Roman* Empire being broken down, and laid open on that side, a Torrent of all sorts of *Barbarians* rouled in upon them, of whom till then no mention had been made; For this reason therefore amongst others, and likewise because the *French* had much of the Manners and Customs of the *Scythians*, (as to use Bows and Arrows, exercising themselves in Hawking, and having many Dukes or Cans) one may conjecture that they are originally *Scythians*. But it is not possible, and it were to no purpose to tell certainly of what part, because the *Scythians* were all Vagabonds, and would now be in one place, and in a very short time after, would be removed two or three hundred Leagues from their former Habitation.

The first time therefore that mention is made of them is in An. 256. under the Empire of *Gallus* and *Volusian*, when they passed the *Rhine* near *Metz*, and that *Aurelianus*, who was then but Tribune of a Legion, slew 700 of them in a rencounter, and took 300 Prisoners, who were sold by *Out-cry*.

After this first irruption, high 180 years passed before they conquered, or obtained, by request from the *Romans*, some Lands in *Gaul*, viz. in the Countreys of *Colen*, *Tongres*, &c. and some neighbouring Territory, which happened about the year 416. There had some Bands of them lodged themselves in a *Taxandria*, in the days of *Julian* the *Apollon*, towards the year 358. but it is not known whether they were suffered to take root there.

During those two Ages, they continued their Incursions with various success, all ways retiring into *Germany* with their Plunder; they possessed the most part of the

Lands

* Countreys
of Liege-
a Kempen in
Brabant.

Lands which lie between the *Main* and the *Rhine*, the *Weser* and the *Ocean*, sometimes more, sometimes less, extended according as they were stronger or weaker, and were pressed upon by other Nations, especially by the *Alains*, from towards the *Main*, and the *Saxons* from the Sea-side.

These last coming from the Countrey, named at this present, *Hollstein*, seized upon *Frisia*, and the Maritime Countreys on this side the *Elbe*: then as the *French* inhabited *Gaul* more and more, they in equal proportions got the most part of those Lands, which they had held beyond the *Rhine*.

The *French* Nation was divided into several People, the *Frisii* great and a little, *Salii*, *Bruderi*, *Angriarii*, *Chamavi*, *Sicambri*, and *Catti*; they had besides, as I believe, many more of their Alliance, and several also under their Dominion.

Offentimes the *Romans* went to attacke them in their Woods, and in their Fens, and thought two or three times to have destroyed them, particularly *Constantine* the Great, but they always sprung up again.

They had several Chiefs, or Commanders, Kings, Princes, Dukes, or Generals, who had no absolute Authority, but in time of War.

Sometimes they became Stipendiaries to the *Romans*, sometimes their Subjects, but as soon as times changed, and they found any opportunity to plunder, they held themselves no longer obliged by former Treaties. It is for this reason the Authors of those times accused them of Levity, of Leasing, and Treachery. But on the other hand it is confessed, that they were the most warlike of all the *Barbarians*, of great Humanity, Hospitality, and a People that had a great deal of Wit and Sense. Very often they had some that served the Empire, and others at the same time that made War against them. We find many of them in all those times that were raised to the Dignities of Consul, Patrician, Master of the Militia, Great Treasurer, and the like; inasmuch as they Governed in the Courts of many Emperors, as of the two *Theodosius's*, in that of *Honorius*, and in *Valentinian's* the III.

The last day of the year 406. the *Alains*, and the *Vandals*, bringing along with them the *Burgundians*, the *Sueves*, and divers other barbarous People, passed the *Rhine*, and made an irruption in *Gaul*, the most terrible that had been ever known.

Some conjecture it was at this time that they Massacred St. Ursula, and her *Glorious* Train, which have been called the Eleven thousand Virgins, though in the *Tombs*, said to belong to those Martyrs, were found the Bones of Men and Children; there are three or four different opinions on this Matter, but neither of them without such difficulties attending, as are not to be solved.

Those *Barbarians* having ravaged all *Germania Prima*, and *Belgica Secunda*, fell upon *Aquitain*. In the year 409. some numbers of the *Vandals* and *Sueves* marched from thence into *Spain*; Two years after the rest being afflicted upon the coming of *Ataulphus*, King of the *Viligoths* out of *Italy*, took the same course, and followed them. However, there were some *Alains* still remaining in *Dauphine*, and about the River *Loire*, who had Kings amongst them for above Threescore years; but in the end, they submitted to the Dominion of the *Viligoths*, and the *Burgundians*.

The *Vandals* and the *Sueves* possessed *Galicia*; the *Silingi* and *Betica*; and the *Alains*, part of *Lusitania*, of *Provence*, and *Carthagina*: Sixteen years afterwards, the *Vandals* passed over into *Africa*; but in the mean while, *Vallia*, King of the *Viligoths*, who fought for the *Romans*, utterly routed out the *Silingi*, and Kinged the *Alains* so much, that being unable to subsist alone, they put themselves under *Gunderic*, King of the *Vandals*. The *Suevi* maintained themselves almost two Ages in *Spain*. In fine, their Kingdom was likewise extinguished by *Leuvigildus*, King of the *Viligoths*, in the year 588.

All these *Barbarians* were divided in several Parties, or Bands, and had each their Chief, running about and scouring the Countreys without intermissions so that at the same instant there were several of the same People in Places far distant from one another, and of contrary Interest.

An. 408. *Silicon*, who was accused for bringing them in, is Massacred, by order of *Honorius*. *Alaric*, King of the *Viligoths* his good friend, to revenge his Death, besieged the City of *Rome* three times, and the last time he takes it by Treachery, the 20th day of August, in the year 410. About the end of the same year he dyes in *Calabria*, near *Consentina*, while he was making himself ready to go into *Africa*. *Ataulphus* his Cousin succeeded him; and Married *Placidia*, Sister to the Emperor *Honorius*, whom he had taken in *Rome*.

An. 412. *Ataulphus* goes into *Gallia Narbonensis*, and takes *Narbonna*; he remained there but Three years. The Count and Patrician *Constantius*, who was since

B 2

Emperor,

a. East Frisia.
e. North Sea-land.
b. Zealand.
c. Bishoprick of Meander.
d. Bith. of Odruburg.
e. Duchy of Westphalia.
f. Elbe.

406, &c.
Emp. Arcadius and Honorius in their 5th year, 406.

407.
Emp. Honorius, and Theodosius II. Son of Arcadius, 408, in May.

408.

409.

412.

4:5 Emperor, and Married his Widow Placidia, compelled him to go into Spain, where he was killed by his own people in Barcelona, about the Month of September, Ann. 475. They elected Sigeric his son, and reared him after the same manner within seven Years. Vallia his Successor, was forced to flee into Gaul by Constantius, who gave him Aquitania Septimania, and five Neighbouring Cities of the neighbouring Provinces, amongst others Thoulouse, where he lived his Royal Seat, Ann. 479. But he dyed in a few Months afterwards, and Theodorick succeeded him. Under this King and under Evaric or Euric, the Visigoths made themselves Masters of all the Three Aquitani, and the Two Narbonensis.

From the
year 300 to
the year 400.

Hitherto very few of the French had received the Light of the Gospel, they yet Adored Trees, Fountains, Serpents, and Birds; but the Gauls were most of them Christians, unless it were such as dwelt in places less accessible, as the Mountains, Crifantines, and Boggy Countreys; or in the Germanick or Belgick Territories, which were repeatedly infected by the incursions of the Barbarians. The Faith had been Preached to them by some Disciples of the Apostles, and even from the Second Age, or Century, divers Churches established amongst the Gauls, at least in the Narbonnois, and Lugdunensis Prima. Under the Emperor Decius, about the year 250. there were diverse Holy Preachers sent from Rome, who planted other Churches in several parts; as Saturninus at Toulouse, Garian at Tours, Denis at Clermont, and Martial at Limoges. The persecutions of the Heathen Emperours had sorely shaken them: Constantine re-allured them, after-Heaven the incursions of the Barbarians again destroyed them, especially those in Germany, and Belzica, and the Arian Heresie much troubled those in Aquitania: But the Christian Religion still flourished, and endowed them plentifully.

Clement restores them, and endowed them plentifully.

In the fourth Age, the *Gallican Church* produced a great number of Holy Bishops; above all, the *Hilary*, Bishop of *Poitiers*, an invincible Defender of the *Holy Trinity*; above all, the *Maximin* and *Paulin* de *Treves*, who maintained the same Cause, and at the same time with him, the Great St. *Martin* of *Tours*, parallel to the Apostles. *Libaire* du temps with him, the Great St. *Martin* of *Raven*, all four contemporaries. *Servais* de *Mant*, *Severinus* of *Colen*, *Vidricus* of *Reims*, all four contemporaries. *Servais* de *Tongres*, elder by some years, and *Eusepius* de *Thoulous*, who lived yet in 405.

About the middle of the same Age, many of those that had devoted themselves to God, came from towards *Italy*, to inhabit in the Islands of *Provence*, and the *Vienneuse* Mountains; as likewise a while afterwards, great numbers flocked out from *Ireland*, and took up their stations in the Forests of the *Lyonnaises* and the *Belgick*. Their example, and a zeal to that Holy Profession, drew many People, either to come into their Monasteries, or dwell in Solitude; but still under the Conduct of the Bishops, and the Discipline of the Canons. Of these there were principally Four sorts; such as lived in Community, those were called *Cenobites*; such as having formerly lived so, retired into Solitude, aspiring to a greater perfection, these were the *Hermits*, or *Anchorites*; such as associated in small companies, of three or four in a knot, without any Superior, or any certain Rule; and such as wandered all about the Countrey, on pretence of visiting Holy Places, and finding out such Persons as were most advanced in Piety. There were some also that strictly confined themselves to a Cell, either within some City, or in the Desert, they were called *Enclosters*, or *Recluses*; all lived by the labour of their Hands, and most of them gave what they got to the Poor, though in the greatest Frictions, they were not obliged to renounce their Wealth; nor were they excluded from enjoying it, in case they returned again to the World: but such a return was indeed, looked upon as a kind of a desertion.

Councils being extremely necessary to preserve the Purity of the Faith, and Ecclesiastical Discipline; there were several held in *Gaul*, *Ann.* 314. The Emperor *Constantine* caused one to be Assembled at *Arles*, where there were Deputies from all the Western Provinces, to determine the Disputes of the Donatists in *Africa*. There was one at *Colen* in 346. which condemned *Euphrasius* the Bishop of that City, who denied the Divinity of *Jesus Christ*; One at *Arles*, in 353. One at *Beziere* in 356. One at *Paris* *Ann.* 362. All three for the business of the *Arians*. The two first were favourable to them against *S. Athanasius*, the Third condemned them. One at *Valence*, in the year 374. about Discipline. One at *Bordeaux* in 385. to whom *Priscillian*'s Cause having going to be condemned, appealed to the Tyrant *Heterick* perceiving clearly he was going to be condemned, appealed to the Tyrant *Maximian*, but it was to his great misfortune. One at *Treves* the year following, where Bishop *Ireus* was accused for having contrary to the Spirit of the Church, prosecuted *Priscillian* and his Abettors to the death: his Party, or Cabal, caused his bloody

bloody proceedings to be approved, which notwithstanding, were condemned by the most Conscientious Bishops. One at *Turin*, An. 357. Upon the desires of the Gallican Bishops, to compose the differences about *Procletus* of *Marfilie*, and that of the Bishop of *Arles* and *Vienne*. *Procletus* pretended to Ordain Bishops in some of the Churches in *Provence*, which had been dimembered from his, or himself had instituted; they allowed him that Honour for himself only: the Bishops of *Arles* and *Vienne* disputed the Right of Metropolitanity, it was divided between them by provision. This Cause having been transferred to the Holy Chair, and judged variously, by three or four several Popes, was determined by *Symmachus*, An. 513. who conformably to the Sentence of *Leo*, adjudged to *Vienne*, only the Bishopsricks of *Valence*, *Tarentais*, *Geneva*, and *Grenoble*, and all the rest to *Arles*.

Our Margent not allowing room enough to fet down all the Popes without in-
cumbance, it was thought necessary to place them in the Page with the
Kings, in the same Reigns wherein the fate in the Holy Chair. Though for those
of this Fourth Age, it seems more fit to range them here, the time of *Phar-
mamod*. *Silvester* I. therefore held the Chair from the 1 of *February*, *An*. 314. till
the last of *December*, in the year 336. In the time of his Pope-shipp, *Constantine* the
Great was Converted to the Faith; and the Holy Nicæan Council was assembled,
An. 324. *Marcus* Governed from the 16th of *January* following, to the 7th of
October of the same year. *Julius* the I. from the 27th of the same Month, to the
13th of *April*, of the year 352. *Liberius*, from the 8th of *May* to the 3d of *September*,
in the year 367. *Damasus*, from the 15th of that Month, to the 11th of *De-
cember*, *An*. 384. In 381 was the Council of *Constantinople*. *Siricius* was Pope
from the 12th of *January* to the 24th of *February*, *An*. 398. *Anastasi*, from the
14th of *March* of the same year, till about the end of *April*, *An*. 402. *Innocent* I.
from the 14th of *May*, to the 28th of *July*, in the year 417. And *Zosimus*, from
the 18th of *August*, to the 26th of *December*, *An*. 418.

The First Race.

Pharamond, King I.

POPES.

BONIFACE in December
418. S. almost Five years.

CELESTINE I. The 3 of
Nov. 423. 5. 8 years 5 Months,
whereof Five years in this Reign.

412.

DURING the great Revolt of the *Armoriz*, or Maritime People, (who were those of the coast of *Flanders*, *Picardy*, *Normandy*, and *Britagne*) which happened towards the end of the year 412, The French King being joined with them, occupied that part of *Germania Secunda*, named *Ripuaris*, and the People *Ripuarians*, or *Ribarols*. The Romans by Treaty, or otherwise, left them the free Possession thereof; and it was a little after this that *Pharamond* began to Reign.

Emperour Honorius in his 18th. and Theodosius I. in his 5th.

We find in the Historians of those times, that the French had had several Kings before him, I do not speak of those of the Monk *Humbaud*, they being as Fabulous as the Author; But we find towards the year 288. *Genebaud* and *Atee*, who came to *Treves* to Demand a Peace of *Maximian*, An. 307. *Ascaric* and *Rhadagais*, whom *Constantine* took in War, and whom he exposed to wild Beasts, as a punishment, for that having given their Faith to *Constantin* his Father, they had nevertheless taken up Arms again. In the year 374. one *Mellobaudes*, who being Grand Master of the Militia, and Count of the Palace to the Emperour *Gratian*, flew and vanquished *Macrian* King of the *Almans*, and did the Empire many other Services. About the year 378. one *Richemer*, who had the like Office under *Gratian*, as *Mellobaudes*. An. 382. One *Priam*, or *Priarius*, whom some will have to be the Father or Grandfather of *Pharamond*. In the year 397. *Marcomir* and *Sunnon*, Brothers, the first of which, *Stilicon* banished into *Tuscany*, and caused the other to be Murdered by his own People, when he attempted to stir to Revenge the exile of his Brother. And An. 414, or 415. One *Theodemer*, Son of *Richemer*, who was Beheaded with his Mother *Ofella*, for having attempted against the Empire.

Nevertheless, common Opinion hath ever begun to reckon the Kings of France from *Pharamond*, whether because the preceding ones had never had any fixed abode in *Gaul*, or because he re-established the Royalty amongst the French. In effect, it seems the Romans had in some manner subjugated this Nation; and after the Treatment they had shewn to *Marcomir*, and *Sunnon*, and *Theodemer*, they would no longer suffer them to have any Kings.

He began to Reign, not in 424. which is the common opinion, but in the year 418. very remarkable for a great Eclipse of the Sun. It may be doubted, whether *Pharamond* be a proper Name, or whether it be only an Epithet, which signifies, that he was as it were, the Father, and the Stock of the French Nation: For *Pharamond* in the German Language, imports Mouth of Generations.

For the manner of the inauguration of the French Kings, the Lords, or Chief Heads having Elected them, or at least approving them, set them up on a great Shield or Target, and caused them to be carried into the Field, where the People were Assembled in Arms, who confirmed this choice with acclamations and applause. The same Ceremony was practised for Emperours and *Goths* Kings.

418.
Emp. Theodosius II. and Valentinian 3. Son of Constantine and Placidia. Sister to Honorius, 423. in August. Reigned 29 years, 6 Months.

The

History before Pharamond.

7

The Scottish Historians begin the Kingdom of Scotland, An. 422. with King Fergus, from whom they derive the succession of their Kings; though whither they will have us believe, that he only restored it, and that it was first begun or formed 330 years before the Nativity of JESUS CHRIST; from which time it lasted till the days of the Tyrant Maximus, who ruined it about the year 378.

The Vandals, who had passed out of Gaul into Spain, were from thence called into Africa by Count Boniface, Revolted against the Emperess Placidia: They went over, to the number of 80000, only under the Conduct of their King Genserich, and within seven or eight years, drove the Romans totally from thence, and settled their own Kingdom there.

The Romans drive the French beyond the Rhine, and take away the Lands they had bestowed on them in Gaul, or at least a good part of it. It is not certain whether this happened in the last year of the Reign of Pharamond, or the First of that of Clodion.

In this year they date the death of Pharamond, who by that account had Reigned Ten years. They know not his Acts, the place of his Burial, the Name of his Wife, nor of his Children, excepting Clodion, who succeeded him.

An ancient Chronicle gives him the Glory of settling the Salique Law by Four ancient Lords, and says they laboured in it for three Months or Sixteen. It is called Salique, from the Name of the *Salians*, the Noblest of the French People.

Clodion

Clodion the Hairy,

OR

Long Locks, King II.

P O P E S,

CELESTINE I. *Three* | SIXTUS III. *The 26th of*
years. | *April, 432. S. Eight years.*

428.

HE was Surnamed the *Hairy*, or *Long Locks*, because in my opinion, he first brought in a custom, that Kings, and those of their Blood should wear Long Hair, well Combed and Curled, not only on the top of their Heads, as all the Princes of this Nation had done before him, but likewise on the hinder part. The rest of the *French* had all their Hair cut round, a little beneath their Ears.

431.

It is not known whether there were yet left them any Land in *Gaul*. It is certain that *Clodion* in the beginning of his Reign, Inhabited beyond the *Rhine*, and that he marched over it in the year 431. to make an irruption, but he was beaten, and driven back by *Actiu*.

He contained himself some years without undertaking any thing, making his Residence at the Castle of *Disparq*, on the other side of the *Rhine*: but being informed by his Spies, that there were no Garrisons in the Towns of *Belgica Secunda*, he went thither in great diligence with his People, and keeping his March private by the Forest *Charbonniere*, which is *Haynault*, made himself Master of *Bavay* and *Cambray*, and some other adjacent places.

The English Saxons subdue Great Britain: They had been called in by the natural Inhabitants, who being forsaken by the Romans, had set up Kings of their own Nation; and those Kings did not find themselves strong enough to oppose the Picts and the Scots, which were People inhabiting the Mountainous Countreys, now called Scotland. The English gave the name of England to their Conquest, and set up seven Principalities, or little Kingdoms, which in the end were United into one.

The Britains, or Inhabitants of Great Britain, being tormented with these Barbarians, got together in great numbers, and passed into *Gallia Armorica*: It was then the Romans, who suffered them to settle in the Countrey of *Vennes*, and *Cornualles*, and having in process of time, extended themselves to the Bishoprick of *Treguier* and *Leon*, and even to the *Loire*, and the Confines of *Anjou*; they gave the Name of *Bretagne* to that Province, which it retains to this day.

133.

The Burgundians a People of Germany, or *Scythia*, (for there were of them both in the one and the other) after they had remained a long time on the borders of the *Rhine* in *Germania Prima*, obtained the Countrey adjoining to *Geneva*, of the Romans: and there multiplied so much in a short time, that they seized on the Province of *Vienne*, on that of the *Sequan*, and of the First *Lyonnoise*. They had received the Christian Faith in ANN. 430. by the Preaching of St. Sever, Bishop of *Treves*, but some years after they fell into the Arian Heresy.

There were then five several Dominations in *Gaul*, the Romans, the *French*, the *Visigots*, the Burgundians, and the Bretons.

Clodion

Meroveus, King III.

Clodion pursuing his Conquests, during the extream confusion of the affairs of the Empire, received a great check by the valour of *Actiu*, in the Countrey of *Artois*, near to *Vicus Helena*, perhaps it is *Lens*. Nevertheless *Actiu*, having too much to do elsewhere, did not wholly destroy him; so that, recovering Breath, he made himself Master of *Artois*, and enlarged his Dominion as far as the *Somme*, having taken the City of *Amiens*, which was his Royal Seat, and of *Meroveus* also.

Towards 444.

He likewise sent, saith a Modern Author, his eldest Son to besiege the City of *Sailours*, where that Prince having lost his Life, the Father was so touched that he died for Grief, after he had Reigned Twenty years. It was about the end of the year 447. having before constituted *Meroveus* Tutor to his Sons.

447

It is certain he left two; and I find they were named *Clodeband*, and *Clodomir*. Some of the Moderns give him Three, whom they call *Renaud*, *Anberon*, and *Ragnacaire*; and from *Anberon* they make *Aishere*, the Senator to be defended, and from Male to Male, *Pepin* First King of the Second Race. But for *Anberon*, others have proved, that he was issued of the Family of *Tonnance Ferreol*, Prefect of the *Gauls* Pretorian.

C

Meroveus

Meroveus, or Merovee; King I II.

From whom the Kings of the First
Race, have taken the Name of
Merovignians.

POPE,

LEO I. The 10th of May, 440.
S. 21 years, 3. in the following Reign.

448.

According to most Authors, who were nearest to these times, he was not Son to *Clodion*, but only of his Kindred. It is said, that his Mother bathing her self on the Sea-side, a Sea-Bull came out of the Water, and made her Pregnant with this Prince. This Fable seems to be grounded upon the Name, because *Mer-veich* signifies a Sea-Calf.

Now whether he were only Tutor to *Clodion's* Children, or otherwise, the French Elected him for their King or General Commander. This was in the City of *Amiens*.

The Children of *Clodion* having been deprived of the paternal Succession, their Mother carried them beyond the *Rhine*: where it seems they disputed amongst themselves, about that part of their Succession; but in time that came likewise to *Meroveus*, we know not how.

After *Attila*, King of the *Huns*, who caused himself to be named the *Scurge of G O D*, had pillaged all the Provinces of the Empire in the East, and had killed his Brother *Bleda*, to invade his Kingdom: he would likewise needs plunder those of the West; He crossed the *Pannonias* and *Germany*, entred into *Gauls* with 500000 Combatants, under pretence of going to attack the *Visigoths*, in *Aquitain*; and after he had sacked and burnt *Metz*, *Trier*, *Tongres*, *Arras*, and all those Cities that lay in his March, he passed along by *Paris*, and came and besieged *Orleans*: The Town had already capitulated, and part of his Forces were entred, when *Atius* General of the *Romans*, *Meroveus* King of the *French*, and *Theodoric* King of the *Visigoths*, having joyned their Armies together, charged them unawares, and drove them thence, paying all the Streets with their slain.

448.

A little while afterwards they gave him Battle, in *Campis Catalaunicis*, which is interpreted the *Plain of Chalons in Champagne*; but some imagine with probability, that it was in *Campis Scalauitica*, in *Soulogne* near *Orleans*. *Attila* lost nigh 200000 Men. *Theodoric* King of the *Visigoths* was killed in the Fight, and the next day his Son *Thurismund* elected King by the *Visigoths*.

Notwithstanding this infinite loss, *Attila* had still Men enough left to Retreat to his own Countrey, *Atius* having discharged the *Visigoths* and the *French*, left he should be obliged to pursue and make an end of them. The youngest of *Clodion's* Sons had cast himself into the Arms of that Prince who adopted him for his Son, and the other under the protection of *Attila*: what their Fortune was we know

Emp.
Valentinian III
and Marcian,
who Marries
Pulcheria,
Sister to The-
odosia, in
August 450.
R. Six years,
six Months.

Meroveus, King I II.

11

know not; but for *Attila*, upon his return from another irruption he made into Italy about the year 452, he died in his own Countrey while he was in Bed with a new Spouse.

This year 452. is commonly reckoned to be the time of the wonderful birth, or beginning of the City of Venice, in the Adriatick Gulph. It is held that the terror of *Attila's* Forces, after he had taken *Aquileia*, making all the people of those Countreys flee from thence, some numbers of them got into the Island *Rialto*, and other Islands adjacent, who fixed their Habitation there, which was the first foundation of that noble State.

The Emperor *Valentinian* caused *Atius* to be Massacred, who alone upheld the Empire, shaken and assaulted on all hands. The following year he is slain himself, by the friends of that great Captain, and upon the solicitation of *Petronius Maximus*, whose Wife he had violated. *Maximus* seized on the Empire, and *Eudoxia* his Widow, whom he married. The posture of his Revenge, and his Reign, lasted but three Months: The People stoned him to death, as soon as *Genferic*, King of the *Vandals*, whom *Eudoxa* had called over from Africa to revenge her, was come to the Gates of Rome. But that Barbarian sacked the City, and took the Emperor, who was carried into Captivity with her two Daughters, being at the same time both revenged and punished.

From thence the utter destruction of the Western Empire, there being no one Head left powerful enough to repair, or indeed prop the ruins of that vast Building: but only divers petty Commanders, who were but the Spots of the Barbarians, and who consumed the small Forces they had, by pushing at one another.

So that *Meroveus*, and afterwards *Childeric* his Son, had the proper time to extend their limits. *Meroveus* took on the one hand all the *Germania Prima*, or territory of *Mentz*; and on the other the *Belgica Secunda*, which is named *Picardy*, a good part of the Second *Lyonnais*, named *Normandy*, and almost all the Isle of France.

He Reigned almost 11 years, and dyed Anno 458. we know nothing either of his Age, nor of his Wife, nor his Children, but only that *Childeric* his Successor was his Son.

452.

454.

455.

Emp.

Marcian and
Maxima,
Murderer of
Valentinian,
455. in March,
then Majorian R. six
years and
half.

Emp.
Stiff Majorian
and Leo I.
R. 17 years
and half.

458.

C 2

Childeric

Meroveus, or Merovee; King III.

From whom the Kings of the First
Race, have taken the Name of
Merovignians.

POPE,

LEO I. The 10th of May, 440.
S. 21 years, 3. in the following Reign.

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Meroveus, King III.

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452.

454.

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Emp.

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Maximas,
Murderer of
Valentinian,
455. in March,
Then Magnus
reigns R. six
years and
half.

Emp.

Self Majorian
and Leo I.
R. 17 years
and half,

458.

C 2

Childeric

Childeric, King IV.

Aged XX to XXV years.

POPES,

LEON I. Three years.

HILARY the 12th Nov. 461.
S. Five years Ten Months.

SIMPLICIUS the 20th Sept.
561. S. Twenty Five years,
Five Months.

458.

459.

Or

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460.

This Prince, being yet Young, much addicted to his Pleasures, and having a Kingdom too peaceable, gave himself the liberty to debauch his Subjects Wives and Daughters.

The French who were not accustomed to such infamous dealings, degraded him from his Throne, either by Sedition only, or by some kind of judicial proceedings, and in his stead, Elected *Agilno* or *Gillon*, Master of the Roman Militia, who was a stranger, but in high reputation for Wisdom and Probity. Childeric knowing after this, that they fought his Life also, retired himself into *Turingia* to King *Bafna*, but left a faithful friend in France, named *Guyemant*, who promised to work his Restauration, by turning the Hearts of the French against *Gillon*.

Guyemant being very subtil, gained much upon the Good Will and Confidence of *Gillon*, and encouraged him to charge them with Taxes or Imposts; and when they made a great noise about it, he counsel'd him to strike off the most stirring Heads, who were the fame that had degraded *Childeric*: then do they come secretly to make complaints to *Guyemant*, who persuades them to recall their natural King: and when he observes them disposed so to do, gives him notice of it, and for a token sends him the half of a Gold Crown broken in two, of which the King kept the other half. The French go as far as *Bar* to meet him, and re-establish him in his Royalty with formal Solemnity.

After his return, he made use of the heat of his Subjects against *Gillon*, he pushed at him vigorously, forced him to abandon *Colen*, took *Treves* by Assault, and burnt it, Conquer'd the Country now called *Lorraine*; and afterwards crossing *Champagne*, which then remained firm to the *Romans*, he made himself Master of *Reamvair*, *Paris*, and of many other Towns upon the *Oise* and the *Saine*, the People giving themselves up to the French, rather out of choice than by compulsion, to free themselves from the horrible *Tailles*, and cruel Conquests of the Roman Magistrates, who had put them into so great despair, that they fought their own relief in the ruin of the State.

A little after, *Childeric* came from *Turingia*, Queen *Bafna* charmed with his Virtues, forsook her Husband to come to him; he took her to Wife, and within the year had a Son by her, who was named *Clovis*.

Gillon, as it should seem, had called in some Auxiliaries of the Saxons, Commanded by their King *Odoacer*, which he employed to defend the Cities above the *Loire*, as well against the *Vissigots* as the French. When he was dead, viz. in the year 464. the Count *Pol* took the Command, and *Odoacer* on his side, would secure the City of *Angiers*, and fortified the Islands in the *Loire* to preserve his booty: but *Childeric* vanquished the Count *Pol* near *Orleans*, and after he had possessed himself of that City, pursued him to *Angiers*, where he forced his way in, and laid him dead on the Pavement. This done, he dislodged the Saxons from their Islands, and after an agreement with them, he set them at work to drive away the *Germani*, who at that same time had made an irruption into *Gaul*.

Anno

Anno 476. Of the Christian Era, and the 1229. from the foundation of Rome, the Roman Empire ended in the West; there having been in the last Twenty years Nine or Ten Abortives of Emperors, of which Romulus, whom they called Augustulus, was the last. He was a young Child of about Ten or Twelve years old, to whom the Patrician Orestes his Father, had given the Title of Emperour to Govern in his Name. Odoacer, King of the Heruli having slain Orestes, locked up this Child in a Castle, and gave beginning to the First Kingdom in Italy.

Divers years before Gondiochus, King of the Burgundians was dead, and his Four Sons Gondebaud, Godegesile, Chilperic, and Gondemar, had shared his Kingdom amongst them. Now Anno 477. Gondebaud the eldest, and the most knowing of all, had Leagued himself with the Second, to dispossess the two others; at first he was defeated, and kept himself hid for a time: then when they thought him dead, he came forth on a sudden and surrounds them in Vienne: Gondemar was burned in a Tower, where he was defending himself: Chilperic fell into the Visigots hands, who caused him to be sacrificed with his two Sons, and his Wife thrown into the River with a Stone tied to her Neck, but spared the Lives of his two Daughters. They were called Sedeleube, and Clotilde, both of them were of the Orthodox Faith, though their Father and Uncle were Arrians: The First Consecrated her self to God, the other Gondebaud kept, and had her bred up in his own House.

King Childeric, upon his return from an Expedition against the *Almains*, is assaulted by a Fever, and dyes, aged at least 45 years, of which he had Reigned 22 or 23. He left Four Children, one Son whom they named *Clovis*, and three Daughters, *Andefede*, who espoused Theodorick, King of the *Ostogots*, *Allofede* and *Lanilda*. These two received Baptism with their Brother *Allofede*, being Converted from Paganism, and *Lanilda* from the Arrian Heresie; These were not Married.

It is conjectured, that he held his Royal Seat at *Tourmay*, because in our times, in the year 1654. digging under some Houses, there was a Tomb discovered, and amongst other singular Curiosities was found a Ring, whereon his Effigies and his Name are Engraved.

Clovis

Clovis, or Louis, to be w'd stood in rough the whole History.

Clovis, King V.

Aged Fifteen years.

POPES,

FELIX III. The 8th of March.
S. Twelve years.
GELASIUS I. in March
492. S. Four years nine Months.

ANASTASIUS I. the
28th. Novemb. 496. S. Two years.
SYMMACHUS the 20th.
Novemb. 496. S. Fifteen years;
Eight Months; whereof Three
years in the following Reign.

* Clodovic,
Ludwin,
or Louis, all
the same
Name.

481.

Clovis, or Louis, (for 'tis the same Name) handsome, well shap'd, and personally brave, was not so soon at age to Command, but he undertakes a War against *Siagrin*, Son of that *Gillon*, who had been set up in the place of his Father *Childeric*; he fights him, and Defeats him near to *Soissons*; the unfortunate Man flies to *Aleric*, King of the *Visigoths* for refuge: but *Clovis* by Threats, forces him to send him back; and when he hath him in his hands, he puts him to death, having first secured all his Towns to himself, which were *Soissons*, *Rheims*, *Provence*, *Sens*, *Troye*, *Auxerre*, and some others; and thus there remained nothing in the hands of the *Romans* amongst the *Gauls*.

484.

485.

It was a Law amongst the *French*, that all the Plunder should be brought in common, and shared amongst the Soldiers; there had been taken a precious Vase or Vessel in a Church by his People, he desired as a favour, they would set it apart to restore it to the Bishop, who had besought him for it; an insolent Soldier opposed it, and gave it a blow with an Ax, saying he would have his share: *Clovis* took no notice of it for the present, but a year afterwards, upon a general Review, he quarrell'd with him, because he did not keep his Arms in good Order, and clef't his Head with his Battle-Axe: a bold undertaking, and which made him to be the more dreaded by the *French*.

489.

From the year 489, Theodorick, King of the *Ostrogoths* was entred into Italy; after various events, having overcome, and put to death *Odoacer* King of the *Heruli*, he settled a potent Monarchy there, Anno 494.

489.

Clovis subdues a part of the *Tuburgians*, and imposes a Tribute upon them.

494.

His Victories and his Conquests increase his Renown, and his Dominion, and lift him above other Princes; his Power must have been great, since *Gondebaud* King of the *Burgundians* was either his Vassal, or his Officer, perhaps Grand Master of his Militia.

Emp.
Anastasiustail-
ed to the Em-
pire by Ari-
stine, the
Murderer of
Zeno her Hus-
band.

Towards the end of the year 491, he Married *Clotilda*, Daughter of King *Chil-
deric*, and Niece to that *Gondebaud*, who consented not to that Match but out
of fear; *Aurelian* a *French* Lord was the Mediator, and had the County of *Me-
lun* for a recompence.

496.

The *Alains* one of the most puissant people of *Germany*, who then inhabited *Subatia*, part of *Retia* on this side the *Rhine*, *Switzerland*, and perhaps the Country of *Alsatia*, to *Strasbourg*, were entred in hostile manner upon the Lands of *Sigebert*, King of *Colen*, or of the *Ribards*: *Clovis* his Kinsman went to his assistance, and gave them Battle near *Tolbiaz*; it is guessed to be *Zulg*, within Ten Leagues of *Colen*. In the midst of the Engagement, his Men gave ground, and ran into disorder: the greatness of the danger made him then think of Praying to the God of his Wife, and to make a Vow, that if he delivered him from that peril, he would be Baptized. Immediately the Scene of the day changed, his Men returned

20

to the Charge, the Enemies were put to flight, and left their King, and a multitude of their Army slain upon the place.

He hotly pursued his Victory, entred upon their Country, and without Mercy exterminated all that were on this side of the *Rhine*; the others saved themselves in *Italy*, under the protection of *Theodorick* King of the *Ostrogoths*. It is to be believed, that at the intreaty of this great Prince, who was his Brother-in-law, he suffered such as desired it, to return to their own Dwellings; but he perfectly subdued them, gave them some Counts, and a Duke to Govern them, and shared their Lands amongst his Captains. After this check they had no more Kings, and were but inconsiderable, till the time of the Emperour *Frederick* the II. under whom, in my opinion, they gave the Name to all *Germany*.

As he returned from this Expedition, his Wife took care to send some Holy Men to him, to exhort him to keep his Word, and to instruct him in the Orthodox Faith. *St. Vast*, who was as then but a Priest, and dwelt at *Verdun*, catechized him by the way. *St. Remy*, Arch-Bishop of *Rheims*, powerful in Works and Eloquence; confirmed him mightily in the belief of Christianity.

Having therefore brought the most part of his Captains to have a good opinion of this Conversion, he received Holy Baptism, with great Ceremony in the Church of *Rheims*, on *Christmas* day, Anno 496. The Bishops plunged him in the Consecrated Lavatory: Three thousand of his *French* Subjects followed his example; and this regenerated Flock with their Leader, wore the White Robe eight days together, according to the Ceremony then practised in the Church.

It is said, that Heaven in favour of his Conversion, Honour'd him and the Kings of *France*, his Successors, with many miraculous and singular Favours; That the *Saint Ampoule*, i. e. Holy Oyl, was conveyed at his Baptism by a Celestial Dove; That the Shield *Semb* with *Flower-de-Luce*, and the *Standard Royal de l'Oriflamme*, were by an Angel, deposited in the hands of a good *Hermite*, living in the solitudes of *Joyeval*, near *St. Germans en Laye*; That he had the Gift of Healing the Evil, and made proof of it upon *Lancelot* his Favourite. But God made him a more extraordinary and more excellent Present than all those, when he bestowed upon him the Heavenly Knowledge of the Orthodox Faith, there being amongst all the Princes upon Earth, none but himself that did not live either in Error or Idolatry.

This Conversion did him no little Service towards keeping the *Gauls*, who were all Christians, in Obedience, and to allure others who were Subjects to the *Gothick* and the *Burgundian* Princes, whose Government was odious to them, because they would compel them to follow the Opinion of *Arrius*.

The zeal of Christianity did not allay his Warlike heats, *Gondegisilus* having promised, if he would assist him in suppressing his Brother *Gondebaud*, to share the spoil with him; he fell with his Army upon the *Burgundian* Country; *Gondegisilus* pretending he was mightily scared, sent to pray his Brother to come to his assistance; *Gondebaud* failed not, but when it came to the Battle, which was fought on the borders of the River *L'Ouche*, near *Dijon*, *Gondegisilus* went over to the *French*, and began to Assault him: *Gondebaud* finding it was a thing designed betwixt them, fled to *Avignon*, *Clovis* pursues, and besieges him there. The Sage *Aredius*, Principal Counsellor to *Gondebaud*, cunningly contrives to do his Master Service upon this occasion; the Siege spinning out to some length, he pretends to desert him, and renders himself to *Clovis*, with whom he manages Affairs, so wisely, as that King agrees to a Composition, and *Gondebaud* becomes his Tributary.

When *Clovis* was out of that Country, and perhaps employ'd in other business, *Gondebaud* coming to pay him the Tribute, assembles his Forces together, and besieges *Gondegisilus* in *Vienne*. One *Fontenier*, whom they had thrust out amongst the useless People, discovered to him the mouth of an *Aqueduct*, by which way he sent in some Men, who surprized the City; his Brother having sheltered himself in a Church belonging to the *Arrians*, was there slain, together with a Bishop of the same Belief. Thus *Gondebaud* remained sole King of all *Burgundy*.

It is my opinion, during these years that the *French*, as *Procopius* tells us, not having been able to subdue the *Armorice*, betwixt the *Seine* and the *Lare*, did incorporate with them by a mutual Confederacy, which of two made them but one People. The *Roman* Garrisons not being strong enough, either to Retreat or to defend themselves, reitorred their Towns to them, but did not quit the Country, where they for a long time afterwards retained their Laws, their Discipline, and Habits.

Towards 502
or 503.

The

The Citizens of *Verdun* being Revolted, it is not said for what reason, *Clovis* being ready to force them, the Prayers of *Euphrasie*, Arch-Deacon of that City, a Man of a very Holy Life, allayed his Wrath, and obtained their Pardon.

I cannot tell precisely in what Year 't happened that which *Prosperus* relates, how *Clovis* and *Theodoric*, King of the *Ostrogoths*, having made an agreement together to conquer *Burgundy*, and divide it, upon condition, that if either of the two Armies did not meet at a certain time appointed, they should pay a certain Sum to the other; the *Visigoths* made no great haste, but left the *French* to bear all the brunt, then coming when the hottest work was over, and the Countrey subdued, took their share of the Conquest, paying the Sum as had been stipulated.

Neither the one nor the other held those Countreys long, but restored them entire to *Gondebaud*; who afterwards made a strict Alliance with *Clovis* against the *Visigoths*.

There is great likelihood that it was in these peaceable days that *Clovis* laboured to reform the Salique Law, which having been made by the *French*, when *Pagans* might contain many things, contrary to the manners and Laws of Christianity. This Law was only for the *French* in his own Kingdom, for those of *Celtis* had another which we find to this day by the name of the Law of the *Riparians*, conformable, notwithstanding in many particulars to the Salique Law.

Two Kings powerful and young, as were *Clovis* and *Alaric*, could not be long Neighbours and good Friends. Divers petty differences set them at variance, by the secret practices of the Bishops of *Aquitaine*, who being troubled they should obey *Alaric* an *Arrian* Prince, pulled on *Clovis* to a Rupture. The Two Kings had an Interview, and discoursed each other in the Island *D'Orléans*, * between the City of *Tours*, which belonged to the *Visigoths*, and that of *Orléans*, appertaining to the *French*. This Meeting saved up their quarrel for a time, and *Theodoric*, King of the *Ostrogoths*, Father-in-law to *Alaric*, and Brother-in-law to *Clovis*, undertook to make them agree; but as great a Politician as he was, he could not restrain the Ardour of *Clovis*. This Conquerour knowing the *Visigoths* were fortified, or effeminated by a long Peace, and having made sure of *Gondebaud*, by a League contracted betwixt them, resolved to Attack *Alaric*, under the specious pretence of Religion; the *French* followed him with great cheerfulness, those of *Aquitaine* invited him, Heaven conducted him by visible Signs and Miracles: Immediately the City of *Tours* surrenders to him; *Alaric*, who was getting his Forces together at *Poitiers*, lets him pass along to *Vienne*, then imprudently resolves to give him Battle; it was in the Plains of *Vunglay*, Ten miles from *Poitiers*. *Clovis* having exhorted his Soldiers, Armed them with the Sign of the Cross, and for the Word, gave them the Name of the Lord. *Alaric's* Army was defeated, and he slain in the Fight by *Clovis's* own hand.

The vanquisher divided his Army in two Bodies, with the one his Son *Thierry* makes himself Master of *Albi*, *Quercy*, of *Quercy*, and of *Auvergne*; and himself with the other, of *Poitou*, of *Saintonge*, of *Bordeaux* it self, where he passed the Winter; then in the Spring, of *Thoulouse*, wherein was the Treasure of the *Visigoths*: At his return he took the City of *Angoulême*, the Walls whereof fell down before him; in fine, of all the Three *Aquitains*, the *Catholicke* casting themselves into his Arms, to be freed from the yoke of the *Arrians*.

At the same time *Gondebaud*, pursuant to the Treaty made with *Clovis*, Conquered the two *Narbonnises*, and the City of *Narbonne*, from whence he drove *Gislaric*, so was called the Bastard Son of *Alaric*, who had seized on the Kingdom of the *Visigoths*, because *Almaric*, the Legitimate Son, born of the Daughter of *Theodoric*, was yet in his infancy.

The Fame of *Clovis's* Valour, spread even to the East; The Emperor *Anastasius*, thereby to engage him the closer to the Empire, sent him Consular (Honorary) Letters, and the Imperial Ornaments, viz. The Purple Robe, the Mantle, and the Diadem. *Clovis* having put them on in *St. Martin's Church*, Mounted on Horseback in the *Parade*, and bestowed a Large sum on the People; after that day he was ever Treated with the Title of *Consul*, and *Augustus*, which were not altogether useless to him, towards the bringing the *Gauls* to better Obedience, by those Titles, for which they had still some reverence.

Theodoric, King of the *Ostrogoths*, jealous of his success, takes in hand the Defence of his Grand-Son, and sends a great Army on this side the Mountains, made up of *Goths*, and of *Gepids*, and Commanded in Chief by the Count *Iba*. The *French* held then the City of *Carassonne*, besieged, and the *Burgundians* that of *Arles*;

503. Or
504.

506.
And the following

* It lies between the Bridges of *Amboise*.

First Wars for Religion.

507.
507 and

508.

508.

508 and
509.

Arles, the first quitted their Siege, and joyned the others at *Arles*, to hinder him from passing the *Rhône*.

There hapned many Combats, and at last a bloody Battle; the Count gained it, having killed 30000 *French* and *Burgundians*, and afterwards wrested from them all they had conquer'd in *Provence*, and in *Languedoc*, excepting *Thoulouse*, and *Vézès*.

After this advantage, *Theodoric* remained King of the *Visigoths*, and having taken away the Crown and Life of *Gislaric*, joyned what they held in *Gaul* and in *Spain* to his Kingdom of *Italy*, till his Grandson *Almaric* should be come of age.

Clovis tattered at these losses, distemper'd with a long Fever, and having the Spite of a Conqueror, that is to say, unjust, and Sanguinary, lays snares for the other petty Kings of the *French*, who were his Kindred, and rids himself of them by methods full of Cruelty and Treachery. He incited *Chlodoric* Son of *Sigebert*, King of *Colen*, to kill his Father, and caused him afterwards to be Maltreated by his own Domestiques. He compelled *Cararic* and his Son (we know not in what Countrey they Reigned) perhaps it was at *Triers* or *Arras*) to enter into *Holy Orders*; and being informed that the Son expelled some threatening, he sent, and caused the Throats of both to be cut. He cleft in two the Heads of *Ragnacaire*, King of *Cambray*, and *Riquier* his Brother, with a Battle-axe, they being both delivered into his hands by their own Subjects, and his Satellites assassinated *Rignomer*, King of *Mans*, in his own City.

He dyes himself at *Paris*, the 26th of November, in the year 511, and is interred in the Church of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, which he Built; and where *St. Genesius* had been buried the same year: his Reign was 30 years, and his Age 45. Some have made him parallel with *Constantine* the Great, and find great resemblance betwixt them both, for Good and Evil.

He had four Sons living, *Thierry*, *Clodomir*, *Childebert*, and *Clotaire*: the first by a Concubine, the other three by *Clotilda*, and by the same also a Daughter, named *Clota*, or *Clotilda*, who Sixteen years afterwards married *Almaric*, King of the *Visigoths* in *Spain*.

Under his Reign the *French* wholly freed themselves from the *Roman* Empire, and became their Allies on equal terms; till then, as I believe, they had been stipendiaries, or tributary to them. That part of *Gall* which reaches from the *Rhône* to the *Loire*, was called *France*. The *French* measured those Lands, and took the third or fourth part, which they shared amongst themselves. There were but two sorts of People, or Conditions amongst them, the Free-men and the Slaves; all the Free-men bore Arms. *Gall*, which was almost a Desert, began to be re-peopled, and to rebuild their Towns. The *Galls* paid a Tribute to the *French*, but the natural *French* paid hardly any thing but their personal Service. They lived according to the Salique Law, the *Galls* Conformed to the *Roman* Institutions. There were called *Romans*, all the other Nations which flocked thither from beyond the limits of the Empire, were named *Barbarians*.

They were bred to the exercise of War, from their greenest years, of a good shape and stature, enured to Labour, strong, and so nimble, that they were upon the Enemy almost as soon as the Dart they had thrown against them. They had left off the use of Arrows, and employ'd in their stead for offensive weapons, the Sword, the Angon, which was a Dart of moderate length, having an Iron bearded Head, and cheeks of Iron, and the two-edged Axe, which they called *Francisque*. This might be darted as well as the Angon, but neerer at hand. For defensive Arms, unless it were their Commanders, they had only the Buckler, which they managed very dextrously to shelter, and Tortoise-like, cover themselves when they went to make a Charge or an Assault. Their whole Armies were Infantry, or if there were some few Horle, they served only to attend the General, and carry his Orders.

They retained a good part of the establishment, made by the *Romans*, as the manner of raising Imposts, but much lesser, of providing Magazines for the subsistence of their Forces, of maintaining Horles and Carriages for Travellers on the great Roads, of publick Sports, Horle-racing, and combats of wild Beasts; and their Kings believed themselves as absolute as Emperours, created *Dukes*, *Counts*, and great Masters of their Militia, nay, even Patricians, and perhaps the Masters of the Palace held the Office of *Præfidi Prætorii*.

In the Fifth and Sixth age, the *Gallican* Church received few into the Church for Bishops but Saints, or such as they made so. They were for the most part, the greatest Lords of the Countrey, who to secure themselves from the suspicious and

510.

* Or *Amalric*;

510.

and

511.

512.

Manners and Customs.

Church;

icalities

400.
unto
500.
or therea-
bouts.

jealousies the *Visigoths* and *French* might have against them, cast themselves into the Church, as a safe Harbor or *Asylum*.

They reckon amongst the most Holy, *Honorat d'Arles*, being of the Monastery of the Isle of *Leirins*, which bears his Name to this day; *Hilary* his Successor, and *Exere* of *Lyon*, coming from the same place, *German d'Auxerre* and *Loup de Troyes*, *Paladius*, or *Palais de Bourges*, *Brice de Tours*, *Aignan d'Orleans*, *Simplicius de Vienne*, and *Mamertus* his Successor: This was he who instituted, or rather revived those Processions or Litanies we call Rogations, which all the Church hath received. All these did not survive the one half of this Age, unless *Loup* or *Lupus*, who lived a long while after.

In the Second, lived *Apollinaris-Sidonius* of *Chermon*, *Alcimus Ayrus*, the Successor to *Mamert*, *Elesberius* of *Tornay*, *Kenny de Reims*, the true Apostle of the *French*, and *Vaast* of *Aras*; these three survived a long time after *Clovis*. We should not omit the illustrious Virgin *Genevieve*, who even in her life time was the Patroness of *Paris*, and remaineth so still; nor *St. Maximin*, or *Mesmin*, Abbot of *Micy*, near *Orleans*, which Place now bears his Name, and from whence came about Eighteen or Twenty good Friars, who spread themselves in several Countreys, where they are all at present prayed to as Saints; nor the good Hermit *Severin*, whom *Clovis*, being long sick of a Fever, caused to come from the Monastery d' *Agaune*, that he might be healed by his Prayers; Nor that other, named *Malan*, who had his little Cell in that part of *Poitou*, whereon there is built an Abby, and at length a Town of his Name.

Clovis resettled the Bishopricks in *Belgica*, bestowed great Possessions on the Church, and built many. The *French* who were Converted, imitated his Pious Examples. I do not know, whether before his Reign there were many Parish Churches in the Countrey, but since his time we find great numbers, and likewise many Oratories, in which the Sacraments were not administered.

We need not tell you that the Titles of *Pope*, of *Father* of the Church, of *Beatitude*, and of *Beatissimus*, of *Holiness*, of *Sovereign-Priest*, of *Servant* of the *Servants* of *God*, of *Apostolic*, were common to all the Bishops; nor that almost every one of them erected Monasteries in their Episcopal Cities. They often elected Widowers and Married Men, provided, they had been so but once, and to a Maiden. The Vote of the People passed in these things for a Call from God: they were bound to obey, and to live with their Wives as with their Sisters: if they had any Children, or Nephews that were Wise and Learned, they often succeeded them. Their Election was made by the Clergy of their Church, and by the People; the Confirmation by the comprovincial Bishops, principally by the Metropolitan, and never without him: They were to have regard only to Merit, oftentimes they considered his Birth: and even in those early days there were some wicked enough to make use of Bribes and Corruption.

Simony is the most antient or first, and will be the last of Heresies; in all Ages it hath stuck like Rust on the Church, the others did not make any great mischief in *Gall* during this age. That of *Enicheus* did not extend so far, but the Condemnation of him by the Council of *Chalcedon* was sent by Pope *Leo I.* who before had demanded the Suffrages of the Bishops, the more to authorize that celebrated Letter, which he wrote to the Council.

The Monk and Priest *Leporius* hatched an Heresy, almost the same as that which *Nestorius* maintained since; but having been for that reason expelled from his Church at *Marseilles*, he retracted in Writing *Anno 425*. That of *Pelagius*, a Monk of *Great Britain*, who began to dogmatize towards the year 412. was first discovered by two of the Gallican Bishops, named *Heros* and *Lazarus*, who prosecuted his condemnation, first in *Palestine*, afterwards in *Africa*.

After *St. Augustin* had trampled that proud Heresy in the Dirt, which made the Salvation of Man depend upon his own strength; no body in *France* durst openly embrace it. But in *Provence* there were Priests and Monks who framed a middle Opinion, between that Error, and the Doctrine of this great Bishop: they were called *Semipelagians*.

As for Councils, they were often held by Order from the Emperours and Kings. Sometimes the desire of the Pope, the request of a Metropolitan, that of a single Bishop, or the least occasion caused them to assemble. It is not known in what place that was held which *Anno 429*. sent *St. German*, and *St. Lupus* into *England*, to oppose the Errors of the *Pelagians*; nor that which *Anno 444*. deposed *Clellodorus*, Bishop of *Besancon*, because he had been married to a Widow, and had been assist-

ing

ing in Judgment, of matters criminal; but it is well known, that the Council at *Riez*, was held in 439. The first at *Orange* in 441. That of *Vaison* in 442. That of *Angers* in 443. The second of *Arles* towards the year 452. The third of the same place, *Anno 455*. That of *Flavac*, in 456. That of *Arles* in 457. The fourth of *Arles*, in 475. That of *Agde*, *Anno 506*. and that of *Orleans*, (the first that was celebrated in that town) *Anno 511*.

All these Councils were composed only of the Bishops of the Province where they were held, excepting that of *Agde*, and that of *Orleans*, whereof the first comprehended the three *Aquitanes*, and the two *Narbonnoises*, as yet subject to *Alaric*, King of the *Visigoths*; and the other of the three *Aquitanes*, newly conquered by the *French*, and the second, third, and fourth *Lyonnaises*; for the first belonged to the Kingdom of *Burgundy*.

At the third of *Arles*, that Error was condemned which they call the *Predelation*, and there was another called at *Lyon* for the same purpose: but both by the pursuit of *Faustus de Riez*, who was a *Semipelagian*.

At the fourth of *Arles*, was Treated concerning the difference of *Flavac*, Abbot of *Leirins*, with the Bishop *Theodorus*, and there they made for the first time, a notable breach upon the Authority of the Bishops, in limiting their power over Monasteries; they had ever had it entire, even to that degree, that they had the power of placing Abbots, and to chuse them out of any of the Clergy.

In these Councils, several Canons were made for Ordinations, to prevent the encroachments the Bishops made upon one another, to preserve the Rights, the Privileges, and the Goods belonging to the Church: To regulate the Functions of the Clergy, hinder them from Pleading before Secular Judges, Repress Usury, and the liberty of running out of their Dioceses. To preserve the Chastity of Virgins, and Widows; touching Homicides, and false Witnesses; touching Penances, and the Penitents; touching the Holiness and Celibacy which the Priests and Deacons ought to observe. To the same end tended the Epistles of the Popes *Innocent*, *Zozimus*, *Boniface*, *Celestin*, *Leont*, *Simplicius*, *Felix*, *Gelasius*, *Anastasius*, *Symmachus*, which they generally directed to the Bishop of *Arles*, as their Vicar, to be sent to the other *Gallican* Bishops.

As there were no great Bishopricks in *Gaul*, the *Gallican* Church was much more submissive, and subjected to those Bishops of *Rome*, then the *Eastern* ones, or those of *Africa*, but yet much less than the *Italian*. There was often recourse had to them, upon the greatest occasions they were consulted withal, touching the usages and meaning of the Canons: and afterwards when they found that their Answers were held for Decisions, they Ordained what they thought good, even before they were consulted withal. They made themselves immediate Judges of all Disputes between Bishops, before the Cause had been brought to the Metropolitan, intermeddled in bounding their Territories and Jurisdictions, deposed those that were not well Ordained, or were Criminal, and compelled them to trudge to *Rome* to prosecute their business before them. The Power they had by the Primacy of their See, to the Bishops took great care they should not be infringing, and themselves acknowledged they were obliged to walk by them.

528.

Amalaric re-established in his Kingdom, dreading the Power of the French Kings, desired their Sister Clotilda in Marriage.

The King of Turingia (perhaps it might be Basia) had had three Sons, *Thierry*, *Frederic*, *Baderic*, and *Benier*. The First married *Amalabique*, Daughter of *Amalafroy*, who was Sister to *Theoderic*, King of the *Ostrogoths*; and Widow of *Trafmond*, King of the *Vandals*, at the instigation of this wicked and ambitious Woman, not content with having taken away the Life, and part of the Kingdom from *Benier*, he was besides, Leagued with *Thierry*, King of *Metz*, and by his assistance, had in the same manner, Treated his other Brother *Baderic*.

531.

This year 531. *Thierry*, angry that he gave him no part of this last Conquest, as he had promis'd him, made an agreement with his Brother *Clotaire*, to overcome *Turingia*. *Hermenegild* meets them; and fights them; at the first they were in some little disorder, their Horses falling into pits, covered with Branches and Turfs; but having gotten out of the snare, they drove him as far as the brink of the *Ousebride*, where there was so great slaughter, that the dead *Carkalles* made a Bridge over the River. He narrowly made his escape out of this danger, and with much ado shut himself up in a Fort.

531.

The Kingdom of *Turingia* wholly Conquer'd and Extirpated, remained to *Thierry*, *Clotaire* satisfied himself with the Spoil and Captives, amongst whom was found the Prince *Amalafroy*, and the young *Radagunda*, Children of *Benier*. He caused *Radagunda* to be carefully brought up, and Married her some years after; but by the Council of some wicked People, he caused *Amalafroy* to be slain, and *Radagunda* afterwards parted from him, and went and Founded the Monastery of the Holy Cross at *Poitiers*, where he piously ended her days.

Mean while *Thierry* being returned to his Kingdom, altered *Hermenegild* to his Court, having sworn he should be in all security, then barbarously falsifying his Faith, as they were one day walking together upon the Walls of *Tulbas*, there came a fellow and thrust him down from top to bottom. *Athilbergus*, the cause of all these Tragedies, made her escape into *Africa* to her Mother.

531.

The same year upon a false report blown abroad, that *Thierry* had been slain in the Wars of *Turingia*, *Arcadius*, one of the Senators of *Maxence*, invited *Childebert* to seize upon the Town of *Clermont*, which belonged to *Thierry's* State. The People and Lords being well contented to be rid of the Government of the *Austasi*, submitted easily to his; but after finding that *Thierry* returned victorious, he quitted *Auvergne*, and marched into *Septimania*, to make War upon *Amalathic*, King of the *Visigoths*.

531, and

532.

His pretences for this War, were the Outrages that *Arrian* Prince used towards his Sister *Clotilda*, in hatred, for that she constantly persecuted in the *Catholic* Religion. *Amalaric* lost the Battle not far from *Narbonne*, which was his Royal Seat; and when he thought to fly to his Ships, he was killed, either in that City, or in *Barcelona*, by the French, or by *Theudis* himself, who succeeded him. *Clotaire* nevertheless gained nothing but some plunder, and the Honour of having revenged his Sister, who died on the way as he was bringing her back. For *Septimania* still remained in the hands of the *Visigoths*; but their Kings, naturally timorous, transferred their Royal Seat to *Toledo*, to be for the future at a more safe distance from such like interruptions.

534.

Childebert and *Clotaire* being associated, go on to pursue *Gondemar*, take him prisoner in a Fight, lock him up in a Tower (where in all probability he ended his days) and invaded all that was left of his Country. Thus the First Kingdom of *Burgundy* was extinguished, after it had subsisted Fourteen and ten years, and became united to *France*; but it retained its Name, its Laws, and its particular Magistrates. Its Governours were ordinarily styled *Patricians*.

534.

The two Brothers desiring to share *Burgundy* between them, sent to the Queen *Clotilda* their Mother, that she should let them have the three Sons of *Clodomir*, to put them in possession of their Fathers Kingdom; *Clotilda* did the more easily believe it, because in effect, they had not yet divided it amongst themselves; but when they had these poor innocent Creatures in their hands, they most inhumanly massacred the two eldest; the Third, named *Chloald*, or *Clond*, was saved by his Fathers * *Bravo's*, and after he had lain some time concealed, he secured his Life by cutting off his Hair, and then confining himself in a Holy Sanctuary, or Retreat at the Borough of *Nogent*, near *Paris*, which keeps even to this day, his Relicks and Name.

* Barons.

This
Town of
St. Clau.

Because

Because *Thierry* of *Metz* refused to accompany his two Brothers against *Gondemar*, the French *Austrasians*, angry that they should not have their share in the plunder of *Burgundy*, threatened they would own him no longer; In the First and Second Race they have often given themselves this liberty: He was forced, that he might appease them, to lead them into *Auvergne*, who were revolted from him, to give themselves up to *Childebert*, whence they brought away an innumerable multitude of Captives, and all that was portable.

A Lord named *Munderic*, reckoning himself of Blood-Royal, acted the part of King, and made the Mob follow him as such. *Thierry* at his return from *Auvergne*, besieged him in the Castle of *Viry*, and seeing he could not gain it by force, he makes use of Perjury: *Argisla*, one of his Captains engages his Faith that he should be well received; and when he was come out of the place, he gave a Signal that they should fall on him. *Munderic* perceiving it, prevents him, and kills him with a Dart; and afterwards taking his Sword in hand, together with such as had follow'd him, he sold his Life at a dear rate.

The same year saw an end of the Kingdom of the Vandals, and Africa, with the Islands of *Corfica* and *Sardinia*, and the *Baleares* returned to the Empire, after they had been cut off from them 107 years. The Emperor *Justinian*, under pretence of taking in hand the Defence of King *Hilderic*, whose Kingdom *Gilimer* had usurped, sent the great Captain *Belisarius* thither, who made an end of that Conquest in less than Six Months, having happily overthrown those *Arrian* Barbarians in some Battles, taken *Carthage*, and received the Tyrant *Gilimer* upon Composition, who had sheltered himself in a Fort.

The *Visigoths* during the Wars of *Burgundy* and *Turingia*, had taken divers places of *Septimania*. The Princes *Gentier* and *Theodebert*, who were Sons, the former of *Clotaire*, the latter of *Thierry*, had Orders from their Fathers to recover them. *Gentier* returned without doing any thing; *Theodebert* took some Castles in the Country of *Beiers*, but suffered himself to be taken also by the Beauty of the Artificious *Deuteria*, Lady of *Cabriere*, who received him into her Castle, and into her Bed.

From *Septimania* he carried the War to *Prowence*, reckoning to have a better Market of the *Ostrogoths*. When he had forely shaken it, and already received some Hostages from the City of *Arles*, he received news that his Father was very sick at *Metz*: he goes away in all diligence, and arrived there some few days before he died.

Thierry Reigned a little more than 23 years, and had lived about 55. He had no Son but *Theodebert*; but a Learned Historian gives him likewise a Daughter, named *Theodechilda*; he believes it to be her that was Married to *Hermegiste*, King of the *Varni*, of whom *Procopius* relates a memorable Adventure, and who being returned into *France*, amongst many pious Works, built the Monastery of *St. Pierre le Vis*, near *Sens*.

It is fit we observe that the * *Bavarois*, or *Bojarians*, were under his obedience, since in their Estates, or General Assembly at *Chaaalon*, he put their Laws in Writing. They were originally of Germany; it is not certain of what Canton, but that they had the same Language as the *Lombards*. About the time of the death of *Odoacer*, King of Italy, they were come to possess that part of the * *Noric* which lies on the Banks of the Danube, and intine they also gained the Mediterranean part, and *Rhetia Secunda*, which was situate betwixt the Rivers *L' Ocin* and the *Lec*, so that they were bounded by *Pannonia*, *Svevia*, Italy, and the Danube. Perhaps *Clotus* subdued them at the same time he subdued the *Almans*, but they had always retained their Laws, and a Duke of their Nation, who was confirmed by the King of *Austrasia*, he was to be of the Race of the *Agiolingues*, or *Descendants* of *Agiolfus*, who in all appearance brought them into that Country.

CHILDEBERT in SCLOTAIRE in — and —
Neufria at Paris. Neufria at Soissons.
Burgundy betwixt both.
THEODEBERT
aged about 30 years,
in Austrasia.

The Uncles of *Theodebert* were prepared to invade the Kingdom of his Father, his diligence broke their measures. After he had agreed with them by a Peace, which he bought, and that he in appearance had tied the knot of a strict amity with *Childebert*, who promised him the Succession, because he had no Children, he sent for *Deuteria*, and publicly Married her, despising *Wifgard*, the Daughter of *Wif-*

534.

534.

538.

* They were
named *Bajo-*
bates, or *Bajo-*
arian.
* Part of the
high and mid-
dle *Austrasia*.

542.

545.

con

con, King of the Lombards, whom he had betrothed in the life time of his Father Thierry.

534. In this year they place the Erection into a Kingdom, True or Fabulous, of the Countrey of *Tvetor* in *Normandy*, which was done, say they, by King *Clotaire*, in satisfaction for his having with his own hand in the very Church, and on a * *Holy Friday*, killed one *Gautier*, who was Lord of the Mannor.

* Good-Friay
Athalaric, King of Italy, dies in the age of Adolescence. Amalafuinta his Mother, espouse Theodad, Son of Amalafrede, Sister to King Theoderic, and sets him on the Throne: but shortly after the Ingratitude makes her away, upon a suspicion of Adultery.

The death of Amalafuinta caused the ruin of the Ostrogoths. Justinian, with whom she had always kept in amity, gave Command to Belisarius to revenge her death, and to recover Italy. At first Dalmatia, the Islands of Sicily and Sardinia, after that Abbruzzza and Lucania, the Campagna, or Terra del Lavor, surrenders to him without any resistance; and the City of Naples is surprized by a way thorough an Aqueduct. Theodad sends an Army under the Conduct of Vitiges his * Officer; but the Ostrogoths who had a hatred for him, elect this Vitiges; who to secure the Diadem for himself, puts Theodad to death, and Marries Matlafuinta, Daughter of Amalafuinta.

* Great Master of his Horle

536. When Theodad dyed, he was in Treaty with the French, and proffer'd them Provinces, and Two thousand pound of Gold, if they would embrace his Defence. Vitiges being pressed by Belisarius, and finding himself not strong enough to resist the Imperialists and the French, put in execution what his Predecessor had projected, and deliver'd Provence, and the Money to the French. If we must believe Procopius, Justinian confirmed this Cession by his Letters Patents. It seems they divided it into two Provinces, that of *Marfille*, and that of *Arles*.

537. Theodebert made no scruple to take off both Parties, that he might be the better enabled to ruine them both; He had caused Ten thousand *Burgundians* to slip into Italy, who having joyned with *Orata*, one of Vitiges Chiefs, had helped him to retake Milan.

539. When he believed both parties to be much weakened, he entred the *Milanais* with Two hundred thousand Men. The Roman Army, and that of the Ostrogoths were encamped one just over against the other near *Paavia*; either of them thought he came to their assistance, and his design was to surprize them both. He therefore Assaults and Defeats the Ostrogoths, and then comes thundering upon the Romans, and cuts them all in pieces: But a Plague and Famine soon revenged them upon him for this perfidiousness. When he found his Men perished by thousands, he repass'd the Mountains with all speed, for fear lest Belisarius, who was in *Tuscany*, should come and attack him.

539. Afterwards Vitiges being Besieged by Belisarius in *Ravenna*, omitted not to crave help of the French, who promis'd to come to his assistance with Five hundred thousand Men; but before they were arrived, he had compounded with Belisarius, and was gon to *Constantinople*, where of a King he became an Officer to the Emperor. The Visigoths in his stead chose Theodobaldus Governour of *Verona*; and he being slain three years after, they substituted the famous Totila, who Took, and Sacked the City of Rome twice, in 547. and in 550.

540. The Queen Deuteria became so furiously jealous of her own Daughter, because the King her Husband began to look on her; that she made her away in a cruel and ingenious manner, having caused unramed Bulls to be harnessed, to draw her Chariot, who precipitated her from off the Bridge at *Verdan* into the *Meuse*. The French, who during the Two first Races, and a good while in the Third, had a right to concern themselves, and to intermeddle about the Marriage of their Kings, offended at so unnatural an act; and besides, touched with a just sense of pity for *Wigard*, whom Theodebert had contracted seven years before, obliged the King to repudiate Deuteria, and take *Wigarda*. This lived but two years, and made room for a third Wife.

The following year Childebert's Uncle and he, fell unawares upon Clotaire; he had only time to retire with what people he could get together to the * *Forrest d'Arlesanne*, near the Banks of the *Seine*, and to stop up the Avenues with great Trees, cut down and laid across. When they were ready to force him in this Post, the Heavens moved by the Prayers of the Queen Clotilda, excited a miraculous Tempest, which not hurting the Camp of Clotaire, and thundering upon theirs, did so astonish them, that they sent to him to desire a Peace, and his Amity.

541.
* It is not well known what Forrest this was.

Theudis

Theudis Reigned then over the Visigoths; the French being ever their mortal enemies: Childebert and Clotaire, called the *Pireneans*, and ravaged all *Arragon*. The City of *Saragossa* being besieged, the Inhabitants bethought themselves of making a general Procession round their Walls in the habit of Penitents and Mourners, carrying, instead of a Banner, the Vest of St. Vincent, Martyr, their Patron. This extraordinary Spectacle amazed Childebert, and mollified him; inasmuch as he accepted of some Presents made him by the Bishop, amongst which was the Robe of St. Vincent, which he brought to Paris, where he built a Church in Honour of that Martyr, and put that precious Relique there in Depositum.

The Spanish Authors say, that upon their return, the French were beaten at their passage to the Mountains, by one of the Generals of the Visigoths, who was called *Tedifile*: If this be so, there is some likelihood that they made two Expeditions into Spain at different times, yet soon after one another.

In the year 548. Theudis, King of the Visigoths was killed in his Palace, and the Theudifile set upon his Throne; but within two years after he was Treated in the same manner, and Agila put in his place.

Whilst the Imperialists and the Ostrogoths were engaged with each other, Theodebert, who was already master of *Rhetia*, of *Vindelicia*, and of *Suevia*, would needs take his advantage of that War, and by his Lieutenants (*Flamingue* was the Principal) made himself Master of the lesser Italy, that is to say, what they have since called *Lombardy*. After which, Justinian's Forces having gained some advantage over his, That Emperor had the vanity to thrust in amongst his other Titles, that of *Francica*, which is to say, Conquerour of the French.

Theodebert not able to suffer it, would cross over *Pannonia*, and *Mesia*, and bring all his Power into *Thrace*, to let him see the French were not vanquished. As he was preparing for this Expedition, a mournful accident took away his Life. Being one day a Hunting, (an exercise fatal to many Princes) a wild Bull pursued by his Huntsmen, whom he waited for with a javelin in his hand, broke down a Branch, which hit him so rudely upon the Head, that a Fever seized him, whereof he dyed in the 14th of his Reign, and about the 43 of his Age. He had one Son and one Daughter, Theodowal, or Theodebaldus, and Bertraire; Theodebaldus born of Deuteria, succeeded in his Estates; a Prince of a weak Mind and Body, who became impotent and benumbed from his Walte downwards. Bertraire kept her Virginity, and served the Church with great Devotion.

About the time of the death of Theodebert, hapned that also of Clotilda, who piously ended her days at *Tours*; She retired her self thither, to pray to God on the Sepulchre of St. Martin, where in those times were the greatest Devotions of the Gauls and French.

As Theodebert had been a Prince of vast Undertakings, he had mightily burthened his Subjects with Impolls, even the French. *Partenius* had been the chief Author and Minister; he was a terrible Glutton, as most of those Men or Cattle generally are, who took Aloes to digest his Meat, wherewith he cramm'd himself, and so emptied his Belly more Beast-like than he filled it. The French Men being tired up to do Justice upon him, he besought two Bishops to convey him to *Triers*; he was in no more safety there than at Metz, the People seeking for him to murder him, and having haled him out of a Church Chelf, where those Prelates had concealed him, affronted him by a thousand Outrages, and after tied him to a Post, where they stoned him to death.

CHILDEBERT in SCLOTAIRE in Neustria, at Paris. THEODEBALDUS, Burgundy belonging to both these. Aged 13 or 14 years, in Austrasia.

Ambassadors from Justinian solicited Theodebaldus to abandon the Defence of the Ostrogoths, and to make a League with the Empire; he refuses the one and the other, and nevertheless sends his to Constantinople, to Treat of some difference concerning the Cities he held in Italy. They had full satisfaction from Justinian, but could not prevail with him, whatever influences they used, upon the requests of the Italian Bishops, to refer to their Sees, Pope Vigilius, and Datius, Bishop of Milan, whom he detained, and Treated very ill.

543.

It is now St. Germain des Pres.

544. Or

545.

548.

548.

548.

548. Or 49.

551.

552; &c.

A Civil War being broke out amongst the Visigoths, between King Agila and Athanagildes, this left had recourse to the assistance of the Emperor Justinian, who failed not to make use of so good an occasion. The Patriarch Liberius having conducted several Forces there on his behalf, seized on several Towns, and was going to regain all Spain, or Belisarius had Africa, if the Visigoths had not killed Agila, and Elected Athanagildes; which did not however prevent the Romans by the Alliance they made in the Country, and with the assistance they received from time to time, to maintain themselves there about 90 years, till the Reign of Suintila, who drove them quite out from thence.

552.

Totila, King of the Ostrogoths, too proud of the Victories gained over the Romans, is Defeated, and slain in Battle by Narces the Eunuch, Lieutenant to the Emperor Justinian. Teia his Successor had the same misfortune a short time after, and Narces brought under the Imperial Laws, the greater portion of what that Nation possessed. Thus the Kingdom of the Ostrogoths was extinguished, in Italy, where it had subsisted but 58 years.

The remainder of the Ostrogoths having implored the assistance of the French, two Alman Lords, who were Brothers (they were called *Lentarius* and *Bucelinus*) by the permission rather than by Order of Theobaldus, descend into Italy with 75000 Combatants, partly *Almans*, and partly *French*, and ravage it both on the Right and Left, even to the further end of the Country.

554.
* Duchies of
Parma, Plai-
sance, Modena,
and Bologna.
* States of
Fenice, Trevi
and Mantova.

The Army of *Lentarius*, which had pierced as far as *Otranto*, thinking to bring their Plunder to some safe place, was beaten near *Fano*, in the Province *Emilia*, * and from thence, being Retreated by very difficult ways into * *Ventia*, which then belonged to Theobaldus; when they thought to rest themselves in a little Town, the small and unwholesome Lodgings bred so furious a Contagion, that it destroyed them all, not one Soldier escaping.

That of *Bucelin*, who laid in the Country *de Lavour*, being already weakened very much with the like Plagues, was made an end of in a Battle which *Narces* gave them near *Capoza*, from whence only Five Men escaped. The year following the Duke *Amingue*, another General of Theobaldus, being joyed with the gleanings of the Ostrogoths, whom the Count *Vidus* had gathered up, had the same fate as *Bucelin*; there remained nothing to the French in Italy, but the passage of the *Alpes*.

After such bloody Losses, Theobaldus ended his languishing Life, being in the 20th of his Age, and the 7th of his Reign. He had Married but one Wife, *Valde-trade*, or *Valdrade*, Daughter of *Wacon* King of the *Lombards*, by whom having no Children, his Succession returned to his Two Great Uncles. But *Clotaire* who was the strongest, because he had Five Sons, all bearing Arms, seizes upon it immediately, and on his Wife likewise, whom he Married. As touching the Kingdom, Childebert, who had none but Daughters, durst not then speak a word; but as for the Wife, the Bishops made him so many Remonstrances about that Incest, that he quitted her, and gave her in Marriage to *Garibald*, Duke of *Bavaria*.

CHILDEBERT in and CLOTAIRE in Neu-
Neultria at Paris, stria and Austrasia.
Burgundy to them Both.

555.

and

556.

556.

The Saxons, who were Tributaries to the French, even from the time of *Thierry* of Metz, having heard of his death, took occasion to Revolt conjointly with the *Turingians*. *Clotaire* straightway goes thither, and having beaten them near the *Weser*, plundered the Countreys both of the one and the other.

The following year they revolt again, but when they saw him on the Frontiers, they sent Deputies to implore Mercy, and to submit to any Conditions. The French would give no Ear, but resolved to chastise them; and because he refused to lead them on, they tore down his Tent, and forced him to go in the Front; and indeed they were beaten with a horrible slaughter, and the King gladly proffer'd the Saxons that Peace which had been denied them.

557.

His Brother Childebert, jealous of his prosperities, incited them a third time to take up Arms against him, and at the same instant, set his own Son *Chramne* to rebel against him. *Clotaire* had bestowed on him the Government of *Aquitain*, where he had behaved himself so tyrannically, that great Complaints were brought against him; his Father had therefore recalled him to Court, to give an account of his actions: he having refused to come, he sends his two other Sons, *Charibert* and *Gontran* into *Aquitain*, to compel him to Obedience; and in the mean time marches against

against the Saxons, whom he brought under by several Defeats, and imposed a Tribute on them of 500 Oxen.

While he was in Saxony, a rumour was spread that he was slain; Childebert falls into Champagne, and savages it; the two young Brothers being affrighted, retired into Burgundy, Chramne pursues them, and from thence comes to Paris, where he engages himself by an Oath to Childebert, never to reconcile himself to his Father.

Childebert returning from Champagne, was struck with a troublesome malady, which having made him languish for some time, ended not but in death. *St. Germain*, Bishop of Paris, buried him in the Church of *St. Vincent*, which he had Erected. Amongst his Virtues, he was eminent in his Charity towards the Poor, and his Zeal for Religion. The first made him part with all his Gold and Silver Plate, to bestow it in Charity; the other was signalized by the several Foundations for pious Uses, and by his care to propagate the Faith, and preserve its Purity. For he made an Edict to demolish all the Pagan Temples; and the Pope *Pelagius* being suspected guilty of the Errors, condemned by the Council of *Chalcedon*, he sent to him to know his Profession of the Faith, that he might take some course against that scandal.

His Wife *Ultragot* survived him a long time, and led a Holy Life, with two Daughters she had by him; they were named *Chroberge*, and *Chrotesinda*; they never Married. Their Uncle *Clotaire*, whether in hatred to their Father, or for fear lest they should pretend to the Succession, detained them in prison with their Mother, till he had secured himself of the Kingdom.

This is the First Example of the *Salique Law*, in favour of the Males to the Crown. *Clotaire* succeeded, to the exclusion of his Nieces; and he was so happy, that having survived his three elder Brothers, he rejoined in his own person, the entire Succession of the Grand *Chlovis*.

558.

E 2

Clotaire

Clotair I. King VII.

P O P E,

JOHN III. 559. In March S. 14
years, Two only under this Reign.

560.

THe Prince *Chramne*, destitute of the protection of *Childebert*, reconciled himself to his Father; but soon after he flies off again, and retires into *Bretagne* to *Comber*, one of the Princes of that Country; for there were divers, and such as did not depend upon the *French*. His Father hotly pursues him, and fought him near the Sea-side: History does not exactly mark out the place, but that the *Bretons* were defeated, *Comber* killed in the fray, and *Chramne* taken prisoner. The cruel Father orders his People to burn him, with his Wife and his Children; which they presently executed on the spot, putting Fire to a place filled with Straw, where they had locked them up.

560.

So cruel an action caused in him a cruel Repentance, in vain he strove to appease that remorse by his Devotions, and great Donations to the Church. Coming back from a great Hunting in the Forrest of *Cuise*, a burning Fever seized on his Bowels, whereof he died at *Compiègne*. He was in the 61 year of his age, and about the end of the 49th of his Reign.

561.

His four Sons conducted his Corps with great Pomp, the Priests Singing all the way to the City of *Soissons*, where they buried him, as he had ordained, in the Church, and before the Altar of * *St. Medard*.

* V. vulgarly,
St. Mar.

He had four or five Wives, amongst the rest, he kept two Sisters together at one time, *Ingonde* and *Haregonde*, by the first he left three Sons, *Cherebert*, *Gontran*, *Sigebert*, who Reigned, and a Daughter named *Clodofinda*, who Married *Alboin*, King of the *Lombards*. By *Haregonde* he had *Chilperic*, who Reigned likewise, and by *Gisulfue*, the unhappy *Chramne*. Many Authors, antient enough, give him a Daughter named *Blitilda*, and Marry her with the Senator *Ansbart*, whom they make paternal Grandfather to *St. Arnald*. Some modern Critiques have maintained, that the Chronology did not agree; but there is no appearance that so many Authors should, or could have invented such a Fable without any necessity, or ground to move them to it.

Cherebert,

Cherebert, King VIII.

Cherebert,
Ansbart,
Caribert, is the
same Name.

P O P E,

JOHN III. S. Ten years under this Reign.

CHEREVERT, King of Paris,
aged Twenty years.
GONTRAN of Orleans, and of
Burgundy, aged 36 years.

SIGEBERT of Austrasia, aged
Twenty five or Thirty years.
CHILPERIC of Soissons, aged
Twenty, or Twenty five years.

THe Kingdom was for the Second time divided into Four, for his four Sons, which was the cause of infinite Civil Wars, Murders, Treasons, Plunderings, and Calamities.

Before their shares were settled, *Chilperic* the youngest of them had seized upon all the Fathers' Treasure, which was at *Bresne*, and afterwards that at *Paris*; but he was driven thence by the other three. This done, they drew Lots which gave the Kingdom of *Paris* to *Cherebert*, that of *Orleans*, and a good part of that of *Burgundy* to *Gontran*, (he resided at *Chastillon*) that of *Austrasia* to *Sigebert*, and that of *Soissons* to *Chilperic*.

Besides this, each of them had a share in *Aquitain*, as the four Sons of *Clodis* before had, and also in *Provence*; that so each of them, and altogether, might be obliged to maintain them with their joyn't Forces.

The *Austrasians* had nominated for the Office of *Mayre* of the Palace, a Lord named *Chrodin*; he refused to accept of it, considering, that all the *Grandees* of the Country, being his Kindred, would have thought they might have taken the liberty of committing all sorts of violence on the People with impunity; and that he could not have the severity to punish them for it. He therefore advised them to make another choice, and they relying upon his probity, he recommended *Gogon* to them, who was of his Educating, and taking him by the Arms, he puts them round his Neck, in token that he owned him for his Superior.

The *Avars*, a People of *Huns*, flying the Tyranny of the *Turks*, who were of the same Nation, had forsaken their Native Soil, and were come to the Service of the Emperour *Justinian*. After his death, being slighted by *Justin*, they sought their Fortunes elsewhere, and having penetrated into the heart of *Germany*, they ravaged *Turingia*, which belonged to *Sigebert*. This King not fearing these Barbarians, who were reckoned so terrible, attacked them near the Banks of the *Elbe*, and having mated them in a great Battle, he sent them back again with flame to the *Danube*, from whence they were come.

Chilperic in the mean time falls upon his Territory, and ruined all the Country of *Rheims*. *Sigebert* being come back, repels him most vigorously, and took his Son *Theodebert* prisoner, with the City of *Soissons*. In this same year the quarrel ended in a Peace, with the liberty of the young Prince; but not a perfect reconciliation.

In 570. began the Kingdom of the *Lombards* in Italy, their King *Alboinus* being Crowned at Milan this year, after he had conquer'd all the Country from the Alps to Tuscany, excepting only the Exerchat of *Ravenna*, which yet remained in the Empire. The name of *Lombards* came either from their wearing of long Beards, or that they were armed with long * *Bards*, which was a kind of Axe. Their first Habitation was on the further Banks of the Elbe, whence coming forth, and having often changed their Dwelling, Four hundred years together, they in the end fixed themselves in *Pannonia*, in the day of the Emperour *Justinian*. From thence their King *Alloinus*, a very War-like Prince, and brought some Forces into Italy for the Romans Service, in the time of the *Lombard* wars. Now they had taken such delight in the Habitation of so rich and fruitful a Land,

* Thence
comes the
Name of
Hilbard.

that that Great Captain being dead, they all went thither with their Wives and Children, in the year 568, under the Conduct of that King. He likewise carried thither Thirty thousand Saxons, who were willing to follow him, and the remainder of the Gepides, whose Kingdom he had extinguish'd in Pannonia.

570. The Neighborhood soon set them together by the Ears with the French, and begot a mortal Enmity between them. As they were huge covetous, and puffed up with their Victories, they were not satisfied with the spoils of Italy, but made frequent incursions into *Rhetia* and *Provence*. In that very year, some numbers of them, in a body, without a Head, were fallen into the Countrey of *Valais*, but instead of carrying away Plunder, they lost their Lives.

571. The year following, they marched much stronger into the Kingdom of *Burgundy*, and at the first, in a bloody Battle, defeated the Army which King *Gontran* had sent against them, and slew their General. This was *Amat* Patrician or Governour of the Province of *Arles*; but when they would needs come again the Third time, and had ransacked the Countreys about *Ambrun*, the Patrician *Mummole*, Succellor to *Amat*, infuriated, or surrounded them; and having stopped all the ways, by felling of huge Trees, charged these Robbers so smartly, that he destroyed almost the whole Army, or made them prisoners.

562. There was nothing more disorderly then the liberty which these Four Kings of France took in their Marriages. *Gontran* after he had chosen a Servant for his Mistress, belonging to some Courtier, from whom he had forced her, espoused *Marcatrude*, Daughter of *Magnachaire*, whom he rejected in a short time afterwards, to take one that waited on her; she was called *Austrigilda Bobilis*. *Chilperic* had repudiated Queen *Andover*, though he had three Sons by her, for the love of *Fredogonda*, one of the Women belonging to his Chamber. *Cherebert* put away *Ingoberge*, whom he had Married in the lifetime of *Clotaire*, and Married with *Merofleda*, Daughter to one that worked in Woollen; and then afterwards with his Sister *Marcoese*, though she were under the Holy Veil; and likewise with *Theodergildus*, Daughter to a Shepherd.

King *Sigebert* on the contrary, desiring a lawful Marriage, and one well qualify'd, espoused *Brunchild*, or *Bruneband*, Daughter of *Atanagildus*, King of the *Visigoths*. Sometime afterwards *Chilperic* follow'd his example, and having for a short while quitted his Amours to *Fredogonda*, demanded likewise *Gelsauinta*, Sister to *Bruneband*. The Father consents to it, but not without a great deal of repugnance, and the obliging both himself, and the chief Lords his Subjects, to swear by many Oaths, that he should never take any other whilst she was living.

570. *Cherebert* being gone into *Xaintonge*, which was in his Lot, dyed in the Castle of *Blaye* on the *Garonne*, and was buried in the same place, within the Church of *St. Romain*. He was little less then Forty nine years, and had Reigned Nine. He had but three Daughters, *Berte* by Queen *Ingoberge*, and *Berisfede*, and *Crodielda* by some Mistress. These two last were Veiled; but very vain Nuns. *Berte* was Married to *Ethelbert*, King of *Cauterbury* in *England*, and the most potent of all the English Kings. She was bestowed upon him, on condition she should have the free Exercise of the Christian Religion; and to this end she took a Bishop along with her. She was a very Beautiful, and yet a more virtuous Princess, who wrought upon the mind of her Husband to embrace Christianity, and who insinuated Civility, and Politeness amongst the English, who were very barbarous till then.

Chilperic

Chilperic, King IX.

GONTRAN in Neu- SIGEBERT in Au- CHILPERIC in
stria and Burgundy, at stratia, at Mets. Neufstria, at Paris.
Chalons.

570. *Cherebert's* three Brothers immediately re-divided the Kingdom amongst them, and even the City of *Paris*, and put in this Condition, which they confirmed by Oath, upon the Relicks, or at the shrine of some Martyr, That neither of the Three should go in thither, without the consent of the other two, and he that should offer it, was to forfeit his share in that City, and in the Kingdom that was *Cherebert's*.

571. *Chilperic*, notwithstanding his solemn Oaths, soon joyned again with his *Fredogonda*, and that he might have liberty to Marry her, he caused *Gelsauinta* to be strangled in her Bed. His Brothers conceived a horror for this Crime, and made War upon him; *Sigebert*, more hotly then the other, being incited by his Wife *Bruneband*, to whom he was forced to give up for reparation of this Murder, the Countreys of *Bourdelois*, *Lyonsin*, *Quercy*, *Bearn*, and *Bigorre*, which he had given to his Sister for a Marriage Portion, and which he had seized on afterwards.

The *Avars* broke the Treaty, and made a Second irruption into *Turingia*, *Sigebert* presenting himself to give them Battle, upon the nick of the On-sett, instead of Weapons, they made use of Diabolical Enchantments, and caused hideous Fancies, or Spirits to appear, most dreadful to the French mens Sight; perhaps they had ugly Vizards on, or had blacked their Faces. Whatever it were, it dismayed them so much, that it put them to the rout, and drove them into a corner, where they hemmed them in on all sides. *Sigebert* could not get out from this extremity, but by the power of Money, and by furnishing them with Provisions, which they had great need of.

573. Going from hence, he made War against *Gontran*, to get from him the City of *Arles*, and joyn it with those of *Aix*, *Avignon*, and *Marseilles*, which he held in *Provence*. *Firmin* Count of *Auvergne*, and *Andover*, drawing near with some Forces, the Burghers easily surrendered to them, and then drove them out again with more ease. For as soon as *Celse* the Patrician of *Arles*, appeared on the behalf of *Gontran*, they perswaded them to go forth and Fight him, alluring them, that whether Victors or Vanquished, they would receive them again into the Town; but when *Celse* had repulled them, and they desired to be let in, they kept the Gates fast shut against them. Thus their Men were all cut off or drowned in the *Rhofne*, and they made prisoners. *Sigebert* having mislaid his Design, agreed the more easily with *Gontran*.

574. *Anno 574*, *Alboinus*, King of the *Lombards* was poisoned by *Rosamond* his Second Wife, cruelly enraged, for that he had constrained her at a Feast, to drink out of the Skull of *Cunimond*, King of the *Gepides*, her Father. *Clephus* having succeeded him; and a while after he being also assassinated by one of his own People, the *Lombards* would have no more Kings, and committed the Government to Thirty Dukes, each of them having a City. Three of the most potent, undertook to Conquer, upon the score of convenience, that part of *Gaul*, which lies between the *Alpes* and the *Rhofne*, and entered upon it with three several Bodies of Soldiers. But the Patrician *Mummole* beat them in several Encounters, and drove them out all three.

Upon the dividing the Kingdom of *Cherebert*, *Touaine* and *Paizois* fell to *Sigebert*, *Chilperic* burned with a desire to accommodate himself therewith, at what price soever. This unjust desire caused a cruel War, the desolation of many Provinces, and in fine, the death of *Sigebert*; King *Gontran* their Elder, endeavoured all he possibly could to prevent them, and when he could not, he sometimes went along with the strongest.

After

After two or three Ruptures, and two or three Agreements, *Chilperic*, who would not let fall his design, altered *Gontran* to his Party, took up Arms again, and fell into *Champagne*; whilst on the other side, his Son *Theodebert* entered into *Poitou*. *Sigebert* hearing of it, took a positive Resolution to pursue him to the death. Having therefore drawn together all those fierce People from beyond the *Rhine*, he penetrated without opposition, even to the Banks of the *Seine*. At the same instant he sent *Gontran-Boson*, and *Gondegisus* to *Poitou*, to drive out *Theodebert* thence. That young Prince being forsaken by his Men, would nevertheless Fight, but he was Taken, Slain, and Stript by Order of *Gontran-Boson*, who afterwards being afraid of *Chilperic's* wrath, took Sanctuary in *St. Martin's at Tours*.

575. With the lamentable news of the death of his Son, *Chilperic* received notice likewise of the agreement between *Gontran* and *Sigebert*. The same hour, overwhelmed with grief and astonishment, he went from *Rouen*, whither he had retired himself, and sought himself up, together with his Wife and Children in *Tournay*. Every thing surrendered to *Sigebert*, *Paris* opened her Gates to him, and his Wife *Bruneband* animated by revenge, came presently thither with her Children to establish her Throne, and push forward her Husbands resentment against *Chilperic*. For this purpose he dispatched away a part of his Army which besieged him in *Tournay*; and he with the other Body encamped at *Virry*, where he took the Oaths of the *Neustrian* Lords, who having abjured his Brother, acknowledged him for their King, and lifted him up on their * Target or Shield; or set him on the Throne.

* Pavoi.

Nothing was left for *Chilperic*, but the determinate Courage of *Fredegonde*, this was enough to save him. She by her flattery and caresses, knew so well how to Enchant a couple of Citizens of *Torouenn*, Men robust and brutish, that they coming to *Sigebert*, under pretence of entertaining him with some affair of great consequence, did stab him in his Tent, where they were soon cut in pieces by his Soldiers, as she wished.

Sigebert was very near the 44th year of his age, and about the end of the 14th of his Reign. He had a Son but four years and eight Months old, named *Childebert*, and two Daughters, *Ingond* and *Clodovinde*, the first was Married to *Hermenigildus*, the Son of *Lewigildus*, King of the *Vissigoths*; the Second betrothed only to *Recaredus*, elder Brother to *Hermenigildus*. His Body was interred in *St. Mards at Soissons*, near his Father, by whose Order he had finished that Church.

GONTRAN	CHILPERIC	CHILDEBERT II.
King of Burgundy	King of Soissons and	called the Young, aged
at Soissons.	Paris, in Neustria.	Five years, in Austrasia.

575. The death of *Sigebert* was followed with a sudden and general Revolution, the *Austrasians* raised the Siege of *Tournay*, and having joyned with those who were at *Virry*, they retired in confusion: the *Neustrians* returned to the Obedience of *Chilperic*; and *Bruneband* found her self surrounded and cooped up in *Paris*, where she then was with her Children, and knew not how to get thence. But the wisdom of the Duke *Gombaud*, the greatest Lord of *Austrasia*, found out a way to save the Pupil *Childebert*, having let him down over the Walls in a Basket, and put him into the hands of a faithful Person, who himself carried him into the City of *Metz*.

Already some of the *Austrasians* had made their Composition with *Chilperic*, but the rest being assembled together in great numbers, according to their custom, set the young Prince upon the Royal Seat on New-year's-day, and put him under the protection of *Gontran*; so that *Chilperic* lost his hopes of invading that Kingdom: but he seized upon that of *Paris*, and banished *Bruneband* to *Rouen*, and her two Daughters to *Meaux*.

576. He had sent *Meroveus* his eldest Son by Queen *Audover*, to seize upon *Poitou*, which belonged to the Kingdom of *Childebert*. *Meroveus*, instead of putting this design in execution, went to *Tours*, and from thence to *Rouen*, where he suffered himself to be so much surprized with the charms of *Bruneband*, as then aged at least 28 years, that he Married her; *Pretextat*, Bishop of *Rouen*, God-father to the young Prince, making the Marriage. The Father hastens thither, and having by deceitful words drawn those so newly Wedded out of a Church, where they had taken shelter, he set a Guard upon *Bruneband*, and carried his Son away with him.

Mean

- Mean time the *Austrasian* Lords, who were come to submit to him, returned again to *Childebert*: *Godin* amongst others, who to carry somewhat with him that might bid him welcom, armed the *Champanois* and made himself Master of *Soissons*, where he wanted but little of surprizing *Fredegonda*. *Chilperic* was quickly there; vanquishes him, and re-takes the Town: but *Fredegonda* believing that *Godin* had not undertaken so bold an enterprise without the participation of *Meroveus* and *Bruneband*, obliged her Husband to confine that young Prince, and a while after to force him to turn Priest, and send him to the Monastery of *Anisiff*, which is called now *St. Calais*, the name of its first Abbot.

The *Austrasians* demand their Queen *Bruneband* with so much earnestness, that he sent her to them; and yet he could not forbear to invade the Lands of *Childebert*. His Son *Clovis* took the Town of *Saintes*: but the Duke *Didier* going to besiege that of *Limoges*, met in his way the Patrician *Mummole*, whom *Gontran* sent to defend the Country belonging to his Pupil: the Fight was so obstinate that there were slain Thirty thousand on both sides, three parts of them were *Didier's*, who saved himself with much ado.

576.

577.

About the same time *Meroveus* escaped from the Monastery, and secured himself in the Church called *St. Martin's at Tours*, prompted thereto by *Gailen* his most intimate Confidant, who was come to visit him, and drawn by *Gontran-Boson*, who had sheltered himself in that place, as we have related. The Step-Mother *Fredegonda* favoured this *Boson*, for the same reason that *Chilperic* would put him to death, and maintained a private Commerce with him, that he might destroy *Meroveus*, as he had made his Brother *Theodebert* to perish.

The young Prince having notice that *Fredegonda* fought by all means to take away his life, did not find himself there in security: He goes out from thence accompanied with this *Boson*, whose treachery he knew not of, and would go to find out *Bruneband*, but the *Austrasians* refused to admit him: he remained then some time concealed, and a Vagabond in *Champagne*. After which, this *Boson* and *Giles* Bishop of *Rheims*, upon the pretence of delivering up the City of *Torouenne* to him, made him fall into their Ambuscades, surrounding and taking him Prisoner in a Village, of which they gave immediate notice to *Chilperic*: he went thither with all diligence, but found that his unfortunate Son was dead, he had been Poyrnarded by the order of *Fredegonda*, who made him believe, that apprehending he should be put to tortures, he had borrowed the helping hand of *Gailen* his favourite to dispatch him.

577.

A while before the Bishop *Pretextat* his Godfather, was accused before the Bishops assembled in Council at *Paris*, where no proofs appearing strong enough against him touching what was alledged, he suffers himself to be induced by two false Brothers, upon an assurance the King would pardon him, to confess more than they could desire, for which he was banished to an Island near *Constantine*: but with hopes of returning, because he pretended he had not been degraded, though they had placed *Melantius* in his See.

Death having snatched away the two Sons which *Gontran* had by *Austrigilda* his second Wife, although he were not above the age of getting Children, not being above Fifty, he desired the *Austrasians* to bring his Nephew *Childebert* to him, and Adopted him, having placed him in his Royal Seat. These two Princes being thus allied, sent to *Chilperic* to demand their part of the Kingdom of *Paris*, and declared War against him: *Chilperic* did but scoff at them, diverting himself in building of *Cirques* (or places for public Spectacles) at *Paris* and at *Soissons*, where he would have entertained the People with Chariot-races, could he have found Charioteers that had skill enough.

The *Bretons* about the year 441. had possessed themselves of *Vannes*; afterwards *Clovis* had taken that place again, and likewise the Cities of *Nantes* and *Reims*, at that time governed by *Roman* Captains. This year 578. *Warne* or *Guerec* a Count of *Bretagne* had the boldness to seize again upon *Vannes*, which appertained to the Kingdom of *Chilperic*, and march up to the *French* who were encamped on the Banks of the River *Vilain*. They had some Companies of *Saxons* or *Sines-Bessins* in their Army; one night he passes the River and beat up their Quarter; but three days afterwards finding himself too weak for so potent an Enemy, he desires Peace, swore fealty to the King, and renders up the City of *Vannes*, upon condition he should remain Governor. A short while after he again seizes it, and so long as he lived put the *French* to a great deal of trouble.

578.

Emp. Tiberius II. chosen by Justin in August, R. four years.

F

Chilperic

* The 9th or 8th part of a Muid, and the Muid is a third part of a Tun.

579.

Chilperic and his wicked Wife *Fredegunda* over-burthened the People with Imposts: they had taxed an Amphore of * Wine upon every half Acre of Vineyard, several other Charges upon things of another kind, and a Tribute upon the head of every Slave, and indeed a kind of Poll-money for every Freeman, inasmuch that their Subjects ran away out of the Kingdom, as a place of Torment, and peopled that of *Gontran* and *Childbert*: wiser in so doing, than those of *Limaufen*, who having opposed a *Referendaire* (or Lord Chancellor, so named in those times) who was going to settle the Taxes or Duties in that Country, and having burnt his Registers, left themselves exposed to the Sanguinary Avarice of an Intendant (or Judge) whom *Chilperic* sent thither to chastise their Sedition.

597.

580.

This year *Samplun*, eldest Son of *Fredegunda* died: the following year *Chilperic* was tormented with a long and continual Fever; as he was upon Recovery, two other Sons whom he had by that Woman, were afflicted with a Dysentery, which was rife all over *France*, and afflicted Children most generally. *Fredegunda* believed this Sickness of her Children was inflicted by Heaven, who thus avenged the sufferings of the oppressed People: she was stricken to the heart, and wrought so far upon her Husband by her arguments and intreaties, that he threw the Lists of all the Tax-gatherers into the Fire, and recalled those that were sent abroad to collect them.

580.

But this forced Repentance did not save the life of her two Sons; as on the other hand these Afflictions laid upon her, only made her the more wicked: she was pierced with sorrow for the loss of all her Children, and with jealousy that there was one of her Husbands yet alive, begotten on Queen *Audover*; his name was *Clasit*. This Prince seeing himself necessarily the Successor, let fall some words of Resentment and Threatening impudently; By this she well foreknew what must become of her if he Reigned, and resolved to prevent it: she therefore accuses him to his Father for having poisoned her two Sons, and pre-possessed him so far with this Calumny, that he gave up his only Son to her Vengeance. The wicked Woman causes his Throat to be cut, and the Body to be cast into the River, and afterwards the unfortunate *Audover* to be Strangled, though she wore the Sacred Vail, and her Daughter *Basina* to be locked up in the Monastery of *Poitiers*, after her Seditious had deflowered her. A Fisherman having found the Body of the young Prince, and knowing it to be his by the long Hair, buried it under a Monument of Turf, from whence King *Gontran* afterwards transferred it to St. Vincent's Church in *Paris*.

Two years before *Chilperic* had sent Ambassadors to the Emperor *Tiberius*, to congratulate him, as I believe, upon his promotion to the Empire, and make up some kind of League with him against the *Lombards*. This year they brought him back all imaginable satisfaction and very rich Presents, amongst others were Medals of Gold a pound in weight.

581.

The Kingdom of *Austrasia* and *Childbert's* Person being under the Government of *Queen Brunehaut*, the Lords of the Country despised the Commands of a Woman, and lived in excessive Licentiousness; Those that gave her the most trouble, were *Ranchin*, and *Gontran-Boson*, *Ursion*, *Bretusrey*, and *Giles* Bishop of *Rheims*, who associated together and oppressed whom they pleased. *Loup* Duke of *Champagne*, a faithful Servant to his Prince and Master, as Wise as Just, was insufferable to them because of his good qualities: they took up Arms to destroy him, and he got his Friends together to defend himself. The Queen had all the trouble imaginable to prevent their coming to blows, even to the enduring outrageous words from *Orson*: but after all she could not so well secure the Duke from their fury, but he was forced to quit the Kingdom, and take refuge with *Gontran*.

581.

The most dangerous of these Factious Spirits was the Bishop of *Rheims*: as he was secretly engaged and wedded to *Chilperic*, of which he had given testimonies, having formerly treacherously delivered up the City of *Rheims*, and drawn *Mereveus* into the fatal snare: he caused his Faction to act so powerfully, that the *Austrasian* Lords, to the prejudice of the Alliance their King had made with his Uncle *Gontran*, obliged him to make a League with *Chilperic* against him; The Lure was, That *Chilperic* having at that time no Son, promised the Succession to him.

This League being made, *Childbert* sent to demand the half of *Marfeller's* of his Uncle, who very far from restoring it, made himself Master of the other, by the treachery of *Dynamius* Governor of *Provence* for *Childbert*. After this feat *Dynamius* goes over to *Gontran*, as in revenge the Patrician *Mummole*, pushed at by some intrigues of Court (ever fatal to great Commanders) forsakes *Gontran* to

to be of *Childbert's* side; and fortifies himself in the City of *Avignon*, which that King without doubt had put into his hands for his security, and that from thence he might make incursions in the Enemies Country.

The business of *Marfeller* caused an absolute Rupture betwixt the two Kings; *Chilperic* who desired this, presently falls upon *Gontran's* Countries, and the Duke *Didier* by his order invades *Perigord* and *Agenois*, without much opposition.

Another of his Dukes by name *Bladater* was not so fortunate against the *Gascons*; For having undertaken to seek them out in their own Country to chastise them for the frequent Irruptions they made into the third *Aquitaine*, he was hemm'd in, and his Forces cut in pieces. The *Gascons* then inhabited upon the Confines of *Cantabria*, between the Countries of the *Visigoths* and the *French*, and by their Excesses made themselves formidable both to the one and the other, carrying away whatever they could meet withal, and afterwards sheltering themselves again on their Mountains.

There was only *Chilperic* that made open War upon *Gontran*: but the Patrician *Mummole* with the secret support of the Lords of *Austrasia*, was contriving a dangerous Design against him; There was a certain Person named *Gondebaud* who pretended to be the Son of King *Clotaire*, and he might well be so, considering the multitude of Wives that King had. This *Gondebaud* not having been able to get his pretended Brothers the Kings to acknowledge him, had retired himself to *Constantinople*, *Tiberius* the Emperor then living; It happened that *Gontran-Boson* made a Voyage into those parts, it is not mentioned upon what account, and he persuaded this Man so much that the *French* wished for him, and that *Gontran* and *Chilperic* return to *France*, *Tiberius* having a prospect of what he might possibly attain to one day, assisted him with great Sums of Money: he comes afterwards to *Marfeller*, was received by the Bishop, and afterwards Entertained at *Avignon* by *Mummole*. But the same *Gontran-Boson* who had persuaded him to return, having set himself now to persecute the Bishop and such as favoured him, he wisely withdrew himself into an Island at the mouth of the *Rhone*; and then the Traitor seized on all his Moneys, and took a Commission from King *Gontran* to besiege *Mummole* in *Avignon*. *Childbert* being informed of it, sent one of his Dukes, who quashed that Design.

The Provinces suffered most horribly by the cruel Discord of these Kings, the Soldiers who marched every where, plunder'd, burnt, and put all to the Sword. There was no Discipline, but so uncontroll'd a License, that the Soldiers would fly in the faces of their own Officers, if they did but question or forbid them, as soon as on the meanest fellow.

With this cruel Desolation, Heavens sent a cruel Epidemical Disease which raged over all *France*, but most severely over *Paris* and that Vicinage: it was called, *Lues Inquinaria*, because it appeared in those parts: it burnt those that were tainted with it, with great pain, and made an Escar in a short time like a Cuttery: the most part died bawling and shrieking most horribly, and there was no cure found but in the Churches, and especially that of our Ladies.

Chilperic had besieged *Melon*, and commanded three of his Dukes to attack *Bourges*: the *Beryoniens* came forth to meet them, and gave them Battle, which was very bloody to both Parties; *Gontran* who went in his own Person to fight *Chilperic*, having met with a Body of his Men, who had left the rest to get Plunder, cut them all off; *Chilperic* much cooled with this Rebuke, caused some Propositions to be made towards an Accommodation: and *Gontran* who was of a mild and peaceable Temper, receives them with joy.

Chilperic thought with himself that now he should get him to joyn to oppress *Childbert*, in whose Kingdom he had great intelligence by the means of the Bishop of *Rheims*; but maugre all the intrigues of those Factious Spirits, *Gontran* and *Childbert* were reconciled, the Uncle restored that part of *Marfeller's* which began the breach to his Nephew again, and they formed a League together to recover at their joyned Charges and Expence, those Cities belonging to *Childbert's* Kingdom, which *Chilperic* had gotten from it.

Upon the point when *Childbert* was preparing himself to assault *Chilperic*, the Emperor *Maurinus* for the Sum of 50000 Crowns of Gold, ready Money, obliges him to carry his Forces into Italy against the *Lombards* who held the City of *Rome* besieged. The young Prince but fourteen years of Age went in Person; Their King *Autaris* did not oppose Force with Force, but putting his Men into several

581. or 82.

583.

Emp. Maurinus Son in Law to Tiberius, in Aug. Reigned eight twenty years.

583.

583.

places, let the Torrent run on: and that it might for ever be turned another way, he yielded up his Kingdom to the *French*, and became their Tributary.

It is fit we understand that in the year 584, the *Lombards* perceiving that the Emperor *Mauritius* would needs endeavour by all means to root them out of *Italy*, they thought the best way to preserve themselves was to restore their State to a Monarchy again, and made *Astairis* the Son of *Claphus* King; But nevertheless their thirty Dukes kept as their Propriety, and as Hereditary the Titles to those Cities they then held: but so that they should be obliged in certain Services to him, particularly to obey and follow him in time of War. This is perhaps the true Original of that Knights Service, or Fee, so much searched after by the Curious: at least it is said they were settled or establish'd according to the Custom of the *Lombards*.

After many Wars, *Chilperic* thinking to enjoy some rest, was Assassinated in the Court of his Palace of *Chelles* in *Brie*, which hapned towards the end of September. One Evening in the twilight, as he was alighting from his Horse, being come from Hunting, accompanied with but few, a Murderer gave him two Stabs with a Knife, one under his Arm-pit, the other into his Belly. An Author attributes this unhappy blow to *Brunebaud*, but others accuses his Wife *Fredegonda*, who was obliged, say they, to prevent him, because he had discover'd her Adultery with a Lord named *Landry*.

History describes this King to us Proud, Inhumane, Malicious, Dissembling, and a great Projector of Imposts: but Crafty, Patient, Magnificent, and instructed with good Learning. In our days have been found (it was *Anno 1643*.) a couple of Tombs just by one another, under ground at the entrance into the Church of *St. Germain des Prez*: the name of *Chilperic* which was written upon one of the two, hath made it to be conjectured that it was his, and the other his Wife's: however it be, that other Tomb in the same Church, whereon we see his Statue, is a Cenotaph which hath been placed there in these last Ages.

Of so many Sons as he had gotten on divers Women, there remained but one, who was but four months old, and had as yet no name: he caus'd him to be Nurs'd at the Burrough of *Vitry* near *Tourney* for fear they should destroy him by Poyson or Witchcraft, as he believed they had done the others.

He had likewise a Daughter by *Fredegonda* (she was named *Fignus*) who was then on her way into *Spain* to meet with *Ricardo* the King, eldest Son to *Lewis-gildus*, to whom she was betrothed. When she was gotten to *Thoulous* the news came of her Fathers Death: *Didier* Duke of that Country ris'd all her Equipage, so that she went no farther, but returned to her Mother, to whom she gave a great deal of trouble, being much like her in Humour and ill Qualities.

Clotair

Clotair II. King X.

P O P E S,

PELAGIUS II. S. Five years during this Reign.

St. GREGORY I. Called the Great, chosen Sept. 590. S. thirteen years six months.

SABINIANUS, In Sept. 604. S. five months nineteen days.

BONIFACE III. Chosen in Sep. 606. S. nine months.

BONIFACE IV. Chosen 607. S. six years eight months.

DEUS-DEDIT, Elected in 614. S. three years.

BONIFACE V. Chosen in 617. S. nine years.

HONORIUS I. Elected 13 May 626. S. twelve years five months, of which six years in this Reign.

Uncle.

Cousin Germans.

CONTRAN in Burgundy } SCHILDEBERT } CLOTAIR II. Aged four and part of Neustria. } in Austrasia. } or five months in Neustria.

THE Confidence of the Crime and the fear of *Childebert*, who was at that time at *Meaux*, terrified *Fredegonda* so much, that leaving part of her Treasure at *Chelles*, she flies to *Paris*, and thrusts her self for Sanctuary in the Church of *Notre-Dame*, under the Protection of the Bishop.

Gontran having heard of the death of his Brother, came presently with great Company; *Childebert* was set forward likewise to have gotten in, but finding the place was possessed, he retires to *Meaux*, and sends Ambassadors to him, to demand part of the Kingdom of *Paris*, and then again some others to pray him to deliver up *Fredegonda* to him to punish her for the Murder of her Husband, and of *Merevus* and *Chlois*. To the first he Replied, That all the Kingdom of *Paris* belonged to him, because his Brothers *Stigbert* and *Chilperic* had forfeited their shares by violating the Treaty of Agreement made between them three: and as for the other, he would refer it to an Assembly of the Estates, which was to be held on a day appointed.

He remained two months at *Paris*, in which time *Fredegonda* knew so well how to soothe him, that he took her and her Son into his Protection, and ordered the Lords of *Chilperic's* Kingdom to repair to *Vitry*, and acknowledge that Son for their King, and to name him *Clotaire*, however he appropriated most of the Kingdom of *Paris* to himself, only the City of *Paris* excepted, which he left to the young Child.

He afterwards employed himself in doing Justice to those that made complaints of the several Violences of the deceased *Chilperic*, and of all the Grandees belonging to that Kings Court, who being unjust and griping to the utmost extremity, had suffered all manner of Robberies and Spoil in them. In fine, believing himself Master of all *France*, during the Minority of his Nephews, he took possession of their Lands in *Neustria* as he pleased: but in *Austrasia* his Power was not owned.

The hatred they had against *Fredegonda* did not diminish, she durst not come out of her Asylum of *Notre-Dame*, wherefore he sent her to *Vau de Rueil* near *Rouen*; Being there in more security, she began afresh to make use of Poyson and Poynard, they did several times apprehend and discover some Assassins which she was sending to Murder King *Childebert* and *Brunebaud*; That Queen having detected one especially amongst the rest (it was a Clerk) after he had been put to many Tor-

584.

tures, sent him back again to her in derision: and the for shame and madness, cauled the Feet and Hands of this miserable Wretch to be cut off.

Two years after the beforementioned *Gondebaud*, who was come from *Constantinople*, had kept himself close and concealed in an Island at the mouth of the *Rhifort*, *Gontran-Bofon*, the *Patrician Mummole*, *Didier* Duke of *Thoulouze*, *Bladaste*, who had been beaten by the *Gafcons*, and some other Factious Heads sworn Enemies to King *Gontran*, had persuaded him to take the Title of King. lifting him up upon the * Target at *Brize la Gaillarde*: The Lords of *Childebert's* Court, several Bishops of *Aquitain*, *Bruneaud* her self, who desired him for her Husband, favoured him openly enough, and all the Country beyond the *Garonne* obeyed him.

The thing did particularly concern King *Gontran*, he feared his Nephew *Childebert* might assist this Conspiracy, which aimed at no less than to strip him: it was by this Motive that he desired he would come to him, and that he confirmed the Adoption before made, putting his Javelin into his Hand; At the same time he cauled an Army to march into *Aquitain* under the Condu^t of *Lendegefile*, and the *Patrician Egila*. *Gondebaud*, knowing they approached, shuts himself up with good store of Ammunition in the strong City of *Lyon de Cominges*: he was there besieged a while after. The Fifteenth day of the Siege, *Mummole* ever perfidious, and the other Lords delivers him to the Besiegers, thinking to purchase their Lives with the price of his; In effect he was kill'd upon the place; but they fared never the better for that. *Mummole* was treated in the same manner as well as Bishop *Sagittary*, as soon as they had orders from the King; The City was sacked and destroy'd, and remained buried in its Ruines, till about the year 1005. when Bishop *St. Berward*, whose name it bears, Rebuilt it in the very same place: but of a far less Circumference than before.

That War ended, *Gontran* came to *Paris* to hold the little *Clotair* at the Font, which was not performed this time, *Fredogonde* keeping the Child at a distance, and fearing that he desired to see it only to seize upon it, and to have it, for he could not believe it was his Brothers Son; so that to cure him of this doubt, the sent him three Bishops, and three hundred Notables, who affirmed upon Oath, that this little Prince was Legitimate.

The Prince *Hermenigilda* second Son of King *Lewvigilda*, had Married *Ingonde* Daughter to King *Sigebert*: The young Prince's having Converted him to the Catholic Religion, *Gosvainte* her Mother in Law used her outrageously; *Hermenigild* her Husband had taken Arms against King *Lewvigild* his Father, and being Leagued with the *Sveves* and the *Greeks*, had trusted his Wife in the hands of these last; Now, not being able to resist his Father, he had surrendered to his Mercy, and the Father kept him miserably confined in close Imprisonment. The *Greeks* seeing him detained, retained his Wife also, and Embarked her to transport her to *Constantinople*. Her Brother *Childebert*, that he might obtain her Release of the Emperor, sent a puissant Army to make War upon the *Lombards*: but it being made up half of *French* and half *Almain*, the Discord betwixt those two Nations made them trudge back again as they went, without so much as seeing the Enemy.

Immediately after this, it was known that *Ingonde* was dead in *Affrick*, and that *Lewvigildus* had caused her Husband to be Strangled. King *Gontran* animated with a just Resentment against those *Arrian* Barbarians, undertook to drive them out of *Languedoc*; His Forces of the Kingdom of *Burgundy* besieged *Nismes*, and those of *Aquitain*, *Carassonne*: but there was so little Order and so much Licentiousness in both these Armies, that they reaped nothing but shame, nor did they make any feel the effects of War but their own fellow Subjects, plundering and killing all the poor Peasants: and indeed at their return the lower Countries being utterly destroy'd, and the Bridges broken down, some of them perished for Hunger, others in passing over the Rivers, nay above five thousand by their own Swords, in the Contests one Company had against another almost every hour.

Lewvigildus broken with Age, spared not either Prayers or Presents to obtain a Peace with *Gontran*: but that King would never hearken to it, he could not so soon forget the ill Treatment they had shewed to his Nephew, nor the Affront he had received the year before from *Recarede*, who had made Inroads and taken some Places in *Provence*.

Some while after this *Lewvigildus* dies, but had before renounced *Arrianism*, and his Recared or Richard professed the Catholic Religion, and Established it amongst his People.

Before

Before his Death he had practised some Intelligence with *Fredogonde*, to rid themselves of their common Enemies: he meant *Childebert* and *Gontran*, who at that time were firmly united; For *Gontran* having again declared *Childebert* his only Heir, without making any reckoning of *Clotair* whom he counted a *Ballard* or one foisted in, *Fredogonde* mortally hated them both, and sought to thrust them out of the World: Two Clerks were apprehended whom she had sent to assassinate *Childebert* with Poisoned Knives, they were put to death by Torments, their Noses, Hands, and Ears being cut off.

Every hour were such like Plots found out contrived by that wicked Woman; *Presentat* had been restored to his Bishoprick of *Rouen* by King *Gontran*, she could not behold him without rage, in so much that having one day had some words with him, (for she was come from *Val de Ruel* to *Rouen*) she hired a wicked Slave, who upon *Easter-day* wounded him to death, whilst he was at the Altar in his Cathedral Church; The Murderer (for she was compell'd to deliver him up to a Nephew of that Bishop to do what he thought good with him) confessed that she and *Melantius*, with the Archdeacon of *Rouen*, had given him Money to commit the Parricide; and that none might doubt of this truth, the put *Melantius* into that Episcopal See.

King *Gontran* by good fortune avoided three or four Attempts she made against his Person: and notwithstanding, either out of saint-heartedness, or because the *Neustrian* Lords jealous of their Authority, would not have suffered him to undertake any thing against the Mother of their King, he did not do so much as he ought to secure his Life by the Chastisement of this *Megara*.

When *Childebert* had attained to the age of Fifteen years, he began to make himself to be feared by some examples of severity, having caused Duke *Magnowald* to be killed, whom he had invited to his Palace to see a Combat of Wild Beasts, and Arrested *Gontran-Bofon*, to punish him according to what Judgment King *Gontran* should pronounce, who very well knew the Treachery of this Villain, and indeed did not pardon him.

The other *Grandeers* of *Austrasia*, particularly *Ranchin*, *Urfon*, and *Berefray* took the alarm at it: *Fredogonde* by her secret Correspondence increased their Apprehensions, so that in Comfort with her, they conspired to kill their King, and make his two Sons to Reign, the eldest of which was but two years old. *Childebert* having had notice hereof from *Gontran* his Uncle, sent for *Ranchin*, and cauled him to be knocked on the Head going out of his Chamber; *Urfon* and *Berefray* who had sheltered themselves in a Church were handled after the same manner.

The Emperor *Mauritius* had for some time solicited King *Childebert* upon very advantageous Conditions, to make a Descent into *Italy*, for the driving out the *Lombards*: at length *Childebert* to acquit himself of his Promise and the Sums he had received, went thither with a powerful Army. *Antari* knowing by experience that Money grew the *French* thither but would not drive them back again, did not protest them any, but resolved in himself either to Conquer or else to dye with Honour; The Fates were favourable to him in a great Engagement at the entrance to the *Alpes*; *Childebert* having been soundly beaten, retired.

What ever Intreaties *Recared* could make to King *Gontran*, he could not obtain a Peace; on the contrary, he was obstinately bent to continue the War against him: but he only increased his Shame and Losses. Duke *Bofon*, whom he had sent into *Septimania*, despising the Enemy and minding nothing but to Debauch, suffered himself to be drawn into an Ambuscade, where most part of his Army was defeated by a very small number of *Visigoths*.

The fits and troubles between the Nuns of the Abby of *St. Croix* of *Poitiers* did puzzle King *Gontran* as much as if it had been a business of greater moment; amongst them there were two Princesses, *Crodiel* Daughter of King *Cherbert*, and *Basine* Daughter of King *Chilperic*: *Crodiel* having a fancy in her own Head to Command, accused *Lubovere* her Abbess of many Irregularities to make her be put out; After that she went away with forty Nuns of her Cabal, to make complaint to King *Gontran*: then being returned to *Poitiers*, she seized upon *St. Hilary's* Church with a Troop of Pick-pockets, who committed a world of Villanies and lewd Actions there: They were fain to make use of the Regal Authority and Power to punish those Rascals, and call an Assembly of the Bishops to judge of the Accusation against the Abbess: She was declared Innocent, and *Crodiel* and *Basine* Excommunicated; which was again confirmed by another Assembly of Bishops of the Kingdom of *Gontran*: but at the Intreacy of the King's, the Council of *Merr*

31.2

585.

* They set up their new made King on a Shield or Target, and so carry'd him before the People.

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gave them Abolution. *Bafina* went again into the Monastery, *Crochild* stubborn in her Difobedience, had leave to dwell in a Country-Houfe which King *Childebert* had ordained for her.

590. A second Army which *Childebert* fent into *Italy* againft the *Lombards*, did moft of it perish there by Famine and Sicknefs : but withall ftruck King *Autaris* into fo much dread, that he promifed the French, if they would leave him in Peace, that he would every year fend them fome Priests.

Childebert discovered again another of thofe Affaffins whom *Fredogonda* fent to Murder him : This new Attempt, giving him occafion to examine and inquire into the old Conspiracies, they apprehended *Sonnegifile* who had been concerned in that of *Ranchis* : This Perfon accufed *Gilei* Bifhop of *Rheims*, and the King gave order to lay hold on him : but upon complaints made by the Bifhops, that they fhould treat a Prelate thus without hearing him, he releafed him to bring it to a formal Trial. For this end he calls a Council at *Metz* the Fifteenth of *November*, and there this unhappy Wretch convicted by Witneffes, and his own Confefion of Treafon, and *Loife Majeflatis*, and of his having been the Firebrand of the Civil Wars, he was depofed from his Bifhoprick and banifhed to *Strasbourg*, the King having given him his Life upon the Petition of the other Bifhops.

The Count *Waro* and other Princes of *Bretagne*, notwithstanding the Oath they had given two or three times, ranfacked the Bifhopricks of *Remes* and *Nams*, which belonged to King *Gontran* : he would once for all punifh their audacious Attempts, and commanded his Forces in the Kingdom of *Burgundy* to march that way. They had two chief Commanders, *Ebracaire* and *Boubeleus* ; who could not accord together. The firft of thefe left his Companion with the beft part of the Army upon the point of the bufinefs ; however *Boubeleus* defended himfelf valiantly for two days together, but on the third he was overwhelmed and perifhed with almoft all his Men. *Ebracaire* being returned to Court was deffed of all his Eftate and Goods to the King, who awarded them to the Heirs of *Boubeleus*.

590, or 591. King *Gontran* Hunting one day in the *Vofges*, perceived that fome body had killed a Bullaflo : The Keeper accufed the Chamberlain to the King : and the Chamberlain denying the Fact, *Gontran* compels him to juftifie himfelf in Combat, as the custom then was in doubtful cafes. His Champion and the Keeper kill each other ; and he, as being Convicted by the death of his Champion, was tied to a Stake, and Stoned.

592. From the fame Principle of levity of mind, which caufed thefe violent Fits in *Gontran*, proceeded his Incontinency and Apprehenfions, which turned him fometimes on one fide, fometimes on another : He could not but mortally hate *Fredogonda*, and yet nevertheless upon her intreaty he came to the Palace of *Raet*, and held the young *Clotaire* her Son at the Font for his Baptifm in the Church of *St. Genevieve* of *Nanterre*, which gave great Umbrage and caufe of Complaint to *Childebert* his other Nephew.

593. The following year, or according to others, two years after, this Prince being at *Chalon*, where he kept his ordinary Refidence, and had caufed the Church and Abby of *St. Marcel* to be built, he fell Sick, and died the 28th of *March*, being in the One and thirtieth or two and thirtieth of his Reign, and above the Sixty eighth of his Age.

Of feveral Children he had had by feveral Wives, but one furvived him, which was a Daughter named *Clotilda*, who was valued : It appears, he left all his Lands to *Childebert*, and little or nothing to *Clotaire*, though he were his God-father.

He was beyond comparison the beft of the four Brothers, Pious, Charitable, a lover of Juftice and of publick good, refpectful to the Church and Prelates, taking a particular care the Canons fhould be obferved : but Inconfant, Timorous, Subjunct, and eafie to be caught by Flatteries, and tranfported with Choler, which but too frequently gave him caufe to repent.

CHILDBERT in Auftrafia, and CLOTAIR in Neuf-
Burgundy, and part of Neuftria. ftria at Paris.

Childebert, Valiant, powerfully Armed, and enriched by the Succeffion to *Gontran*, whereof he went immediately to take Poffeffion, thought to have an eafy task of *Clotaire* a young Child, and his Mother *Fredogonda*, who was hated by all the French : but this Woman, Subtil and Courageous, fparing neither Flatteries nor Money, nor Promifcs, regained the moft alienated Minds, and tied them to her Service.

Service. She appeared every where, carried her Son about with her, and holding him up, fometimes in her Arms, fhewed him to the Soldiers, and crowds of People, and did animate them with compaffion of his innocence.

Thus with their faithful affiftance, and with the Conduct of her Landry Mayr of the Palace, the obftruded the progreffs of the Enemy, having furprized and defeated his Army by Stratagem, in a place of *Saffonnois* which they called *Truce*. The Dukes *Gondouand*, and *Wintrion* Commanded it : There was flain 5000 Men on their fide, which did not a little confirm the Crown to *Clotaire* ; but could not however prevent *Childebert* from tearing away fome Towns at the further part of his Kingdom.

The *Warner*, *Garues*, or *Guerins*, were a People of *Germany*, whose firft Habitation had been in that Country, where is at this day the Duchy of *Mecklenburgh* (where there is a River which they yet call *Warne*, which paffes by *Kotoc*.) From thence they iffuing out with the *Engifls*, the *Saxons*, and the *Heruli*, were come to Lodge in *Frieftand*, and in *Batavia*, on the North of thofe Countreys, the French held beyond the *Rhine* ; and there had fettled a little Kingdom : but I believe they had been conquered by *Theodebert*, or by *Clotaire* I. and fubjected to the Kingdom of *Auftrafia*. Now having Rebelled this year 594. againft *Childebert*, they were utterly extirpated, either by the Sword, or led away into Captivity, infomuch, as fince that time the name of them hath never been heard of.

About the Month of *October*, in *Anno* 595. *Childebert* and his Wife were both fmatcht out of the World by Sicknefs, near the fame time ; perhaps it was by poifon from *Fredogonda*'s Shop, or of *Bruneband*'s preparation, *Fredogonda* being their avowed Enemy, and *Bruneband* put befide her Authority by her Sons age, which he might poffibly endeavour to recover in the minority of her Children. *Childebert* dyed in the 25th of his age, and the 20th of his Reign. I know there are fome Chronologifts that allow him three years more ; as alfo 23 years Reign to *Gontran* : but let us leave them to handle thefe Briers and Thorns. He had two Sons, *Theodebert* and *Thierry*, who fucceeded him ; *Theodebert* had *Auftrafia*, *Thierry* had *Burgundy*, and the Kingdom of *Orleans*.

CLOTAIRE II. In Neuf-
ftria, aged Eight years, under THEODEBERT, and THIERRY, King
FREDEGOND his Mother. of Auftrafia, aged
Nine or Ten years. of Burgundy, aged
Eight or Nine years.

BROTHERS.

Under Bruneband their Grandmother.

Thus in all the Kingdoms of *France*, they were but Children that had at this time the Titles of Kings, and which was worfe, two Women verfed in all manner of crimes, held the reins of Government. *Bruneband* ruled thofe of her Grand-Children by her felf, and by her Confidents, the refided in *Auftrafia* with *Theodebert*, whole Seat was at *Metz*, as *Thierry*'s was at *Chalon* on the *Soane*.

Fredogond more Fortunate, and alfo more Active then fhe, betook her to the Field to regain *Paris*, and the Cities on the *Seine*, which *Childebert* had taken from her. The *Auftrafians* came to meet her, and there were the three little Kings to be feen, of whom the eldeft was but Eight years, at the Head of their Armies. The Victory fell to *Clotaire*, with the Cities for which he fought.

Soon after *Fredogond*, Victorious and Triumphant, but more Illuftrious, yet for her Crimes, then by her good fuccels, dyed, aged 50 or 55 years, with this advantage, that the left her Sons affairs in a condition to defend themfelves alone.

This year or the following, the *Huns* made inroads upon *Turingia*, paffing thorough the *Behemans*, or *Bohemians* Country, (a *Scavonian* People) who were their Subjects. *Bruneband* durft hazard nothing againft them, but removed them by force of Money.

This Princefs was not lefs cruel and vindictive then *Fredogond* ; and befides that, very covetous, and who making her Revenge ever tend towards the filling of her Purfe, took away the Lives of the Richelt to get their Wealth. Amongft others, he caufed the Duke *Wintrion* to be killed, who had great Treafures ; he was Father of that *Glofina*, who much againft his Will, did fhut her felf up in a Monastery at *Metz*, where fhe is to this day venerated as a Saint.

598. This Conduct of *Bruneauds* became so insupportable to the *Austrasians*, that they haled her by force out of the Royal Palace, and led her even to the Frontiers of the Kingdom, where they left her all alone, clothed only in Rags, nigh the Cafile *d'Archie*, upon the River *Aube*, which parted the Kingdoms of her two Grandsons. A poor Man knowing whom she was, conducted her to *Chaslon* upon the *Saone*, to her Son *Thierry*, who received her both with joy, and indignation at once. Her Conductor for his reward had the Bishoprick of *Auxerre*.

599. The two young Brothers could not forget the loss of *Paris*, and other Cities about the *Seine*, which *Clotaire* had forced from them; their Grand-Mother provoked them to call him to account, and invade his Kingdom. Knowing their design, he comes boldly to meet them, even near the Frontiers of *Burgundy*. The two Armies fought nigh the Banks of the little River *Aronne*, which glides betwixt that of *Loire* and *Loing*, and falls into the *Loing*, close by *Moret*. *Clotaire* lost the Battle, and almost Thirty thousand Men, and saved himself by speedy posting to *Paris*. But he durst not stay there long, for the Victors being advanced as far as *Essonnes*, he retired into the Forrest of *Arelonne*. In fine, he was constrained, lest he should lose all, to yield up to them, the greatest part of his Kingdom; to *Thierry*, all that was between the *Loire* and the *Seine*, as far as the Sea, and to *Theodebert* the Dutchy of *Denstien*, which was between the *Oise* and the *Seine*, or perhaps between the *Somme* and the *Oise*.

600. During the controversy between the Cousins, the *Gafrons* took occasion to come and plant themselves in the Countrey of *Orleans*, of *Beaun*, and of *Soule*. The two Brother Kings thought it to better purpose, having vanquish'd them, to make them become Tributaries, then to drive them quite away, and gave them a Duke to Govern them, he was called *Gualin*. But as they are a stirring People, during the Civil Wars of the *French*, they gained all *Aquitanie* *Tertia*, which because of them is named *Gafcongne*.

601. *Bruneaud* had all the power in the Court of young King *Thierry*, having made him taste the pleasure of Women, and Love betwixt him from meddling with business of State by charms of voluptuousness, and out of fear, left a lawful Wife, if he should take one, should induce him to retrench her Authority, by gaining the Affections of her Grand-Son from her. This year he had a Son by one of his Mistresses, which they named *Sigbert*.

Emp. Phocas, chosen by the Army, kills Manilius in Novemb. R. 18 years.

Though *Bruneaud* were a Great-Grand-Mother, she was not exempted from Love, nor from inspiring it in others, by the opportunities she had of bestowing the greatest Favours, but this she did most commonly at the expence of the richest, whom she fleeced by her Calumnies, and her assassinations. The precedent year she had taken away the Life of *Egila*, Patrician of *Burgundy*, to enrich her self with his Spoil.

602. She loved amongst others, a young Lord named *Protades*, of *Roman* extraction, that is to say, *Gaulois*, and had already made him Duke of *Transjura*: this was not enough, she must raise him to the Office of *Mayor* of the Palace: But *Bertold*, who then executed it, must first be put out of the way. To this end she sent him to gather up the Imposts in *Neustria*, newly taken from *Clotaire*, and as yet not well subjected. *Landry*, *Mayor* of the Palace, soon chafes him, pursues him even to *Orleans*, and besieges him. King *Thierry* being informed thereof, mounts on Horseback, the Battle was fought at the passage over the River of *Espanne*, most part of *Landry's* Men were cut off; but *Bertold* was slain there, as *Bruneaud* had wished, and the gave that Employment to her *Protades*.

603. At the same time King *Theodebert* had taken the Field, to run upon *Clotaire*; but the two Kings being there present, *Theodebert*, grants him a Peace, desiring to preserve him for a time of need against his Brother *Thierry*; who likewise, and perhaps upon the same consideration, did in a while after, make his accommodation with *Clotaire*.

604. The Old One had not forgot the Outrage she had received by *Theodebert*, or rather the *Austrasian* Lords; the infinitely desired *Thierry* might make himself Master of that Kingdom, that she might execute her Revenge. She made him believe therefore that *Theodebert* was not his Brother, but that he was the Son of a Gardiner. Was it that she would have it meant he had been Supposed, or Changed; or that the Queen *Faileche* had committed Adultery with some person of that condition? Upon all occasions she and her Favourite thundered it in the Ears of *Thierry*, and laid hold of every little subject of *Pique*, to exasperate the Spirit of that young ambitious and violent Prince: Inasmuch as that in fine, he took up Arms to deprive his own Brother, both of his Crown and Life. One day as the two Armies were encamped near each

each other, the *Loues* or *Vallais* of the Kings, detesting this impious War, endeavoured an accommodation; *Protades* opposing it, those that belonged to *Thierry* gathered together, and notwithstanding the Intreaty and Commands of that Prince to the contrary, went and slew him in his Tent, where he was playing at *Chof*.

605.

605 & 6.

In time *Bruneaud* found means to sacrifice all those that had procured his Death, to the *Manes* of her beloved Friend. But notwithstanding, instead of one Gallant she chose many, and those the handsomest of her Court. The scandal was so great, that *St. Didier*, Bishop of *Lions*, was obliged by his Pastoral Office and Duty, to make some publique Remonstrances of it to her. They wrought no effect upon a Soul so plunged in the Mire of her Lust; but they acquired the Crown of Martyrdom for this Holy Prelate; This Second *Isabel* having first caused him to be degraded, and banished by an Assembly * of Bishops, devoted to her passion; then two years after stoned to death by her *Satellites*.

* At Chaz. 1001.

Some remorse of Conscience having touched *Thierry*, he would needs take a lawful Wife, and caused *Hermenberg*, the Daughter of *Bertic*, King of the *Visigoths*, to come out of *Spain*, that he might marry her: But *Bruneaud* by her Witchcrafts, as it was said, hindered him from consummating the Nuptials, and even persuaded him to send her back, and most unjustly detain all that she had brought with her for him.

The disorders of this Court were at such a height, that it was to ruin one self not to approve of it. Nevertheless, the H. Abbot *Colomban*, who feared ought but God alone, spared not to conjure King *Thierry*, to put an end to his Debauches, by a legitimate Marriage, and refused to give Blessing to his Baldards, boldly assuring him, that God would never suffer the Sons of Sin to Reign. This Christian liberty thwarted too much the Interests and Pleasures of *Bruneaud*; the ceased not from irritating the King her Son against the Saint, till he had caused him to be plucked out of his Monastery with violence, and turned out of his Kingdom.

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At that time when she her self was driven from the Court of *Austrasia*, she had left one of her Servants there, bought with the price of Money, named *Bilechild*, a Virgin of much Wisdom, and more Beauty: *Theodebert* having Married her, the kindness that Prince had for her, begot the aversion of *Bruneaud*. It hapned that this year she dyed by some ill beverage. It was not known from what hand it was directed, whether that old jealous Woman, or her Husbands, who was grown weary of her, and would have another; as indeed he Married *Theodechild*, one of the same quality and condition.

But her death was imputed to *Bruneaud*, as well as the War that was kindled betwixt the two Brothers. *Theodebert*, a Prince more stupid and cruel then valiant, began it to his own misfortune, having taken *Alstia*, and the Countreys of *Suntow*, from *Tergow* and *Thierry*, alledging for a pretence, that he realigned them, as pieces belonging to the Kingdom of *Austrasia*. They had been so indeed, but *Childbert* had cut them off by his Testament, to join them to *Burgundy*.

The Lords of both Kingdoms prevailed with the two Brothers, to meet with Ten thousand Men apiece at a Castle situate on the *Rhine*, between *Saverin* and *Straßburg*, to refer all the differences between them to the *French*. *Thierry* came innocently thither with the numbers agreed to, but *Theodebert* brought a great Army, and beset his Brother; inasmuch as he was constrained, that he might get himself out of this Net, to yield up to him that Countrey which was in question.

After this, *Thierry* inflamed with a desire of Revenge, which was more blown up by *Bruneaud*, easily persuaded himself, that he was not his Brother, and vowed to pursue him to the death.

610. Emp. Heraclius elected by the Army, put Phocas to death, R. 34 years.

The end of this detestable War was, that *Thierry* having vanquished his Brother in two Battles, the most bloody and furious that can be imagined, the First hard by *Toul*, the Second at *Tolbiac*: he destroyed him with his whole Race. Some say that the *Ribarols* when he had made his escape to *Colen*, cut off his Head, and stuck it on the top of a Pike, to get the better Composition from the Conquerour; others tell, that he was taken beyond the *Rhine*, and carried to *Bruneaud*, who having first caused him to be flayed, Murdered him some few days after, as well as his two Sons, *Clouis* and *Meroveus*, which last he brained against a Wall. He Reigned 16 years, and Lived 25.

When *Thierry* had resolved first upon this fatal War, he made an agreement with *Clotaire*, that he might have no Enemy behind his back, and promised to restore the Dutchy of *Denstien* to him, upon condition; he would not concern himself in this quarrel.

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This Conduct of *Bruneband* became so insupportable to the *Austrasians*, that they haled her by force out of the Royal Palace, and led her even to the Frontiers of the Kingdom, where they left her all alone, clothed only in Rags, nigh the Castle of *Archie*, upon the River *Aube*, which parted the Kingdoms of her two Grandsons. A poor Man knowing whom she was, conducted her to *Chalons* upon the *Saone*, to her Son *Thierry*, who received her both with joy, and indignation at once. Her Conductor for his reward had the Bishoprick of *Auxerre*.

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* At Child's Ion.

The disorders of this Court were at such a height, that it was to ruin ones self not to approve of it. Nevertheless, the H. Abbot *Columban*, who feared nought but God alone, spared not to conjure King *Thierry*, to put an end to his Debauches, by a legitimate Marriage, and refused to give Blessing to his Baldards, boldly assuring him, that God would never suffer the Sons of Sin to Reign. This Christian liberty thwarted too much the Interests and Pleasures of *Bruneband*, she ceased not from irritating the King her Son against the Saint, till he had caused him to be plucked out of his Monastery with violence, and turned out of his Kingdom.

608.

At that time when she herself was driven from the Court of *Austrasia*, she had left one of her Servants there, bought with the price of Money, named *Bilechild*, a Virgin of much Wisdom, and more Beauty: *Theodebert* having Married her, the kindness that Prince had for her, begot the aversion of *Bruneband*. It hapned that this year she dyed by some ill beverage. It was not known from what hand it was directed, whether that old jealous Woman, or her Husbands, who was grown weary of her, and would have another; as indeed he Married *Theodechild*, one of the same quality and condition.

But her death was imputed to *Bruneband*, as well as the War that was kindled betwixt the two Brothers. *Theodebert*, a Prince more stupid and cruel then valiant, began it to his own misfortune, having taken *Alstia*, and the Countreys of *Suntow*, from *Tergow* and *Thierry*, alledging for a pretence, that he reassumed them, as pieces belonging to the Kingdom of *Austrasia*. They had been so indeed, but *Childbert* had cut them off by his Testament, to joyn them to *Burgundy*.

The Lords of both Kingdoms prevailed with the two Brothers, to meet with Ten thousand Men apiece at a Castle situate on the *Rhine*, between *Saveren* and *Strasbourg*, to refer all the differences between them to the *French*. *Thierry* came innocently thither with the numbers agreed to, but *Theodebert* brought a great Army, and beset his Brother; inasmuch as he was constrained, that he might get himself out of this Net, to yield up to him that Countrey which was in question.

After this, *Thierry* inflamed with a desire of Revenge, which was more blown up by *Bruneband*, easily persuaded himself, that he was not his Brother, and vowed to pursue him to the death.

610.
Emp. Heraclius elected by the Army, put Phocas to death, P. 35 years.

The end of this detestable War was, that *Thierry* having vanquished his Brother in two Battles, the most bloody and furious that can be imagined, the First hard by *Tout*, the Second at *Tolbiae*: he destroyed him with his whole Race. Some say that the *Ribarols* when he had made his escape to *Colen*, cut off his Head, and stuck it on the top of a Pike, to get the better Composition from the Conquerour; others tell, that he was taken beyond the *Rhine*, and carried to *Bruneband*, who having first caused him to be shaved, Murdered him some few days after, as well as his two Sons, *Clouis* and *Mervous*, which last he brained against a Wall. He Reigned 16 years, and Lived 25.

When *Thierry* had resolved first upon this fatal War, he made an agreement with *Clotaire*, that he might have no Enemy behind his back, and promised to restore the Duchy of *Dentelin* to him, upon condition; he would not concern himself in this quarrel.

610.
611.

CLOTAIRE II.
in one part of Neustria.

and

THIERRY.
in Austrasia, Bur-
gundy, and part of
Neustria.

612.

This War finished, Clotaire according to the Treaty, put himself in possession of the Dutchy of *Demelen*; but *Thierry* naturally violent, and grown more insolent by his Success and Victories, sent to him to withdraw his Garrisons, otherwise he would over-run his whole Countries with Armed Soldiers. And indeed Clotaire having scoffed at his threatening words, he made all his Forces march that way, when a sudden death put a period to all his Designs, and made his Armies retire again into their own Provinces.

612.

His Brother had left a Daughter, named *Bertoire*, who was about Twelve years old, he took a fancy to Marry her, *Bruneband* strove to dissuade him, shewing him that it was not lawful to Marry with his Niece; upon this he flies out into fury, even to the reproaching her, that she was then a wicked and unnatural Woman, who had caused him to Murder his Brother and Nephews; and had not been with-held, had at that time run her through with his Sword; but the cunningly dissembling, took a fit opportunity to give him poison, which brought a Disenter upon him, whereof he dyed in violent Torments. He is allowed 17 years Reign, and to have lived 26 years.

He had Six Sons, all Bastards, *Sigebert*, *Childebert*, *Corby*, *Merovent*, and two others, whose Names are not known. *Sigebert* was 11 years old, and *Childebert* Ten. He left *Austrasia* to the First, and to the Second he gave *Burgundy*.

CLOTAIRE II.
in Neustria.

SIGEBERT, in Austrasia.
aged Eleven years.

CHILDEBERT
in Burgundy, aged
Ten years.

Bruneband imagined that she should Reign still, under the name of her Great Grandsons; and to this end she would needs make one King of *Austrasia*, and the other King of *Burgundy*. But the *Austrasian* Lords, amongst others, *Arnulp* and *Pepin*, who could no longer endure this abominable Conduct, were more willing rather to submit to Clotaire; who much unlike his wicked Mother, had many Virtues of a good Prince. Those of *Burgundy* were likewise drawn into the same Conspiracy by their *Mayer Varnagier*. Clotaire assured of their Suffrages, pushed forwards with his Forces into *Austrasia*, as far as *Andervae*, which is betwixt *Bonne* and *Coblentz*: She sends to warn him out of the Territories of her Grand-Son; and he answers, that the Succession after *Thierry's* death belonged to him, to the exclusion of *Bastards*, and protests to stand to the Judgment and Award of the Lords of those Kingdoms.

But she being rather willing to trust to the chance of War, then their Judgment, caused *Sigebert* to mount on Horseback, who got together those People beyond the *Rhine*, as *Varnagier*, who had not declared himself, did those of *Burgundy*. *Sigebert* was advanced to defend the Frontiers of *Austrasia*, as far as the Plain of *Chaulons*, near to the River *d'Aisne*: there when the Armies were in a posture ready to come to blows, *Sigebert's* Men, upon a signal given, instead of Sounding a Charge, Sounded a Retreat; Clotaire pursues gently, without pressing upon them; and when they were got to the Banks of the *Soane*, they delivered up to him *Sigebert*, and his Brothers *Corby* and *Merovent*. *Childebert* saved himself on a nimble Horse; it is not known what became of him, a brave subject for the Genealogists, who would oblige some Family with his illustrious Pedigree.

613.

When Clotaire had got these Children, he went and encamped at *Rienne*, upon the brink of the *Vienne*, which disgorges into the *Soane*. *Bruneband* was retired with *Thudelain*, Sister to *Thierry*, to the Castle of *Urbe*, in the Country of the *Transjurain*; she was immediately taken, and brought to Clotaire: the same moment he had her in his power. *Sigebert* and *Corby* had their Throats cut; *Merovent*, who was his God-Son had his Life spared: but he must dye as to the world, by taking Sacred Orders upon him.

That done, the French were called together in a Military Assembly, to judge the miserable *Bruneband*. Clotaire himself became her Accuser, and represented all her Crimes, nay, even more than ever she had committed, for he reproached, her even with

with the death of Ten Kings, though he himself had killed two of them that very hour, and his Mother at least four. All cried out aloud, that she deserved death, and the most exquisite Torments; and this voice of the French Nation formed her Sentence. She was wracked three days together, afterwards they led her through the whole Camp upon a Camel, then they fastned her to the Tail of an unback'd Mare, who beat out her Brains, and dragging her over Stones and Briars, tore her in pieces. Others say she was drawn in pieces by four wild Horses; the Flames consumed her Carcase that was left, and the Wind sported with her Ashes. A terrible Judgment, which God, the Sovereign of Kings, caused these Men to execute upon her.

613.

CLOTAIRE II. called the GREAT,
remains sole King, Aged 32 or 33 years.

Thus for the Second time were all the parts of France restored to one hand; but Clotaire himself Governed only *Neustria*; for *Austrasia* and *Burgundy* would needs retain the Title of a Kingdom, and their distinct Officers: *Varnagier* was *Mayer* of *Burgundy*, *Kadom* of *Austrasia*, and they Ruled as Vice-Roys.

He had given the Office of *Patrician*, or Governor, in the Dutchy *Transjurain* to Duke *Herpin*, a very good Man, to settle things with Order and Justice. The Grantees of the Country fearing the Reformation might extend to them, caused him to be slain by the People. Clotaire going expressly into *Alfatia*, punished that crime, by the death of many that were guilty.

The *Patrician Aletea* had tampered in it with Count *Herpin*, and *Lendemon*, Bishop of *Sion*: beside, he grew so impudent, as to send to tempt the Queen by that wicked Bishop, to throw her self into his Arms with all the Kings Treasure, endeavouring to make her believe the King would dye that year inallibly, and that being of the Royal Blood of the *Burgundians*, would recover the Kingdom of *Burgundy*. The Queen sad and alarmed, having related this feigned Prophecie to her Husband, the Bishop made his escape into the Monastery of *Luxeu*. He had the good fortune to obtain his Pardon, by the intercession of the Abbot *Englisse*: but *Aletea* being Commanded to Court to give an account of his actions, could not justify himself, and paid down his Head for it.

Clotaire having no more Enemies, made it all his business to regulate his Kingdom, and establish Law and Justice. All those that had unjustly been thrust out of their Estates he restored again, he abolished all Imposts, that had been made without the consent of the French People, by *Bruneband* and *Thierry*; revoked all excessive Grants, and resumed all that had been Usurped, or Alienated from the Domestics of the Crown; enlarging the Fountain of his Revenues, at the same time when he eased his Subjects, for he had learned by *Bruneband's* example, that those people can easily forsake that Prince who oppresses them.

And likewise that he might keep Peace abroad, he released the *Lombards* of the 12000 Crowns of Gold which they owed him for Tribute; provided they paid him down in hand, what was due for three years only.

Queen *Bertrude*, a very good, and most amiable Princess, being dead, *Ann* 610. he espoused *Sichilda*; of whom he became so jealous, that he caused a Lord named *Bafon* to be killed, who he imagined held too great a correspondence with her. His eldest Son, whether by *Bertrude*, or by some other, was then about Twelve years old. He placed him under the Tuition of *Arnulp*, or *Arnold* Bishop of *Meis*, to instruct him in good Literature and Virtue.

The Book of the Gestes of *Dagobert* relates, how one day this young Prince Hunting a Buck, and that Beast taking Covert in the place, where as then were the Reliques of *St. Denis* and his Companions; a Divine power with-held the Dogs, so that they could never break into the place; That *Dagobert* some while afterwards, having incurred the indignation of his Father, because he had chastised the insolencies committed against him, by *Sadragsile*, Duke of *Aquitain*, who was made his Governour or Tutor, and remembering this Miracle, put himself for security into the same place; and that he found the same effect against those Men the King his Father sent to take him thence: In acknowledgment of which miraculous protection, he took the Holy Bodies out of that little Chappel, which was then but ill adorned, and much neglected, and built them a magnificent Church and a fair Abby. This Narrative, to say no more, is much suspected of fallacy.

614.

614, 15,
and the fol-
lowing.

619.

620.

622 and
623.

Ann 610.

623.

Austrasia more exposed to the Barbarian Nations than the other parts of *France*, needed to have a King upon the place; *Clovis* gave this Kingdom to *Dagobert*, under the Regiment of *Pepin* the Old, who was *Mayor* of the Palace; (the Moderns call him *Pepin de * Landen*,) and *Arnold* Bishop of *Metz*; but referred to himself all the *Ardenner*, and the *Vosges*, with the Cities of *Aquitain*, which the Kings of *Austrasia* had possessed.

* This a Burrough upon the confines of Brabant, and of *Hain*.

CLOTAIRE II.
in Neustria and Bur-
gundy.

DAGOBERT
his Son in part of Aus-
tralia, aged 15 years.

Dagobert was 15 or 16 years of age when he began to Reign, whilst he followed the wise Counsels of *Pepin* and *Arnold*, and afterwards of *Cunibert* Bishop of *Cohen*; his Life was an exemplar of Wisdom, of Continency, and of Justice.

524

The Nation of the Venedes and Slavonians, inhabited originally that part of the European Sarmatia, which is at this day called Prussia; from whence in process of time, they spread from the Scythian Sea even as far as the Elbe, and from the Elbe as far as Bavaria, and Hungary, may even into Greece, and occupied Dalmatia, and Liburnia, which from their Name have to this day the appellation of Slavonia. There were above Thirty people Slavonians; those who possessed Carinthia, Carniola, and the other Country along the Danube, were under the Dominion of the Avaros, who were gotten into the Land; which the Lombards had forsaken, when they passed over the Alpes. The places near Italy obey'd the Lombards, there were some of them free; those that were under the subjection of the Avaros, finding it heavy and tyrannical, cast off the yoke, and chose for their King one named Samon, a French Merchant, Native of the Bishoprick of Sens, who Traded into their Country, and appeared to them to be a Man of a good Head-piece. It is believed he resided in Carinthia, and that from thence he extended his Kingdom to the Elbe; and at length to the confines of Turingia.

626.
The 4th. of
Diagobert.

The fourth year of his Reign, *Dagoberi* is lent for by his Father, who Marries him with *Gomatrude*, Sister of *Sichida* his Wife. The Nupruals were kept at the Palace of *Clichy*, where his Festival ended in a quarrel between the Father and Son. The last would have what his Father referred to himself, of that which belonged to the Kings of *Austrasia*. The business put to a reference of Twelve French Lords, the Son going what he demanded, except the Cities of *Aquitain*.

St. *Arnold* quits the Court and his Bishoprick, to retire into Solitude, where he passed the remainder of his most happy Life. *Cunibert* Bishop of *Colen*, a Prelate of great Merit, took his place in the Councils of *Dagobert*, and the friendship of *Pepin*.

Pepin. Varnagier was Deceased, and his Son *Godin* killed by the Kings Command, upon an accusation of the crime of *Luse Majestaty*, brought against him by his Fathers Wife, whom he had married, but was forced to part withal, because such Incest was punishable with death; *Clataire* assembles the Estates of *Burgundy* at *Troyer*, and asked whether they would Elect another; they made reply, that they desired no other but him: and hence that they were a long time without any.

628.

but him; and fince that they were a long time without
 Thofe of *Saxony* were a potent People, it comprehended divers of different
 Names, and they had Dukes in them, *Dagobert* making War upon them
 the *French*, were this year revolted against them. *Dagobert* making War upon them
 was wounded with a sword, which took off part of his Helmet, and a
 little of his skyn from his Head, with fome of his Hair. It is said, that having
 seen the tokens to his Father all bloody, who was Hunting him *Ardenner*, the King
 moved by his good nature, got what Forces he could together, and having passed
 the *Rhine*, attacked the *Saxons*, encamped on the other side of the *Wefer*, where
 he flew *Bertald* their Duke with his own hand; and after scowering over all the
 country, he did not leave any one of them alive, that was taller then his Sword.
 Holden at

In the Assembly of the Estates of *Nedrigia* and *Burgundy*, which was holden at *Clichy*, there arose a great quarrel. *Eginaire*, Intendant of *Ariberts* Palace, the Second Son of *Cloaire*, having been killed by *Egina's* People; the Favourite of the King, the young Prince and his Uncle *Brunalph* would revenge his death. *Egina* encamps with his Friends upon the side of *Montmercuire*, or *Montmars*, at this day

Mont-Martre. But the King having commanded the *Burgundians* to fall upon the first that began to stir, it cooled the hottest amongst them.

After the death of King of the Lombards, and Son of King *Adalulf*, had been poisoned by his People, *Arinald* was raised to the Throne upon the contrivance of his wife *Gundeberg* Sister to *Adalald*; who nevertheless being accused how she intended to Poison him, that the mighty Marry *Tafin* Duke of *Tuscany*, he had kept her Prisoner for three years. King *Cloaire*, to whom she was of King, took compassion on her, and commanded his Ambassadors to reproach that wicked Husband. One of these having upon his own head propoed to the Lombard King that it would be well to put the decision of so important a matter to the Judgment of God by Combat, two Relations of *Gundeberg* brought a Champion, who vanquishing *Adalulf* (so was the Accuser called) asserted and recovered the Honour and Liberty of that Prince.

This year is remarkable for the Death of that famous Impiour, and most false Prophet Mahomet, whose abominable Religion composed partly of Judaism, and partly of the Whimsies of several Hereticks were retired into privacy, and accommodated to the Sensualities of Corrupt Nature, was embraced by such Robbers and wicked Varlets as knew neither Justice nor the Deity. The greatest part of our Hemisphere hath Submitted to the Tyranny of that Law; and had it not been for the Valour of the French, they had divers times made themselves Masters of all Europe.

The *Æra* or manner of accounting and Calculating the time by this *Sell*, commences at the year of the *Egyra*, or the Retreat of Mahomet to the City of Medina, which hapned the 26th of July in the Six hundred twenty second year of *Jesus Christ*; But it must be noted that they are *Lunary* years, consisting but of 354 days, whereas those amongst *Christians* are *Solar* of 365 days, without reckoning the *Bissextile*.

The Death of *Clotair* hapned Anno 628. in some Houfe of his near *Paris* : He was buried at *St. Vincent*, at this time *St. Germain des Prez* ; The time of his Reign in *Neustria*, within four months of the time of his Age, was about forty five years, and his Reign over all *France*, after the death of *Thierry*, was fourteen.

We know the names of two of his Wives : the one was *Bertrude*, the other *Sigibida* ; perhaps he may have had some other before these. He left two Sons, *Dagobert* and *Aribert*, of what Mothers we cannot tell certainly, but only that they were not both of one and the same Bed.

He was an affable Prince, very different from the cruel and brutish ferocity of his Predecessors, Just, Pious, instructed in good Learning, and Liberal, especially towards the Church and such as professed a Monastick Life.

Their Kings were always chosen of the Blood of the Reigning Race; three Conditions were required in them, their Birth, (it mattered not whether they were Legitimate) the Will of the Father, and the Consent of the Grandees; the laft did ever almost follow the two firft. After the death of *Charles* (as I believe) they added to the ancient Custom of lifting them upon the Target*, that of feating them on the Throne or Regal Chair; which had neither Arms nor Back, for a King must pufh up to his own strength; The Regal Ornaments were a long Hair or Locks pleited, the Purple Mantle and Tunic, and the Diadem or Head-band enriched with Precious Stones.

When they left Children that were in Minority, if they had not allotted their shares, the Queen-Mother and the Grantees ordained as they thought convenient, and had the Administration of Affairs, and the Education or Bailiffs of the Minor Kings. From hence these Lords were called *Nourriciers*; (* *Nursers*) but there was one amongst the rest that bore this Title.

When a King undertook any Expedition, they held up their Hands in token of the Affiance which they promised him ; Peace might be made without them, but War could not. In Civil Discords they made themselves Arbitrators between the Princes, and obliged them to agree.

The first day of *March* they held an Assembly in the open Field under Tents, where the Militia was often sent for; Because of the day on which they met, was called the *Field of Mars*. The Kings prefided and consulted with the *Lords* concerning the Affairs of that year either touching Peace or War; These Assemblies gave them the Command of the Armies, which was not necessarily tied to their Persons, at least till the time of *Clotiv*. They ever had about them a certain number of *Braves* or *Barons* who guarded them, and for their safety exposed themselves to all manner of dangers.

628.

Manners and Customs.

* *Le Pavois.*

* *F0Server*.

Campylobacter

were by order of King *Childebert*, and the first of these two, to review the Process against the Bishop *Sagaracus*, who had been condemned and deposed (the Sentence was confirmed); the other to confirm some Canons touching the Discipline. The fourth was held by the consent of *Chilperic I.* to suppress the attempt of *Giles* Metropolitan of *Rheims*, who had ordained one *Prometus* Bishop in the City of *Chasteaudun*, though it depended on the Bishoprick of *Chartres*, and had never been made an Episcopal See. The fifth was summoned by order of *Clotaire II.* for Reformation of Abuses. I do not speak of that in the year 577, where *Pretextat* of *Rouen* was condemned, having suffered himself by a credulous and weak condescension to be induced to confess such Crimes which he had not committed: no more then that of *Valence*, Anno 584. which confirmed all the Grants King *Gontran*, his Wife, and his Daughters had bestowed on the Church. There were three at *Lyons*, the first under *Sigismund* before noted, the second in 567, and the third in 583. Two at *Macon*, the first Anno 581. the second four years afterwards, all these four by the Authority of King *Gontran*. One at *Tours*, Anno 567. in the Reign of *Childebert*, which ordained many things, and confirmed the Religious Congregation of *Virgins* instituted by *St. Radegond*. One at *Auxerre*, Anno 578. where none met but the Bishop of the Place, (his name was *Annaquaire*) with his Abbots and Priests. King *Recarede* called one at *Narbonne*, Anno 589. *Clotaire II.* one at *Metz*, Anno 590. and one at *Paris*, which was the fifth, Anno 619. as we have already hinted. In that of *Metz*, *Giles* Bishop of *Rheims* was condemned for the Crime of Treason, deposed and banished to *Strasbourg*.

Of all these Councils there was only that of *Orange* that meddled with Controversies, having fully discussed the points of Grace, according to the Judgment of *St. Augustin*, and of the Holy Chair. The rest spent their time to compose Quarrels and Disputes, or about Discipline, and especially such particulars as we have already mentioned. This History not allowing us to quote more than some necessary Articles.

In the reading of these Councils, one may observe, that there were great multitudes of *Lepers* and of *Jews* in *France*; (perhaps the *Jews* had brought in and spread abroad that Leprosy.) That the Bishop took care to relieve the first, and prohibited all manner of Communication with the other.

The Church had a particular care of the Poor, of Widdows and Orphans, the first being made as it were of the Family, the rest under their Protection: in so much that they espoused their Cause in Courts of Judicature, and the Judges never gave Sentence in any Cause of theirs, but he first acquainted the Bishop thereof.

In her Judicature she followed that Order Established by the *Roman* or Written Law. The Canons concerning Degrees prohibited, were different according to the different Countries. In the beginning in some Churches they hardly prohibited the Marrying with two Sisters, or two Brothers; But the Council of *Agde*, the third of *Orleans* and other following Councils, extended it to a Niece, to the Aunt, to the Brothers Widdow, and the Uncles, to the Wives Sister, to Cousins and Cousin-Germans.

There were Sanctuaries in the most famous Churches, which the Bishops made good to the utmost of their power. Their intercession often times obtained Pardon for the greatest Criminals; and whatever failings themselves did fall into, they most commonly came off only with Degradation or Banishment, their Brethren most times persuading the Kings to spare their Lives.

St. Augustin had began to persuade the Faithful to give the Tithe of their Goods for the relief and support of the Poor, grounded upon this Principle, That Christians were obliged to a greater Perfection then the *Jews*, who had allowed it to the Levites. The Prelates of the second Council of *Tours* exhorted the People to pay them to God, according to the example of the Patriarch *Abraham*. The second of *Macon* ordained it, as being a Right and Duty Established in the Old Testament, and which they affirmed had been of a very long time observed by the Christians. The Temporal Lords to whom they primarily belonged, bestowed much upon the Monasteries, little on the Bishops and Curats; to whom notwithstanding, in case they were of Divine Right, they ought to belong.

There were few Festivals observed as Holy in all Churches, except *Christmas*, *Easter*, and *Whitsuntide*. The noblest of the Dioceses were obliged to keep them in the Episcopal City: the Country Curates the same, as likewise to meet at the Synod which

which was yearly held at a time certain. The King solemnized these Holy-days in what City he pleased; and the Bishops ambitiously courted and strove who should have that honour in his own Church. Since, that Method being altered, and the Charms of the World being stronger to allure the Bishops to Court, then the Duties of Christianity were to draw the Court to the Church: the Kings celebrated those Festivals in their Palaces, and the Bishops forsaking their Flocks went thither in greater Crowds then was desired.

New Cells or Hermitages were not suffered to be made, nor new Congregations of Monks without the Bishops allowance. An Abbot durst not run forth nor absent himself from his Monastery; when he fell into any fault, the Bishop might displace him, and give him a Successor; and if he were rebellious he was not admitted to the Communion. Shame alone could not confine and keep those in their Monasteries who had Vowed and Dedicated themselves to God, but the Church compell'd them to continue by all the Penalties that were in her power.

No Tribute or Tax was raised upon any thing belonging to the Church, neither upon their Foundations, their Goods, nor their Persons; and neither the Judges, nor the Kings Receivers could exercise any Power or Jurisdiction on their Lands. But those Bishops and Abbots who desired to obtain the King's, or the *Grandes* favour and protection, having begun to make them Euloges or Presents, this Custom grew into a necessary Right and Duty, which was afterwards exacted from them, when they failed to do it voluntarily.

Dagobert

Dagobert I. King XI.

POPE.

HONORIUS I. Who S. nine years and
an half during this Reign.

DAGOBERT I. Aged Twenty six years, in Neustria, Austrasia, and Burgundy.
ARIBERT, Aged Thirteen or fourteen years, in part of Aquitaine.

629.
* Aribert, Charibert, and
Gisbert are
the same
Name.

Prince * Aribert being with King Clotaire when he died, it might be thought that in the absence of his Brother Dagobert who was in Austrasia, he might with his Fathers Treasure have raised Men and Friends enough, to have seized on the Kingdom: but as he was young, and perhaps his Father had bequeathed him no part in the Kingdom, by his last Testament, it was in vain that Brunolph, his Mothers Brother, endeavoured to stir up the Neustrians in his behalf. Dagobert used such diligence, that he made himself secure of the Kingdoms of Neustria and Burgundy: so that Aribert with his Uncle were constrained to go and meet him, and to submit. It was in the beginning of the Seventh year of his Reign in Austrasia.

Nevertheless as it were out of pity, and according to the counsel of the French Lords, he gave him Saintonge, Perigord, Agenois, Thouloisain, and all the third Aquitaine. Aribert settled his Royal Throne at Thoulousfe.

As soon as he was acknowledged in Neustria, he went to visit Burgundy, which in many years had not beheld a King, but was governed by Mayers, neither had they had any Mayer since the death of Varnaquier.

Being at St. John de Laone, he heard the complaints of his People, rendred Justice to all his Subjects, took a care to compose all their Disputes: but it seems all these fair appearances were but to cover a Villanous Murther, for which purpose perhaps he had undertaken this Journey. For one Morning going into a Bath, he commanded three Lords of the Court to kill Brunolph who had followed him, though he was guilty of nothing, unless being affectionate to the Interest of his Nephew Aribert, they might apprehend he would be again stirring and acting something for him.

It seems the Neustrian and the Austrasian Lords did each of them struggle, who should possess the King. The first carried it from the others, by taking him on the blind side, and flattering him in his Passions. The Queen Gomstrude was an Austrasian of Kin to Canibert and Pepin, who were present at her Wedding, the Neustrians who knew the amorous inclination of their Prince, persuaded him to repudiate her upon the pretence of Barrenness, to Marry Namilda one that served him.

By this means Ega Mayer of the Neustrian Palace, got the highest place in the young Kings favour, who presently dismissed Canibert, but retained Pepin still at Court; not to make use any more of his Counsel, but for fear he might cause the Kingdom of Austrasia to revolt, his Office of Mayer of the Palace and his Vertues giving him too great a power.

Namilda was soon deprived of the Affection of her Husband by another Woman. Being gone into Austrasia, and delighting to shew himself in his Royal Habit to those Provinces, with great Pomp and a splendid Court, he in her room took a very beautiful Virgin named Ragnetrude. Sometime after he Married two more

Women, Wisigunde and Bertechilde, (for Kings thought they had this Privilege of having several) and took as many Mistresses as the desire and gust of change could wish for, which is infinite.

After he had thrown off his two prudent Gouvernours, who kept him within compass, he let himself loose to all the heats of his Youth, and the violence of his Sovereign Authority. The first cast him into all sorts of Pleasures; The second made him heap up Money, and lay his griping Hand upon his Subjects Treasure, as if all had been his own. It was natural to see a Prince of Twenty six years to be amorous: but it was a prodigy against nature, that at that age he should have such a covetous heart, as nothing could satisfy. Nevertheless being in himself at the bottom very good, the Remonstrances of St. Amand Bishop of Tongres, somewhat allay'd the heat of his Covetousness; He took Namilda his first Wife again, and lived with her the rest of his days.

Mean time he had a Son by Ragnetrude the same year that he Married her. He sent to pray his Brother Aribert to come and hold it at the Font. Both of them met at Orleans for that Ceremony, and the Child was Baptized by the Bishop St. Amand, and named Sigebert.

Aribert was no sooner returned to Thoulousfe, but he died; and his Son Chiperis who was yet in his Cradle, survived him but a few days. It was suspected that Dagobert had contributed to the death of that Innocent, to regain Aquitaine by seizure, as he presently did.

DAGOBERT I. Sole King.

It is certain this King had a singular Devotion for St. Denis, and his fellow-Martyrs, and that he Erected a Church in honour of him, to which he joynd a rich Abby. But the subject or cause which we related elsewhere, passes amongst the Critics but for a Fable; I cannot tell whether it be a truth that he unfurnished several other Churches of their most precious Ornaments to enrich this same.

It hapned this year that some French Merchants who Traded with the Slavonians were Robbed: King Samon having refused to repair this Wrong, Dagobert would needs right himself by the Sword. The King of the Lombards and the Duke of the Alemans, the first of which was Allied, and the other Subject to France, attacked them jointly on the one hand, whilst the Austrasian French assaulted them on the other.

The first got the advantage and slew a great many of them: but the Austrasians who were discontented with Dagobert, because he had preferred his Residence in Neustria before that of Austrasia, behaved themselves very cowardly. For having besieged the Castle of Vagathburgh, wherein the bravest of the Enemies had put themselves, they raised it the third day, and retreated in great disorder.

After this the Slavonians were emboldned to make Incursions in Thuringia, and other Countries belonging to the French. And Debas or Dervan, Duke of the Sorabes (they were a People of Slavonia who inhabited Misfia) drew himself off from the Obedience of the French to put himself under Samon.

There had been of a long standing a Colony of Bulgarians who had taken up their Quarters in Panohia, where they were Allied or become Tributaries to the Avars, who possessed the greatest part of that Province with that of Dacia. It is disputed whether the ancient Bulgaria was in Sarmatia Asiatica, along the River Volga, otherwise called Rba, or else in the European on the borders of the Euxine. Now the Bulgarians being entred into a War with the Avars were vanquished and so trodden under foot, that there were left but nine thousand, who were forced to forsake the Country with their Wives and Children. These Wretches having besought Dagobert to give them an abiding in some Corner of his Dominions, he sent orders to the Bavarois to receive them and to quarter them separately in Villages and Burroughs, till the Estates of the Kingdom had ordained how to dispose of them.

The Estates found the best Expedient would be to cut the Throats of them all in one Night, and that was put in execution but too punctually. One of their Chiefs having got some wind of it, made his escape with seven hundred of them into Slavonia, that Country is yet called the March of Wenden, between the Rivers Save and Drave.

The Visigths in Spain made and un-made their Kings as they pleased. This year 631. the Government of Saintila who had Reigned ten years, being uneasy and displeasing to them, they cast their Eyes upon Sifenand, who implored the Assistance

631.

631.

631.

631.

631.

of *Dagobert*, promising him in Recompence the great Golden Vase or Vessel, weighing 500 pounds and enriched with Jewels, which *Aetius* had bestowed upon *Torismond* for helping him against *Attila*. *Sisenand* being inflamed in his Throne by the assistance of the *French*, could not refuse this Vessel to the Ambassadors: but the *Visigoths* Way-laid them and took it away again from them by force. *Dagobert* was offended and threatened; the business was canvassed, and in the conclusion he was contented with two hundred thousand pieces of Silver.

As he was raising great Forces to stop the Incurfions which King *Samon* with his *Slavonians* made into *Turingia*, the *Saxons* came and profer'd to repel them at their own Peril and Charge, if they would forgive them the Tribute of Five hundred Beeves which they owed to *France*. The profer was accepted, and they were relied upon to make good their Promise; but either they wanted strength, or perhaps faith to perform it and secure *Turingia* as was expected.

Thus it continued still exposed to the infoleny of those Barbarians. The *Neustrians* were too remote to defend them, the *Austrasians* should have done it; and they had strength more then enough to have accomplished it, but being ill affected, they did not much trouble themselves about it. It was necessary therefore to regain their hearts and affections to give them a King that should reside amongst them.

DAGOBERT in
Neustria and Bur-
gundy.

SIGEBERT his Son
in Austrasia.

633. Wherefore *Dagobert* having Assembled the Prelates and the Lords of this Kingdom at *Metz*, he by their Advice, and with their Consent makes his Son *Sigebert* King of *Austrasia*, furnished him with a Royal Treasure, that is to say rich Moveables, Precious Vases or Vessels, and Silver Coyne, and left the Conduct of his Education, of his Court, and his State to *Cunibert* Bishop of *Colen*, and to the Duke *Adalgise*. Then the *Austrasians* counting themselves restored to their Liberty, because they had a King, stood up for their Honour, and valiantly repulsed the *Slavonians*.

634. The following year he had a Son born by Queen *Nantilda*, who was named *Clovis*. *Nantilda* considering that if her Husband should come to die without settling the Succession, this Son would have no share, solicited him so earnestly, that he sent for the Lords of *Austrasia*, and made them understand that he meant and intended that *Neustria* and *Burgundy* should belong to the Infant that was newly born: but that all the Cities of *Aquitain*, of *Provence*, and of *Neustria*, which had been joynted to the Kingdom of *Austrasia* should so remain united, excepting the Dutchy of *Dentelen*, which *Theodebert* the Young, had taken from King *Clotaire*.

635. The *Gascens* who had possessed one part of the *Novem-populania*, or third *Aquitain*, had again began their Robberies after the death of *Caribert*. There were sent twelve Dukes with the Militia of *Burgundy*, and several Counts without Dukes to bring them to their Duty. They sallied forth out of their Rocks and their Fastnesses, and set upon the *French* with wonderful alacrity: but after all they found it better to make use of their agility to save themselves then to Fight; They were pursued without stop or stay, and Fire and Sword slew after them even into their strongest Retreats; till there being no other security left them but the Mercy of their Prince, they promised to fall down at his Feet and submit to all his Commands.

I know not where some Authors have found how *Aquitania Secunda* was concerned in their Revolt, and that *Dagobert* having gone thither in Person, razed the City of *Poitiers* and sowed it with Salt in token of its Desolation. If this were true, it must have been because of the too heavy Imposts upon Salt, that the *Poitevins* Rebelled.

485. The lucre of Plunder had likewise incited the *Bretons* to run upon the *French* Territories. *Eloy*, who was since Bishop of *Noyon*, went and demanded Reparation of their King *Judicael* or *Gignel* Son and Successor of *Jugel*. He found it no difficult thing to persuade that Prince, that he were better come and wait on the King then have his Country over-run and plundered by the Forces that were returning Victorious out of *Gascogne*: he brought him to the Palace of *Clichy*, where he humbly craved pardon of *Dagobert*, promised him for the future to prevent the like Disorders, and submitted both himself and Kingdom to his disposal.

The *Gascen* Lords, with their Duke *Aigbina* came to the same place, as they had promised the foregoing year, to surrender themselves up to the mercy of *Dagobert*; and because they dreaded his wrath, they had recourse to the intercession of *St. Denis*, and put themselves into Sanctuary in his Church. The King in honour to that Saint, gave them their Lives and Fortunes, and they in acknowledgment laying their hands up on his Altar, swore an eternal Fidelity to him, to his Sons, and to all his Successors, Kings of *France*.

The whole Kingdom was in peace, both within and without at this time; *Dagobert* did not enjoy this Repose very long: for the Second year he was taken with a Dylentery at *Epfinay*, which was one of his Royal Houses upon the *Seine*, a little below *St. Denis*. His Sickness increasing, he made them carry him to that Abby, where he dyed the 17th of January, in the year 638. being very near 38 years of age. He Reigned in all but 16 years, as I think, that is; Six in his Fathers life time, and Ten after his death. At his dying he earnestly recommended his Wife *Nantilda*, and his Son *Clovis* to *Ega*, Mayre of the Palace of *Neustria*, and to such Grandees as were then present.

The great Donations he made to the most famous Churches of *France*, deserve the unparallel'd Encomiums of the Clergy, who have allowed him all the qualities of as virtuous, as Wise, as Valiant, and as much accomplish'd a Prince, either for Peace or War, as any that ever Reigned over the *French*.

The Chronology begins to be very confus'd and uncertain in this Reign, for some will have it that he dyed An. 639. others, that it was in 643. Some reckon the Sixteen years of his Reign from the death of his Father, others, from the year that he made him King of *Austrasia*. I am of the opinion of the latter.

Gold and Silver had been very scarce and rare in *France* in the Reign of *Clovis* and his Children; but since then, the Expeditions they made into *Italy*, the Pensions they drew from the Emperours of the *East*; and as it is credible, the Commerce they settled with the Nations in the *Levant*, brought great quantities of those precious Metals, as likewise precious Stones, and rich Vases, and Ornaments; inasmuch, that the Bravery and Luxury of the Court of *France*, was not inferior to the Emperours.

Clovis II. King XII.

POPE S,

SEVERIAN Elect in 639.
S. Some Months.

JOHN IV. Elect in Decemb:
639. S. One year nine Months.

THEODORE, Elect in Novemb. 641 S. Seven years and half.

MARTIN I. Elect in July 649
S. Six years three Months.

EUGENIUS I. Elect in August 654, S. One year.

PEPIN and then SIGEBERT in 639. CLOVIS II. in 639. EGA then ER
GRIMOALD, Aufrasia, aged 8. Neutria, aged 4. CHINOALD
Maire, or 9 years. Maire.

638.

WE shall now henceforward behold the Royal Power in the hands of the Mayres of the Palace, and all the affairs of State, governed according to their capricious Fancies and their Interests. Pepin delivered by the death of Dagobert, who had always kept him near himself, upon some Honourable pretence, got again into the administration of his Office of Mayre of Aufrasia. Dagobert having committed the Government of that Kingdom to Duke Aldagise; that Lord gave it up to him, either willingly or by compulsion, and he gave notice thereof to Cunibert the Bishop, his old friend, who was Governour to Sigebert. It was perhaps for his sake that he transferr'd the Court, and Royal Seat of Aufrasia, from the City of Metz to that of Colen.

638.

At the instance of the Governours of Aufrasia, who required that the Fathers Treasures should be divided betwixt the two young Kings; the Grandees both of the one, and the other Kingdoms assembled at Compigne, to make the estimate, and to share it.

639.

A year after Pepin's return into Aufrasia, he fell sick and dyed, having held the Office of Mayre Seventeen years: a Man as great for Honesty as Policy, being one according to the Heart of God and Man: by his Wife Itha, whom some do name Juberge, he had three Children, a Son named Grimoald, and two Daughters, Beghe and Gertrude; The First Married Aufgise* the Son of St. Arnold, and Father of young Pepin; and being a Widow, Devoted her self to God in the Monastery of Nivelle, with her Mother who built it, and her Sister Gertrude.

* Aufgise,
Aufgise, Au-
ebius.

Grimoald, with the assistance of Cunibert, got himself into possession of the Office of Mayre of the Palace: but Otto, who was Bail, or Fostere of the young Prince, and for that reason, very powerful in the Kings House, disputed it with him for three years. In fine, Grimoald, to enjoy it quietly, caused him to be slain by Lentaire, Duke of the Alamans. This is the First time that Office descended from Father to Son; hereafter we shall find it Hereditary.

640.

During this Discord, and the minority of Sigebert, Radulfe, or Raoul, Duke of Turingia, sets up for Sovereign; having allied himself with the Slavonians, and made a League with Fare, who would needs revenge the death of Chrodoald his Father, whom King Dagobert had caused to dye for his Crimes. The Aufrasian Lords led the Forces of their Kingdom, and the King himself thither, to chastise their Rebellion. At first, Fare having dared to come and meet them, was discomfited, and laid

dead

Clovis II. King XII.

dead upon the spot, with the best part of his Men. But the end was not answerable to the beginning. Radulfe being retreated with his Forces, resolved to undergo all extremities, in a Castle built of Wood, which he had furnished with all sorts of Provisions, upon a Hill, nigh the River Ousefrud; and Sigebert having Besieged him, a difference happened amongst his Commanders, some would immediately assault it, others would give the Soldiers time to refresh, and recruit themselves. The First perished obstinately, and went up to make their Attack, the rest foreseeing what the event would be, found fit to remain in their Camp, and keep about the King's Person. Radulfe comes forth to meet those that were climbing up to assault him, beats them back, and tumbled them down the steep Hill head-long with great slaughter: the young King who was on Horseback could do nothing more then weep, to behold them cutting the Throats of his Men in his sight. Those who were about him, grew so much afraid, that they sent to demand permission of Radulfe, that they might retire, and had leave from him as a singular favour.

Ega, Mayre of Neustria being dead this year of a Fever, at the Palace of Clitichy, Erchimold, who was of Kinn to King Dagobert, by his Mothers side, a person who had all the Virtues that could be desired for that great Office, was substituted in his place.

It was in the Lords of the Kingdom to elect the Mayre, and in the King, or his Guardian to confirm him. Since the death of Vastardus, who ended his life, An 607, there had been none in Burgundy. Queen Nautilda having held an Assembly of the most Principal at Orleans, which was become the Capital of that Kingdom, recommended Floacbat her near kinsman to them, who was chosen for the place.

This good Queen ended her life soon after, having Governed in Neustria four years and a half, without any trouble.

While she was alive, there arose some jealousy in the Governours of Aufrasia, against those of Neustria and Burgundy, because those would fain have joined these two Kingdoms to their own, and have put all France under the Empire of Sigebert, as it had been under that of Clotaire: Erchimold and Floacbat understanding their design, united themselves more closely together, and promised each other mutual assistance.

Floacbat made use of this Union to ruine Villebald or Guillebaud, Duke of the Transjurains, his Enemy. They had reconciled themselves, and sworn, and given mutual Faith to each other on the Tombs of Saints, and divers Holy Relicks: Nevertheless Floacbat did not forbear, having caused Guillebaud to come to an Assembly which was held at Autun, to fall upon him in his Lodgings; Guillebaud defended himself very bravely, at length he was over-powered and slain, with a great number of his friends, and his Equipage rifled by Erchimold's followers. But the Murderer, as by Divine Judgment, was seized with a burning Fever, going down the Saon, of which he dyed.

The Sarrazins, a People of Arabia, who were known even in the days of Pompey the Great; and who had since served the Romans in their Armies, were retired into their own Countreys, and had frequently made incursions upon the Empire. As they were addicted to Robberies, and had neither Law nor Religion; they easily embraced the Mahometan, which was propagated by the Sword.

That Impostor lived but Ten years after he had declared himself Legislator, and made no great progress, having only small numbers of Soldiers, rather like a Captain of Thieves, or High-way Men, then a Prince. But in a very short time his Successors raised themselves prodigiously. Abubecre, the next after him broke into Syria, Ann. 635. his Successor Omar took Damas, with all that fair Province, Ann. 636. and in a few years afterwards Phoenicia, Palestine, Egypt, and Persia in self; the last King whereof was Isidger, interdicting all those Countreys with the Superstitions of Mahomet. Their Sovereign Commanders were Heads of their Religion, as well as of the State; and they were called Caliphs; an Arabian word, which signifies Lieutenant, that is to say of God, whom they pretended to represent both in Spirituals and Temporal.

A great Famine which afflicted Neustria, obliged Clovis to take the great Plates of Silver, which covered the Tabernacle or Chappel of St. Dennis his Shrine, to buy Provisions for the feeding of the Poor; a pious and just Act, for which, nevertheless the Monks say, that God did severely punish him, having weakened and stupified his Spirits. It is true, he had a weak Brain, and all those that descended from him, were tainted with that Defect; but at that time he was not above 14 or 15 years of age at most.

I 2

The

641.
Emp.
Constance, Son of Hera-
clius, R. four
Months.
Then Hera-
clius, Son of
his Step-mo-
ther, R. Six
Months.
642.
642.
Emp.
Constance, Son
of Constance,
R. 26 years.

644.

645.

650.

The indigency of Authors of those times is so great, and the stile of such as are yet left of them, so confused, that we can hardly tell any thing of certainty, neither as to their actions, nor to the time. Some Chronologists place in *Ann.* 650. the First day of *February*, the death of *Sigebert*, King of *Austrasia*, who lived but little above 21 years. His Merciful Humour, his Devotion, and Ten or Twelve Abbeys which he built in his Kingdom, have acquired him a room in the Roll of Saints. His Body was buried in the Abby-Church of *St. Martin*, which he had erected in the Suburbs of *Metz*, from whence it was transferr'd to *Nancy*; when the *French* demolished it, to maintain the Siege against the Emperour *Charles V.* in the year 1552.

He had but one Son, named *Dagobert*, aged at most but two years. *Grimoald* his *Mayre* of the Palace published, that before he had that Child, he had adopted his Son, named *Childebert*. It is not credible that he could despair of having any at the age of 19 years, unless that he had made a vow of Continence, and afterwards had broken that Vow again. But perhaps *Grimoald* proclaimed this, to have some Title to usurp the Kingdom, as he did, when he thought he had disposed things so as he might undertake it.

CLOVIS II.
Neustria and Bur-
gundy.

DAGOBERT an Infant
in Austrasia.

651.

In the mean time *Dagobert* the Son of *Sigebert*, bore the name of a King a year and an half or two years, in which time I meet with nothing considerable, or memorable.

653.

Towards the year 653, *Grimoald* imagining, as it is probable, that he had duly taken all his measures, caused him to be hoven by *Didon*, Bishop of *Poitiers*, and banished, and transported him into *Ireland*, under the Guard of some people, whom we may believe, had all the care imaginable to keep him concealed, and confined in some remote Monastery. It was a long time before any news could be heard of him; the Queen *Innechild* his Mother, sheltered her self under the protection of King *Clovis*, with whom, as afterwards with *Childeric II.* his Son, he had great Interest and Power.

652.

This done, *Grimoald* confidently sets up his Son upon the Throne; there are proofs of some Royal Acts he did; but this attempt lost him all the veneration the *Austrasians* had for the memory of *Pepin*, and gave them such horror for their *Mayre* and his Son, that having taken them in some Ambuscades laid for them, they led *Grimoald* to *Paris* to King *Clovis*, who caused him to be put to death, or as others will have it, confined him to perpetual imprisonment; however there was no more heard of him. It is not said what became of his Son, nor whether the *Austrasians* elected another *Mayre*. Perhaps *Erbinoald* executed that Office in all the three Kingdoms: for since the Decease of *Floacat*, the *Burgundians* had created none.

CLOVIS II. Solus.

653. &c.

In these Minorities there being no Authority great enough to curb the Grandees, they audaciously undertook to do any thing what pleased them best, and most commonly deciding their quarrels by the Sword, they put all the Kingdom into a combustion.

655.

The Authors of those times accuse *Clovis* with giving himself up to the Debauchery, or pleasures of the Mouth, and Women, and make a mighty noise for his having plucked off an Arm from the Body of *St. Denis*, to place it in his Oratory. They say he immediately fell into a fit of Madness, as if he had been smote from Heaven, and attribute to this attempt, which at the worst, was but an indiscreet Zeal, all the mischiefs that afflicted the Kingdom of *France* during the Reigns of his Successors.

655.

The same year this King, aged only 21 or 22 years, but having his Brain much shaken with frequent Convulsions, dries up at the Root, and dies in the spring of his age. He did not Reign Seventeen years, if we leave out that whole year wherein *Dagobert* dyed; as the Authors of these times usually do: but if we account from the very day he succeeded him, he was entering into the Eighteenth; he was interred at *St. Denis*.

His

His *Mayre Erbinoald* had amongst his Domestiques, a young *English* Maid, named *Batilda*, * of a rare Beauty, but whom he had bought out of the hands of *Pyrats*, who had stolen her away amongst some other Captives, for in those days they brought great numbers from those parts: he bestowed her upon this young Prince for a Wife, about the year 548, or 49. and of his Slave, made her the Wife of his King. It was given out, that she was of the Blood of the *Saxon* Princes, who Reigned in *England*.

* Vulgarly
Baudour.

548.

By this *Batilda*, *Clovis* had three Sons, *Clotaire*, *Childeric*, and *Tiberry*; *Clotaire* was saluted King of *Neustria* and *Burgundy*, under the Government of his Mother, and *Erbinoald*, and *Childeric* made King of *Austrasia*; whither he was Conducted and left, he and his Kingdom, under the management of *Ulfod*, *Mayre* of that Kingdom: *Tiberry* had no share; perhaps, because he was but yet in his Cradle.

CLO.

Clotaire III. King XIII.

POPES.

VITALIANUS, *Elected in August*
655. S. Thirteen years three Months.

EBROIN *King in Neustria*
Mayre. and Burgundy, *aged*
at most but Five years.

CHILDERIC—
King of Austrasia,
aged Three or Four
years.

655.

THe Government of the *Mayre Erchinoald* ended with his Life, which hap-
ned in a few Months after the death of *Clovis*, the 11, or as others say,
a short time before. Some, with probability enough, make him the
prime stock of the House of *Alfais*; whence is issued that of *Lorrain*
of these days, which for Nobility, yields to none in Chriftendom, unless that of
France.

The *French* bestowed that Office upon *Erloin*, a man active, valiant, and who be-
longed greatly in friendship with the most Holy Men of those times, and Founder of
some Churches, was held a good Man; and he lived in that Reputation many
years.

655, &c.

Queen *Batilda* Governed with as much Goodness, Prudence, and Justice, as any
wife King could have done: And indeed for Ten years together there hapned no
Trouble in her Sons Reign. Before her time, the *Gauls*, as well those Infants that
lay in their Cradles as their Fathers, paid a great Tribute by Poll, which restrain-
ed many from Marrying, or obliged them to expose their Children: the good
Queen discharged them from it, and forbid those *Jews* that used to buy such poor
innocent Children, and send them into Foreign Countreys, to deal any longer in so
inhumane a Trade. Nay, she bought several that those Infidels had already purchas-
ed, and likewise such as had been stolen away by Thieves, and fold for that pur-
pose; but she exhorted them to put themselves into Monasteries, which the very
greatly desired might be well Peopled.

656.

57, &c.

She had a very particular care for all that concerned the Church: For some time
past the Princes had taken Money for Spiritual Promotions; and the Bishops fold
by Retail what they bought in the Lump: She forbid that Sacrilegious Traffick.
Besides, she enriched divers Monasteries, with Possessions, and precious Ornaments,
obtained immunities for them, and exemptions from Tribute; built two famous Mo-
nasteries, one for Women at *Chelles*, the other for Men at *Corbie*, on the *Somme*, and
invited many Holy persons to Court: but to tell truth, she gave too much access to
the Bishops, either for the good of the Church, or her own Reputation.

664, or

65.

Amongst the rest, there were two in very great credit and esteem, *Leger*, whom
she had made Bishop of *Autun*; and *Sigebert*, we cannot tell of what place. This
last extremely proud of the Queens Favour, which gave occasion of much jealousy
and ill report amongst the envious, did so highly dislike the great ones, that they
put him to death, without any form of Process or Trial. After this attempt, whe-
ther they apprehended the Resentments of that Prince, or had slandered and be-
spattered her on purpose, to make her incapable to Govern, they besought her
so importunately to retire, that she was obliged to condescend. Even those whom
she had most gratified with her Goodness, were of the party: Some of the Gran-
dees conducted her to her Monastery of *Chelles*, where of a Queen, she became
only

only a simple Nun, and yet was more illustrious in her Humility, then she had
been in her exalted Greatness. She lived till the year 686.

It is to be believed, that *Ebroin* the *Mayre* had managed all this contrivance, that
he might be left sole Governour; for when the *Reyns* were off, his Pride, his Avarice,
his Cruelty and Treachery began to appear bare-faced. He seized the Goods,
he took away the Offices, he hunted away the Greatest that were about the Court,
and forbid any others to come in there without his leave. Above all, he hated
Leger, the Bishop of *Autun*, because he was a Creature of Queen *Batilda's*, and
more able then any other to make head against him, and to bring many more to
joyn with him.

665. &c.

King *Clotaire* having been about three years in the hands of this wicked Minister,
died the 14th of his Reign, *An. 668*. He had no Children, but was capable of ha-
ving some, being 17 or 18 years old. Some say he was buried at *Chelles*, others at
St. Denis.

668.

Chil.

Childeric II. King XIV.

POPES.

VITALIANUS, *some Months in this Reign.*

ADEODAT, *Elected in April, 669. S. Seven years eight Months and an half, of which, Four in this Reign.*

THIERRY
King of Neustria
and Burgundy,
aged 16 or 17
years.

and

CHILDERIC.
of Austrasia, aged
18 years.

Wlfoade
Mayre.

Emp. Constant,
Pope, or the
Bearded.
Son of Con-
stant. K. 17.
years.

668.

669.

669.

After such an insolent Department, Ebroin could not hope that the Grantees of Neustria and Burgundy, whatever King they should Elect, would confirm his Office of Mayre; and therefore upon his own Head, and without waiting for their Assembling or Consent, which was necessary in this case, he takes Thierry, and sets him upon the Royal Throne, according to custom, that this young Prince might have no obligation but to himself alone.

This attempt gave them together, both apprehension and indignation. Fear might have had the upper hand, and made them acquiesce, if he would at least have suffered them to come and congratulate their new King, and make their Court to him; but having sent them a Command not to stir forth of their Houses, their indignation prevailed, they communicated their Grievances and Discontents; the Bishop of Autun got and kept them together, and they sent a dispatch to Childeric, to proffer him the Kingdom of Neustria.

Childeric comes greatly accompanied; Ebroin is forsaken of all the World, and found no Sanctuary, but the Horns of the Altar. The French, touched with an imprudent Mercy, content themselves with Shaving, and Confining him to the Monastery of Luxeu, to do Penance. His King Thierry is likewise Shaved and sent to the Monastery of St. Denis, not to play the Monk, but to be prisoner there. He had Reigned almost a year in Neustria.

CHILDERIC alone. WLFOADE Mayre.

670.

For the Fifth time, the whole Monarchy of France was re-united under one single King. Wlfoad was Mayre of Austrasia; and Leger, if he did not bear the Title, did at least bear the Office in Neustria, and in Burgundy.

They had very much changed the Laws, which the best Kings and the wisest Magistrates had made to deal Justice impartially: honest people desired they might be restored, or revived; their Demand was granted, and it was ordained amongst other things, that the Judges, Counts, and Dukes, should observe the ancient Customs of the Countrey, and that those Employments should not be perpetual, lest they should become Tyrannical.

Childeric II. King XIV.

But some wicked persons having gotten the ascendant over the young King, and plunging him into the Debauches of Wine and Women, soon brought him to a breach of all these Ordinances, and to do many unjust actions, without the knowledge, or against the opinion of Leger. The Prelates enemies imputing all these faults to him, he was obliged, that he might justify himself, to speak somewhat freely to him, even to the threatening him with the wrath of God.

The young Prince was at first touched with his Remonstrances, or seemed to be so; but when he was confirmed in his Vice, he conceived a Mortal hatred against him: and those Courtiers that had pretended to be Leger's best friends whilst he was in greatest Favour, were those that threw most Oyl upon this Fire.

Childeric was gone to celebrate the Festival of Easter at Autun, where one certain Helior, Patriarch of Marseille, being arrived some days before; they periwaded the King, that those two Lords were met only to plot against him: so that upon the Easter-Eve, being troubled, and having his Head full of the fumes of Choler and Wine, he ran into the Baptistry to kill him. The Holy Prelate, and Helior perceiving his wrath, endeavoured the following night to avoid it by flight, but they were pursued. Helior was killed on the way, and the Bishop brought back to the King, who with much ado gave him his Life, and confined him to Luxeu. There he found Ebroin, who reconciled himself to him: The Wolf and the Lamb dwelling together under the same roof, for fear of a more terrible power, and because they had nothing there to decide betwixt them.

In those days Flavius Vamba was King of the Visigoths. Three Lords of Septimania, a Count, a Bishop, and an Abbot, having revolted against him, he sent the Duke Paul with an Army to chastise them. But that General proving unfaithful to his Prince, joined with them, taking advantage of their Rebellion, and the assistance of the French and Gascons, to get himself to be Elected, and proclaimed King in Narbonne. His Ambition had a successful end: Vamba having retaken all the Cities he had fixed upon, besieged him in the Sands of Nîmes; and the unfortunate wretch surrendered to the King's Mercy, who led him in triumph through the Cities of Spain, and caused his Eyes to be put out. But he durst not break with France: on the contrary, he loaded all those French whom he had taken prisoners, with Gyres, though they had sided with that Rebel.

Childeric's Debauches and Excess easily led his ill nature to the highest Cruelties; he sent two Dukes to Luxeu, to drag out the good Bishop Leger, and hurry him to Court, to be sacrificed to his revenge: and about the same time it happened, that he caused a Lord, named Badillon, to be tried to a Post and whipped. The Great ones of the Kingdom resented this Outrage, as if themselves had felt the blows, and wickedly conspired to Treat him as a Tyrant, who Treated them like Slaves. The business being agreed upon, they wait for him at his return from Hunting, in the Forest of Lechonia, which is perhaps that of Lybons: Badillon, the most furious of all, revenging himself with his own hand, Massacres him, and with him the Queen Bilechild, who was great with Child; and also a Son of theirs, but very young. The Mayre Wlfoad made his escape, it is not known how, from amidst the swords of those Furies, and retired into Austrasia.

Bilechild is by some Authors, said to be Sister of her Husbands Uncle: but what they say nothing, nor whether he left any Children, unless we will believe a Chart, or Manuscript, wherein that Daniel Chilperic, whom we shall mention hereafter, is called his Son. The time of his Reign is not agreed upon. The most probable opinion is, that it was Fifteen years in Austrasia, and Three in Neustria and Burgundy, which is about Eighteen years in all.

Some years since, as they were repairing the Church of St. Germain des Pres; they found two Stone Tombs, side by side, in the one lay the Body of a Man, and in the other a Womans, with a little Child. The Inscription bearing the Name of Childeric, and some Regal Ornaments which were therein, discovered that they were the Tombs of this King and his Queen.

An Inter-regnum of some Months.

This Tragical Death was followed with an Inter-regnum, and universal Confusion in all three Kingdoms. The Dukes that had sided St. Leger out of Luxeu, assayed him pardon, and conducted him to his City of Arles, where the Burgs and

671.

671.

672.

* Arènes,
A Theatre, or
Gravely
place to
fight, or a
kind of Amphitheatre.
673.

673, and

74.

the Lords of *Burgundy* made a League to defend him, in case they should attempt upon his Life, during this *Inter-regnum*.

It is credible, that amidst these Divisions, all the *Austrasians*, or at least, part of them, by the persuasion of Queen *Innichilda*, Widow of King *Sigebert II.* and who had had credit in the Court of King *Childeric*, desiring to have a King that they might not fall under the power of the *Neustrians*, recalled her, *Soa Dagobert*, whom *Grimoald* had shaven, and banished into *Ireland*, and acknowledged him for King of *Austrasia*, where he Reigned many years.

674.

The Lords of *Neustria* and *Burgundy*, that they might not fall into an *Anarchy*, went and drew forth *Thierry* from the Monastery of *St. Denis*, where he had time to let his Royal Locks grow again, and set him on the Throne, giving him *Mayre* of the Palace *Leudesia*, or *Liuteric*; the Son of that *Erchinoald*, who had that Office under *Clovis II.*

Thierry

Thierry I. King XV.

POPE S,

ADEODAT, S. three years and an half in this Reign.

DONUS, Elected in No. 676. S. one year three months.

AGATHON, Elected in 678. S. three years eight months and half.

LEO II. Elected in August 683. S. eleven months.

BENEDICTUS II. Elected in

684. S. eighteen months and half.

JOHN V. Elected in 685. S. one year.

CONON, Elected in 685. S. one year.

SERGIUS, Elected in Decemb.

687. S. thirteen years eight months and half, whereof three years and an half under this Reign.

LEUDESIA then *Thierry* in *Neustria* and *DAGOBERT* in *Austrasia*, Aged about 15 years.

E Broin having quitted the Monastery of *Luxen*, after he had wandered a while with a small Band of Men, grew so Confident as to throw off his Clerical Habit; which was in those times esteemed a most horrid thing, though a Man had even been compelled to put it on. His design was to seize upon the Government again: to this end he got together all such as were banished, and such as were Enemies to *Leger*, whose opposition he most feared; and made a League with *Wsfad* Mayer of *Austrasia*, who mortally hated the Holy Bishop.

With this Crew of Rascally Villains and *Austrasians*, he takes the Field, and in an instant falls into *Neustria* to surprize *Thierry* and *Leudesia* his Mayre. The first was passing his time at *Nogent* in the Country of *Laonnois*, and the other was in a Palace on this side the *Oise*. His Enterprize having failed him, because they got away with all speed, he applies himself to fraud; and having, under colour of an Accommodation, engaged *Leudesia* to come to a Conference, he laid an Ambuscade for him by the way, where he was Assassinated.

All this notwithstanding did not restore him to the Office of Mayre, King *Thierry* hating him the more, it was not likely he would admit him. He bethinks himself therefore, when he was returned to *Austrasia*, as he was advised by two evil Bishops who had been Deposed, *Didon-Desiree* of *Chalons*, and *Robon* of *Valence*, to spread the Report abroad that *Thierry* was dead, and to impose a false or pretended *Clovis* whom he said was Son to *Claire III.* This Statue being set up, he forces the People to take an Oath of Fidelity to him, and ruins all those Countries that refused to do so.

But principally he Assaults *Leger* in *Autun* by *Vaimier* Duke of *Champagne*, who was accompanied by the two wicked Bishops. He believed with much reason that this was the most stout Opposer of his Tyranny, and that having vanquish'd him, he should easily overcome all the others. The City being besieged and in danger to be forced, this good Prelat could not be persuaded to betray that Faith he owed the King, and on the other side would not expose his Flock, for whom a good Shepherd ought to expose his Life. He therefore went voluntarily out of *Autun*, after he had broken all his Silver Plate to give to the Poor, and delivers himself to *Vaimier*. That wicked Man caused his Eyes to be plucked out, and shut him up in a Monastery.

K 2

Bery.

674.

675, and 76.

676.

stery. In Recompence for so good a piece of Service, *Ebroin* infals him in the Bishoprick of *Troyes* by fraud and violence, and *Didon* invaded that of *Autun*; but both the one and the other perished soon after by the same Tyranny, of which they were the Ministers.

Immediately after this, the Grandees of *Neustria* and *Burgundy*, as if they had lost their hearts by the imprisonment of *Leger*, who indeed was the greatest Genius of that Court, accepted *Ebroin* for Mayre of *Thierry's* Palace; and then he having no more need of his false *Clodius*, took off his Vizard, and returned him to a private Condition.

Being in this high Power, his Tyranny had no bounds, he sacrificed all that had opposed him to his Revenge, and to his Covetousness those that possessed fair Estates, or great Employments: but all under the pretence of some imputed Crime, which deprived them of their Honour, before he robb'd them of their Lives. The most wary saved themselves in time, some in *Aquitain*, others in the utmost skirts of *Austrasia*.

678. That he might have a specious Pretence to extend his Cruelty as far as he pleased, he set himself upon a discovery of all those that had any hand in the Death of *Childeric*, for which, it was well known, he rejoiced more than the Actors themselves. He failed not to bring in and involve *Leger* and the Count *Guerin* his Brother; These two Lords being brought before him, he caused the latter to be Stoned to death at a Stake, and the other to have the Soles of his Feet torn out, and his Lips cut off, then put him into the Custody of one of his Sattelites, who kept him near two years in the Monastery of *Fefcamp*.

* Owen. The most part of the Bishops flattered him in his Injustice, because they either dreaded him, or had some interest in it. *Didon* himself, otherwise * *Ouin* Bishop of *Rouen*, and one that has a Place in the Kalender of Saints, was his Friend and one of his principal Counsellors. This Man clapt St. *Filbert* Abbot of *Jemteges* in Prison, for having made some Remonstrances to the Tyrant. And afterwards perceiving that such Violence was too odious in the Eyes of honest People, he banished him to *Aquitain*, under colour of building a Monastery in the Isle of *Herio*; Indeed he did Erect one there, whence it took the name of *Noir-moustier*.

The Exemplary Vertue and Christian Liberty of a few Prelats made the Tyrants Procefs: he undertook to make theirs, and dishonour them to justify his own Conduct which they had condemned. This could not be without the Sentence of their Brethren. To this purpose he therefore calls an Assembly of some that were most devoted to him in one of the Kings Palaces in the Country. They began (thereby to gain a good opinion of their Justice and Impartiality) with two Bishops who deserv'd it very well: These were *Didon* and *Vaimier*, who had offended the Tyrant, it is not said wherein. Both these were Degraded, and afterwards delivered over to be put to Death. *Didon* perished by the Sword, and *Vaimier* by the Cord.

That done they proceeded against *Amat de Sens*, *Lambert de Tongres*, and *Leger d'Autun*: the two first retired into Monasteries: but as for the other, the Fathers of the Council, or rather the Slaves to that Tyrant, tore his Garment from top to bottom, that was the manner of Degradation; then he was put into the hands of *Crudebert* Count of the Palace, who having with grief carried him into the Forest d' *Iveline*, cauled his Head to be cut off.

679. About this time died *Dagobert* King of one part of *Austrasia*. I know there are some Authors that make him live many years longer, and bestow a Son, and many Daughters upon him: but in my mind it is upon very doubtful proof, and if he had any Son, we cannot say that he outlived his Father, unless some Modern Genealogist have need of it to make up his Account.

680. A little before, or a little after him, *Wlfoad* his Mayre ended his days, having enjoy'd that Office near twenty five years. The *Austrasians* having no Prince of the Blood, and refusing to obey *Thierry* out of hatred to *Ebroin*, put the whole Government of the Kingdom into the hands of *Martin* and *Pepin*; They were Cousin-Germans issued from two Sons of St. *Arnold*, the first from *Clodulph*, the second from *Anchisiz*; and *Begga* the Daughter to *Pepin* of *Londen*. To distinguish these, some of our Historians call this *Pepin* the *Gross*, others *Pepin* de *Heristal*; which is a Village upon the *Mense* between *Jupii* and *Liege*, where he had been brought up.

T H L.

THIERRY in
Neustria.MARTIN and PEPIN
Princes in Austrasia.

THE two Cousins foreseeing *Ebroin* would come upon them, went out to attack him first; and gave him Battle near the Forest of *Loosao* * at the entrance into *Neustria*. The Tyrant gained the Victory, and they escaped by flight, *Martin* to the City of *Laon*, and *Pepin* a great way in the Kingdom of *Austrasia*.

Ebroin with his Army approaches *Laon*, and finding the place impregnable by force, gives out Propositions of Accommodation. Two Bishops, *Agilbert* of *Paris*, and *Rieul* * of *Rheims* would needs be Instruments of the fraud. They persuaded *Martin* to go and meet him in his Camp; and for security gave him their Oaths upon the Shrines of some Saints, which they carried about them, but out of which they had taken the Relicks. *Martin* having forgotten the Example of *Leudegis*, relies on the Faith of these Prelates; When he was come into the Camp, *Ebroin* Soldiers surrounded and cut him off with all his Men. Thus all the Government of *Austrasia* remained in *Pepin*, who made advantage of his Enemies Crime, and the defeat of his Cousin.

This great success pushed the insolence of *Ebroin* to the highest degree. But Treating the French more tyrannically then ever, a Lord named *Hermenefroy*, whom he had stripp'd of all his Estate, and whom he threatened with Death, delivered France from that Monster: He watched him one Morning before break of day at his going from home to the Church, and cleft his Head with a Sword; afterwards he made his escape into *Austrasia*.

In his place the French made choice of *Varaton* a wife old Man, who immediately Treated with *Pepin*, and gave him Hostages. He had joyned with him in that Administration, a Son of his (named *Willimer* *) able, crafty, and undertaking: but rough, choleric, and one that had nothing more in view then the honour of Commanding; This unnatural Child grew weary of being his Fathers Companion, he would be his Master and disposse'd him of his Employment.

Presently after he breaks the Treaty with *Pepin*, and having raised a great Army, marched as far as *Namur*, where he catches some of his Enemies with the lure of an Hypocritical Faith, and caused them to be slain. At his return from thence he was seized with a Distemper, whereof he died, not without Divine Punishment, being but entered upon the second year of his Office. The old Man was restored to the Place, and Death disposse'd him again a year after.

Berthier who had Married a Daughter of his Wives, succeeded him by Election. This was a little fellow, ill-shaped, Hair-brain'd, Unjust, Proud, Covetous, and in fine much the same as *Willimer* *, only he had neither Wit nor Judgment. The greater part of the *Neustrians* finding themselves despised and controuled by so contemptible a Creature, conceived so much scorn and hatred for him, that they took him the very next year to Ally themselves with *Pepin*.

This Lord both Generous and Politick took in hand the Cause of those that had been banished by *Ebroin*, and whom *Thierry* treated still as Criminals, that he might have some colour to detain their Estates. He advised them to fend to that King to implore an Amnesty and Pardon for what was past in the most submissive manner: and after their Supplications had been rejected, he brought them back into their own Country with an Army, and spared not to assault *Thierry* and his Mayre; He fought them at *Tortry*, which is between St. *Quentin* and *Peroane*. Heavens having favoured him with a compleat Victory, he seized on the Royal Treasure, then on the City of *Paris* and *Thierry's* own Person who had sheltered himself there. After which *Berthier*, whose evil Counsels had occasioned all these mischiefs, was knocked on the Head by Combination of almost all the *Neustrians*, and the insatiation even of his Wives own Mother.

Some, not without reason, do here put an end to the Reign of the *Merovingians*, because in truth and in effect they never had after this but only the vain and empty Title of Kings, their whole Kingdom, and even their Persons being in the Power of *Pepin* and his Children. He was owned Mayre of the Palace through all France, and he took the Title of Duke or Commander of the French, according to the ancient usage of the Germans; that is to say they gave him all Authority in the Armies without dependance upon the King, but under whose name notwithstanding all Acts were passed; and that was the sole honour that remained still in him.

681.
* Not now known.

* Regalia.

682.

683.

* Guiliimer, Giflimer.

684.

Emp. *Faust* as the Son of *Prograten*, Reigned near years and an half.

685.

686.

687.

688.

Austrasia

Austrasia environned with fierce and rebellious People, wanted the presence of *Pepin*: He durst not take King *Thierry* with him, lest he should displease the *Neustrians*, but he left a Lord with him called *Nordbert* who disposed of all, and gave him an account.

687. The *French* found no prejudice by this change, the interest of a new Prince who desired to Establish himself, being to gain the Affections of the People: and indeed, he repaired all the Breaches that he possibly could, which had been made in the foregoing Reigns, restored what had been ravished from the Church, the Bishops to their Sees, the Grandees in their Dignities and Lands, resolved upon nothing without the Advice of the Lords and Prelates, defended the Cause of the Oppressed, of Widdows and Orphans, and applied himself to give vigour to the Laws, which are the only Shields for the weak against the mighty ones.

688. The second year of his general Command, he drew the *French* Militia together, and by the Advice of the great ones carried the war into *Frisia*, and compelled the Duke or King *Ratbod* who revolted, to render him Obedience, and to pay him Tribute.

At his return he called a Council, the place is not named, wherein they Treated and Considered of the ways and means that should be taken to repress Disorders and Violence, and for the defence of the Church, of Widdows and Orphans. He knew there were no greater Charms to make them love his Government, than Piety and Justice.

Poor *Thierry* being stripp'd of the real part of his Royalty, which is his just Power, and reduced to be contented with a moderate Revenue in Lands, ended his days, but not his fame, in the year 690. or 91. They allow him Thirty nine or forty years of Age, and his Reign to be Seventeen entire, that is Thirteen before *Pepin's* Victory, and four under the Power of that Mayre.

He had two Sons, *Clovis* and *Childbert*, and two Wives *Clothilda* and *Doda*, unless that name of *Doda* * were an Epithet of *Clothilda*, who perhaps was so called because she was fat and plump. His Tomb and that of this *Doda* are to be seen at *St. Vaast* of *Arras*.

* They yet call such in *French* *Dodie*, as are fat.

Clovis

Clovis III. King XVI.

POPE,

SERGIUS, Who S. four years in this Reign.

CLOVIS III. In Neustria, } PEPIN, Mayre in Neustria,
} Sovereign in Austrasia.

IF there had been two Kings, there must have been two Mayres, but *Pepin* would hold that Office alone: besides he could not suffer any King in *Austrasia*, because he held that as properly his own: for this reason he gave to *Clovis*, which was the eldest of *Thierry's* two Sons, the Title of King in *Neustria* and *Burgundy*, but himself kept the whole Administration.

Perhaps the *French* according to their ancient Right, had conferred upon him the Sovereignty of *Austrasia*: but it is certain, that all those People who were Tributary's to that Kingdom, as the *Turingians*, the *Frisians*, the *Saxons*, the *Almain* (spoke off the Yoke and made themselves Independents. On the other hand, the *Aquitains*, and likewise the *Gascons* created each a Sovereign Duke of their own, and the *Bretons* enlarged their little Frontiers.

Clovis, according to some, Reigned but two years, others more probably give him four complete. He died about the end of the year 694. or in the beginning of 695. being Aged Fourteen or fifteen years, and neither had seen nor done any thing that was Memorable in his Reign.

691.

Emperor *Leontius*, having chafed and mutilated *Justin*, Reigned two years and some months.

694.

694, or 95.

Chil-

Childebert II. King XVII.

POPES,

SERGIVS, Who S. five years
and an half during this Reign.

JOHN VI. Elected in Oct. 703.
S. three years two months.

JOHN VII. Elected in March 705.
S. two years seven months.

SISINNIVS, In January 708.
S. twenty days.

CONSTANTINE, In March
708. S. six years, whereof three in
this Reign.

CHILDEBERT II. Called
the Young, aged Eleven or
twelve years.

PEPIN, Mayre, &c.

695.

IN his room, Pepin set up his Brother Childebert, who because of his Minority, was yet reduced to a lesser fantling of Allowance, then his Brother had been. The great Officers, as the Count of the Palace, the great Referendary, (or Chancellor) the Intendant of the Royal Houses, were all with the Mayre: The Kings had only a small number of Domesticks, which served rather as Spies and Taylors then Officers; And indeed they needed them not, being ever locked up in a House of Pleasure, whence they never went forth, but in a Chariot drawn with Oxen, and shewed not themselves to the People but once a year, in the Assembly of Estates which was held the First day of March.

From 690,
unto 700.

696, and
97.

In these days Egica King of the Visigoths had War with the French, towards the borders of the third Aquitain; the success we know not.

Norbert who was the sub-Mayre and Lieutenant to Pepin in Neustria, being deceased, Pepin caused Grimald his young Son to be elected Mayre of that Kingdom, and gave the Duchy of Champagne to his eldest Son Drogo, whom he would keep near him.

Ratbod King of the Frisians, notwithstanding he had given his Faith and Hostages, revolted a second time, and is again beaten by Pepin near Dorlat.

There was nothing observable in the eight or nine following years.

Pepin, besides his Wife Pletrude, who was already old, had taken a Concubine, or if you will a lawful Wife; for the French, notwithstanding the sacred Canons and the Prohibitions of the Church, repudiated their Wives when they pleased, and Wedded others. The Kings themselves, according to the ancient Custom of the Germans, had often many at one time. This fame was called Alpaide: Pepin the German, had often many at one time. This fame was called Alpaide: Pepin had a Son by her named Charley, and since surnamed Martel. Lambert Bishop of Liege, a Zealous Defender of the Christian Truth, having dared to reprove him several times, and called that Conjunction Adultery in publick: Dodon the Brother to Alpaide Assassinated him by consent of Pepin. Soon after, the Murderer being eaten with Worms, and enduring horrible Torments a while, cast himself into the Meuse. This infection of Worms was very frequent, and as it were Epidemick at that time, as have been St. Anthony's Fire and some other odd Diseases.

Not long after Pepin lost Drogo or Dreux his eldest Son, who left two Sons, Hugh and Arnold, by his Wife Anstrude, who was the Widow of the Mayre Bertier.

The

Emp. Tiber.
Afin, elected
by the Soldi-
ers degraded
Leant. Reigned
seven
years.
700, &c.
706, and 7.
Emp. Justin-
as II. restores
himself, and
puts Tiberias
to Death.
Reigned seven
years.
707.

708.

Childebert II. King XVII.

73

The *Almans* and *Souabes* made now but one People; governed by the same Duke, who appertained to the Kings of *Anstasia*, or held of them: But *Godfrey* the now Duke had cast off the Yoke to make himself independent; Being dead Anno 709. *Wilchaire* succeeded him. *Pepin* in two Expeditions which he made thither, vanquished him, and triumphed over his Pride. He could not wholly subdue it though, so that it was found necessary to send a third Army into that Country: but when they were just ready to march in, he was obliged to recall it because of the Death of *Childebert*.

711.

The last of this Kings days was the 15th of April, Anno 711. He was Aged about Twenty eight years, and had enjoyed the Title of King Sixteen or seventeen years. He was buried at the Church of St. Stephens at *Coucy*.

711.

Though he had not the opportunity of doing any Act himself, being as it were Tethered by the Authority of *Pepin*: nevertheless they gave him the name of Just, rather to distinguish him from the other *Childeberts*, then because he deserved it.

Some give him two Sons, *Dagobert* and *Childebert*. The first Reigned, the other was bred up to Learning or Clerkship, and surnamed *Daniel*. There are those that will make him to be the Son of *Thierry* the First.

The Piety of *Gomran*, the Mildness and Justice of *Claire*, and the Tranquillity of his Reign after the death of *Brunaud*, turned the genius of the French, already very Devout, to be highly Religious, and inclined them more generally to Reverence holy things, and such as they believed to have a more frequent Communication with Heaven. The Kings and Grandees outvied each other, who should bestow most Gifts upon the Churches: They deposited in those sacred Treasuries even to their very Girdles, their Belts, their Precious Vessels, their Apparel when they were rich and set with precious Stones, or Embroidered, their Household Furniture, and any other Rarities which were more for Ornament then use. It was then who should build most Churches and Hospitals, and who should found the noblest Monasteries.

Church.

The Kings strove to exempt such as they founded, from all Temporal Jurisdiction and Charges, and to ascertain the full and free Possession of all what they bestowed. And therefore because of the assumed power the Bishops had to lay hands on all those Goods, and that they disposed of the Donations and Offerings which were made to any of the Churches within their Dioceses, and for that besides they took some certain Duties for Blessing the Chrisme, for the Consecration of Altars, for their Visiting, and sometimes for Ordinations: they obliged them to free them from all such Impositions, and even not to meddle with any Monastery, but to leave the Correction and Government of the Monks to the Abbot, excepting in case he had not power enough to compel Obedience, and withal to confer the Sacred Orders to such Monks as should be presented, without exacting any thing.

The Princes on their part did likewise freely bestow many the like Immunities, which exempted them as well from Contribution for their Lands, and from all Impôts on their Goods, as from New-years-Gifts, Lodging and Expence of Judges, which they claimed from all other People wherever they went to hold their Courts.

Now these Exemptions were agreed to by the Diocesan, but with the consent of his Brethren of the Clergy. That of St. Denis, the oldest now remaining, was conceded by *Laury* of Paris, upon the intreaty of King *Clouis II*, Anno 659, in the Assembly of *Elchy*: it containeth many more things then the Protocole or Deed of *Marculfe*. That of *Corbie* was given by *Berthefoy* of Amiens, Anno 664, at the request of Queen *Batilda*. It makes mention, that there had been the like heretofore granted to the Monasteries of * *Agaune*, and * *Lerins*, and *Leuven*.

Pope *Adeodat* in the year 672, confirmed that which had been granted to St. *Martin* at *Tours*, saying, That divers others in France had obtained the like, without which he would not have given his consent, it being contrary to the Canons. There was the like granted to * *Fonsenis* by *Anbert* of Rouen, in a Council which he called for that purpose in that City, 682. In fine, there were few great Abbies that did not obtain the like; and ever the last gained something more, and enlarged themselves as I may say, to the prejudice and cost of the Hierarchy, who lent them her Authority to destroy her self, and them likewise, since the Perfection of a good and holy Monk consists in Obedience and Humility.

* St. Nizaries
in *Chelidon*.

* St. Eusebius.

* St. Paulin.

L

I hardly

I hardly find any Age wherein the heat for a Monastick Life reigned to greatly as in this. Such as were prompted with that Spirit, went from one Country to another, wandering in every corner to seek out Forests and Mountains; which were the more and looser peopled by how much they were the more solitary and melancholly. *Ireland, Scotland, and England* sent great numbers of these good Monks into *France*. *Colombanus* the most renowned of all, Irish by Birth, having been very well received by King *Contran*, then by *Childebert*, built the famous Monastery of *Luxeu*, in the Mountain of *Vosge*; His Reputation spreading over the three Nations, drew thither a vast number of People; and the Sentence of the Council of *Mafcon* in the year 627. who undertook the defence of this Institute, against the Monk *Agrélin* who would oppose him, gave him such a Vogue, that it spread all over *France*, going an equal pace with *St. Bennet*, and producing most eminent Servants to God, as *Emery, Deile, * Eustasius, and Gal*, Disciples of *Colombanus*. *Eustasius* was Abbot of *Luxeu*, and *Gal* who was likewise an Irishman, went and built a Monastery in the Country of the *Swissers*, about which was afterwards raised the City of *St. Gall*.

* Deileia.

St. Vandril built one in the Diocese of *Rouen*, at that place called *Fentelle*. *St. Riquier* one in *Vimieu*. *St. Vallery* and *St. Jaffe* two others in the Diocese of *Amiens* upon the Sea-coast. This *St. Jaffe* was younger Brother of *Judicel* King of *Bretagne*, and had for Brother *Vinok* and two more who all chose to lead the same Life. *St. Ghislain* one in *Haynault*, *Romaric* one for * Nuns in the *Vosge*, in the place where stood his Castle of *Rombert**, *St. Tron* one in the Country of *Liège*, *St. Bavon* one at *Ghent*, *St. Goar* one on the River *Woker* near the *Rhine*; All these Monasteries to this very day bear the names of these Saints.

* Remiremont.

* Trudon.

The Princes or Grandes gave them Ground whereon to build them, together with the assistance of devout People, and sometimes some of them did build at their own Charge and Expence. *Siegebert* King of *Austrasia* erected twelve; A Lord named *Babelen* four in the neighbourhood of *Bourges*; *Clevis* II. or rather an Archdeacon of *Paris*, *St. Man* des *Festez*; The Queen *Batilda* two very famous ones, viz. *Corbie* for Men, and *Chelles* for Women; King *Thierry* *St. Vaast* of *Arras*, as an Expiation for having consented to the death of *St. Leger*; *St. Ovin* or *Owen* filled his Diocese with a great number, the most illustrious of them are *Fentelle*, *Feuamp* and *Gemieger*. This last, as likewise that of *Noir-moutier* in an Island of *Poitou* was the work or production of the care of that *Philebert* whom we have mentioned. *St. Eloy* amongst many others built one at *Solognac* in *Limousin*, and one for Virgins at *Paris*, of which *St. Aura* was the Abbess; At this time it is the Church of *St. Eloy* before the Palace inhabited by the *Barnabites*.

Nor was there ever in *France* such prodigious multitudes and swarms of Monks who lived a most admirable Life in the Eye of all the World. For besides those I have mentioned, there was likewise *Ame* whom *Colombanus* had brought from the solitude of *Againe*, *Berlin* who made a Monastery at *Sizieu*: 'Tis there where at present is the City of *St. Omer*. * *Germier* who has given his name to a small City within twelve Leagues of *Lyon*: *Faurly* a Scotchman who erected a Monastery at *Lagny*: *Landelin* who began that of *Lobe* upon the *Sambre*: *St. Sor* a Hermit in *Perigord*, and divers others, whose Memories the Church does Celebrate with Veneration.

* Balmier.

We must acknowledge that these Flocks of Penitents were very useful to *France*, yea, beneficial to the Temporal Advantage; For the frequent and long incursions of the Barbarians having destroyed and laid it waste and desolate, it was yet in many parts over-run with Thickets and Woods, and in the low Ground, drowned and Foggy. These good Monks who had not devoted themselves to God to live an idle life, wrought with their hands, to clear and drain, and Plant and build, not so much for themselves who liv'd in great frugality, as to maintain the Poor, so that of Barren, Woody, overflown drowned Delarts, that were frightful to look upon, they made fruitful and delightful places, the Heavens with its sweetest influences favouring those places that were cultivated by such pure and disinterested Hands. I shall not mention how that all what is remaining of the History of those Ages has been preferred by them also, and derived to us.

The weaker Sex had not less strength and resolution to lead this Penitent Life, then the Men. The noblest Virgins sought for * Husbands in the Cloister, and Widows found their greatest Comforts there. Princesses built some expressly for their own Retirement. Queen *Batilda*, or *Baudour* made one at *Chelles* in *Brit*;

Fare

* Vowed or Married themselves to Chastity and Devotion.

Fare or *Burgundifare* Sister to the Bishop *St. Faron* another in the same Country, which is called *Fare-moutier*; *Gertrude* a Virgin, and *Bagge* her Sister, Widow of *Anseise* Son of *St. Arnold*, both Daughters of *Pepin*, retired to that of *Nivelle*, which their Mother *Ira* had founded; *Aldegonda* and her Sister *Vaultrude* erected one at *Mauberge* on the *Sambre*; And *Saleberge* another in the Town of *Laon*.

In all these Ages (which we shall observe once for all) a great many of the Bishops were taken out of Monasteries, or made their retreat thither after they had served the Church some years. Amongst those holy Pastors who most enlightened the Church by their Life and Doctrine, we find in this, *Romain* of *Rouen*, who is said to have quelled and overcome a prodigious Dragon, in memory whereof his Shrine hath yet the privilege to have every year one Murderer from Execution, *Faron* de *Meaux*, *Magloire* de *Dol*, *Archard* de *Noyon*, two *Didiers*, one of *Vienne* Martyr'd by *Bruneaud*, the other of *Cahors* promoted to that Bishoprick by *Dagobert* I. whole Grand-Treasurer he was; *Arnold* of *Metz*, *Cunibert* de *Cologne*, *Ondrille* * de *Bourges*, *Amand* the Bishop of *Tongres* or *Liège*, *Andoen* surnamed *Dadon*, vulgarly *St. Owen*, Successor to *Romain* before-mentioned, and *Eloy* de *Noyon* after *Archard*. These two were illustrious in the Court of *Clovis* II. the one for his rare Goldsmiths Works, the other in the Office of Chancellor or Referendary, and for his Council, both these were Consecrated on the same day in the Reign of *Clovis* II. and this Character gave them the greater Authority with the King: At the same time lived *Landry* of *Paris*, *Paul* de *Verdun*, *Leger* * de *Autun*, * *Prey* or *Prie* de *Clermont*, who was not much his Friend, no more then *Owen* or *Ovin*; *Omer* de * *Terrouenne*, *Sulpitius* the Pious after *Ondrille*. * About the end of this Age or Century, *Robert* first-Bishop of *Salzburg* in *Bavaria*. *Kemacle* Bishop of *Tongres*, who was a Monk both before and afterwards, and *Wilrad* who took the name of *Clement*, an English Priest, in whose favour was first established the Arch-Episcopal See at *Utrecht*, Anno 697. Amongst all these I observe four that made most generous Remonstrances to their Princes against their excess, *Amand* to King *Dagobert*, *Didier* to *Bruneaud*, *Leger* to *Childeric*, and *Lambert* to Duke *Pepin*; These three last sealed the Christian Truths with their Blood.

* Aigregeslinus.

* Leodegarius.
* Prætorius.
* Audem. sat.

The Kings favour having the greatest influence in all Elections, we must not wonder if those that attained to a Bishoprick by that means, were either People of the Court, or became so; and if by the advantage of Study and Learning they had a little more knowledge and insight then others, the Princes would keep them there to serve in their Councils. But we may observe that the Court Air was no less dangerous to them, then contrary to the Duty of their Residence, since *Arnold* himself retired from thence to do Penance, and that those who passed for the most holy, as *Owen* and *Leger*, had their interests, their Cabals and their Passions there. What can we believe of others who were less virtuous, but they committed all sorts of Irregularities, which sometimes led them into the most enormous Crimes, of which they were the Instruments, and many times the Actors and Executioners. For proof of this, we need but call to mind that wicked Bishop, who undertook to suborn Queen *Beretrude*, those two Flatterers of *Ebraia* who forswore themselves upon the empty Cafes or Shrines to bring *Martin* to Burchery, and those two false Councils, whereof the one condemned *Didier* of *Vienne*, the other *St. Leger* * de *Autun*, without ever endeavouring afterwards to interpose by Petitions and Prayers for saving their Lives, which those Kings never refused them.

Because of these Disorders and those the Civil Wars produced, which much troubled *France*, the Councils were much less frequent then in the foregoing Age. We have already mentioned the Fifth of *Paris* *. There was one assembled at *Mafcon* in 627, which approved the Rule of *St. Colomban*, much opposed by the Monk *Agrélin* revolted against him. Anno 630. there was one at *Reims* concerning Discipline, one at *Chalons*, Anno 650. and one at *Autun* called by *St. Leger*, Anno 670. for the same purpose. In that of *Chalons*, *Agapius* and *Bobon*, who, as I believe, were Concurrents, were deposed. There was one at *Orléans* in the year 645, which consulted a Greek Monothelite Heretic, and drove him most shamefully out of *France*. We have the Canons of that of *Paris*, of *Reims*, and of *Chalons*, and some of that of *Autun*, which are most of them no other then a Confirmation of such as had been made by the foregoing Councils.

* See Page the 51.

France had no share in the Controversy of the *Monothelites*, who mightily disturbed the Eastern Church. The shame that *Grecian* met with in the Council of *Orleans*, who thought to have introduced that Heresy, hindered others, as I suppose, from coming to Preach or cry it up, and the *French* from being infected with it. Which without doubt encouraged Pope *Martin* not to be daunted with the Threatnings of the Emperor *Constance**, nor the endeavours of *Paul* Bishop of *Constantinople*, who had undertaken to obtain the Reception of that condemned Opinion, and had joyned all those to his Party that adhered to the Doctrines of *Socinus*, of *Eutyches*, and of *Manes*. And indeed we find that in the year 649. he sent the Articles of the Council of *Rome* to *Clotiv II.* and desired him and also King *Childebert* to depose some of their Bishops to *Rome*, that they might accompany and countenance the Legation he intended to send to the Emperor upon that Subject.

* By others named *Con-
stantine*.

Dago-

Dagobert II. King XVIII.

POPES,

CONSTANTINE, Three
years in this Reign.

GREG. II. Elected March 714.

S. sixteen years nine Months and
an half, of which one year in this
Reign.

DAGOBERT II. Called the Young, ⁷PEPIN, Mayre in *Neustria*, and *Sos*
Aged Eleven or twelve years. ⁸veraign in *Austrasia*.

C *Hildebert* being out of the World, *Pepin* made choice of *Dagobert* his eldest Son to wear the Bauble, and instaled him in the Royal Throne, by the Counsel and Approbation of the Estates. Where having caused him to preside, after he had received the Gifts or Presents from the *French*, after he had recommended the care of the Rights of the Church, of Widdows and Pupils, renewed the Decree against Rapine, and given Command to the Army to hold themselves in readines at a time appointed to March where Affairs required: he sent him back to one of the Royal Houses to be Bred and Entertained with great Respect in outward appearance, but without any Power or Function.

The first year of his Reign, *Pepin* undertook a fourth Expedition against the *Almans*; who were this time so battered, that they could not stir again for many years.

After many Wars, having not been able wholly to bring under him *Ratbod* Duke of the *Frisons*, he not only came to an Agreement, but likewise allied himself with him, by Marrying his Son *Grimoald* to that Kings Daughter.

The *Sarrazins* who were Masters of *Africa*, did not let slip the fair occasion that presented to invade *Spain*. The Children of King *Vitiza* had been Excluded the Kingdom by *Roderick*, (whose Fathers Eyes *Vitiza* had caused to be put out) and had retired themselves to *Julian*, Governor of the *Visigoths* in the Province of *Tingi*, who was himself likewise much offended for that this new King having Debauched his Daughter would own her but for his Concubine. These three Lords having joyned their Resentments, addressed themselves to *Maza* Lieutenant in *Africa* under *Valit* or *Ulit* Caliph, or chief Sovereign of the *Sarrazins*; He gave them some Forces, over whom *Roderick* getting the better, he again sent others commanded by *Tarac* (this was he that gave the name to *Gibal-Tar*) to the Mountain *Calphe*, where he built a Fort, whence likewise the *Straights-mouth* hath its denomination. At length there hapned a great Battle betwixt him and *Roderick*, where that King was overcome and slain with all the flower of the *Visigoths*.

Within two years all *Spain* was subjected to the Tyranny of the *Sarrazins*, the remainders of the *Visigoths* fled part of them into the Mountains of *Asturia* and *Galicie*, part into *France*, from whence they by degrees came all to Prince *Pelagius*, Son of *Fajla* and Grandson of King *Chindasunt*, who yet preserved to himself a petty Principality amidst the Mountains of *Asturia*, which in process of time and by assistance of the *French*, increased so much that it consumed the *Sarrazins* in the end.

While *Pepin* was at *Jupile*, he fell into a long and troublesome Distemper. His Son *Grimoald* going to Visit him, passing by *Lige* to make some Prayers for him on St. *Lamberts* Tomb, this was in the Month of *April*, he was Assassinated by a Rascal named *Rangaire*, a *Frison*, for which reason an Author hath pretended, that it was done by the command of *Ratbod* his Father-in-Law.

Emp. *Philippi-
cus Bardanes*,
causes *Justi-
nian* to die,
Reigned two
years.

711.

712.

Emp. *Acetla-
sin II. Philippi-
pius* having
been degrad-
ed, and his
Eyes put out,
Reigned one
year five
months.

713, 714,
April.

Pepin

Emp. Theodo-
sin, elected by the Army,
degrades
Anst. Reign-
ed two years.
714.
714, 12 Dec-
ember.

Pepin being Recovered, severely revenged the Death of his Son upon all the Accomplishes he could lay hold on. This was the dearest to him of all his Sons, he had likewise a great regard for his Ballard, named Theodoald, and obliged the Neustrian Lords to elect him for their Mayre.

Some months after he relapsed more grievously then before, in so much as he died of it the 16th of December, having held the Government of all France from the Battle of Terry, which was in 687: even to his Death, with great success, and with much greater Vertue, of which the most eminent, and which gained him most the favour of Heaven, was his Zeal for the propagation of the Faith, not having spared any thing to plant it in *Germania, Secunda*, and beyond the *Rhine*; where all the Inhabitants were at that time Idolaters.

Besides *Dregon* and *Grimoald*; he had two more Sons, *Charles Martel* and *Childebrand*. It is unknown by what Woman he had the last, but a very exact Historian hath proved that this *Robert le Fort*, (the Strong) who was the Paternal Great, great Grandfather of King *Hugh Capet*, was descended from him by the Male Line.

Now be it that *Pepin* left the Mayrie of *Austrasia* to *Arnold*, who was the Son of *Dregon*, as that of *Neustria* to *Theodoald*, or changing his mind a little before he died, had bestowed it upon *Charles* for all the three Kingdoms, or perhaps only the name of Prince of the *French*, which seems to be above that of Mayre; *Plectrude* his Widow seized upon the whole Government, and got *Charles* by a wife into her hands, keeping him Prisoner at *Colen*, where she made her usual abode.

But the *Neustrians* already tired with the Domination of the *Austrasians*, were yet more impatient of being ruled by a Woman. They therefore Armed themselves, and put their King *Dagobert* in the head of their Forces, to prevent her from coming under the name of *Theodoald* a Child and a Bastard, to usurp the Government of their Country.

The Army that brought *Theodoald* being near *Compeigne*, the *Neustrians* went to meet them, and put them to the rout: All the *Austrasians* could do, was to save *Theodoald*. After this Victory they chose *Ragenfroy*, or *Rainfroy* for their Mayre, being one of the most considerable and most valiant Lords amongst them: who to perplex the *Austrasians* the more, made a League with *Ratbod* Duke of the *Frisons*, and led King *Dagobert* to ransom *Austrasia* even to the *Meuse*.

It then hapned that the *Austrasians* being in a great consternation, *Charles* happily made his escape out of Prison, and having gotten his Friends together, was received with incredible joy by all his People.

About the end of the same year died *Dagobert* King of *Neustria*, after he had been a property to the Mayres for four or five years. He left one Son named *Thierry*, who was yet in his Cradle, and who had afterwards the surname of *Chelles*, because he was brought up there.

Immediately upon this *Rainfroy* that he might have a name under which he might still hold the Government, took *Daniel* out of the Monastery, caused him to be inflated in the Throne by the Grandes according to custom, and named him *Chilperic*. It is not certainly known whose Son he was, some believe him to have been *Childebert*, others *Thierry*'s, and others again the Son of that *Chilideric* who was Assassinated by *Bodillon*, Anno 673. If these last are in the right, he was at least Forty four years old when he began to Reign, and indeed he must have been of some years, since he had been a Clerk, and had stayed time enough to let his Hair grow long again.

Chilperic II. King XIX.

POPE,

GREGORY II. Who S. six years
during this Reign.

CHILPERIC II. King in Neustria, part of Austrasia.
with Rainfroy his Mayre.

CHARLES, Mayre or Prince in one THEODOALD, Under the Regency
of Plectrude in the other part.

BY virtue of a League contracted the foregoing year, *Rainfroy* and *Ratbod* did both assist *Charles* on each side, *Ratbod* being entered into the Country as far as *Colen*, met him in his way, it was in the month of *March*. The Battle was very bloody on either hand; but disadvantageous to the last; and this was almost the only misfortune or defeat he met with in his whole Life.

After this Victory the *Frisons* and the *Neustrians* joined their Forces, sacked all the open Country and besieged *Colen*. *Plectrude* who was in the Town with her Nephews, found means to make them withdraw again by giving them Money. In the mean time *Charles* having rallied his Men together, laid an Ambuscade for *Rainfroy* at his return, where he beat and plundered a Party of his Army. This was in the *Ardeunes* at the place named *Amblave* from the River which passes there near the Abby of *Staulon*.

The following year he in his turn made an irruption into *Neustria*. *Rainfroy* with his *Chilideric* came against him, and gave him Battle at the Village of *Vincieu*, in *Cambresis*, upon a Sunday the 20th of *March*. The success being a long while doubtful, ended in favour of the last; he put *Rainfroy* to the rout, and pursued him very near to *Paris*.

At his return *Austrasia* owned him for their Head, *Colen* opened him her Gates, and *Plectrude* was constrained to give him up his Father *Pepin*'s Treasure, together with his Grand-children *Theodoald*, *Hugh*, and *Arnold*, whom he kept under a strong Guard.

Though he had all these Advantages, he yet wanted the name of a King: he therefore gave that Title to one *Cloataire* who was of the Blood Royal. Some make him the Son of *Thierry* III. not long since deceased, perhaps he might be the Son of *Clovis* II. Son of *Dagobert*.

RAINFROY, Mayre.

CLOTAIRE, in Austrasia.

CHILPERIC, in Neustria.

CHARLES MARTEL, Mayre.

*R*ainfroy finding little Assistance from the *Frisons*, had recourse to the *Aquitains*, who during these Troubles had taken to themselves the liberty of electing a Duke; his name was *Odou* or *Eudes*. This Duke and *Rainfroy* having joined their Forces nigh *Paris*, took their March to find out the Enemy in *Austrasia*. Being come near *Souffons*, they were much amazed to hear that he was come to meet them himself, and was very near at hand: And indeed, he Charged them so furiously, that he routed them, and gave them Chace even to *Paris*. *Eudes* retired himself into *Aquitain*, and carried

carried *Chilperic* and his Treasure with him. *Charles* pursuing him over-ran *Orlean-nou* and *Tourrain* at his pleasure. This Victory put the whole Kingdoms of *Neuftria* and *Burgundy* into his hands.

719.

His *Clotilde* did not long bear the Title of King, he died the same or the following year. His Tomb is at *Canoy* in *Vermandois*.

After his death *Martel* governed four months without any King: but knowing the People were too much accustomed to that name to be without it, he sent to *Eudes* to proffer him a Peace, and to send back *Chilperic*: *Eudes* accepted the Conditions, and sent him to him with many Presents. *Charles* causes him to be owned for King thorough all the three Kingdoms, that so he only might be Mayre. Pope *Gregory II.* calls him Duke and Mayre of the Palace of *France*; which shews that he held himself as an Officer of the Kingdoms, and not of the King.

CHILPERIC alone. MARTEL sole Mayre.

Of all the People who being Tributary's to the French had revolted, the *Saxons* were the most Potent: They had not only thrown off the Yoke, but had likewise imposed it upon the *Bructeri*, the *Attuari*, and the *Toringians*. *Martel* carried his Forces thither three or four times to quell them: but that honour was reserved for *Charles* the Great. It is worthy our taking notice, that they were divided into several distinct People, and that they had almost as many Dukes as there were several Countries belonging to them.

721.

The *Saracens* pretended that *Septimania*, or *Narbonensis Prima*, having been part of the Kingdom of the *Visigoths*, ought to be an Augmentation to their Conquests. *Zaman* Governor of *Spain* under the grand Emir, *Isic* or *Gizic*, took *Narbonne* and put in a Garrison: but having besieged *Thoulouz*, Duke *Eudes* began to bestir himself, defeated his Army, and drove him bravely thence. *Ambissa* Successor to *Zaman* conquered *Carcassonne*, *Nismes*, and all the rest of *Provence* as far as the *Rhône*.

721.

Chilperic did not live two years after his Re-establishment, and Reigned in all but five or six, dying in the City of *Noyon* either in this year 721. or in the year before. He was buried in the same place.

Thierry II. King XX.

POPE S,

GREGORY II. Who S. near
Ten years, during this Reign.

GREGORY III. Elect 731.
in Apr. S. Ten years Three Months,
of which about Seven in this Reign.

THIERRY II. named de Chelles,
aged about Six years.

CHARLES, Duke and Maire
of France.

Immediately after, *Charles*, who would ever have an Image wherewith to amuse the People, caused *Thierry*, or *Theoderic* the II. Son of King *Dagobert* the II. to be Installed by an Assembly of the Grandoes.

Rainfroy was abandoned by *Eudes*, but had not yet laid down the Title of *Mayre* of *Neuftria*, and for this cause *Charles* besieged him in *Angiers*. He secured himself for this bout by the strength of the place, but the year after he was forced and slain, or at least degraded of his Majestyship, and reduced to a private condition.

During these Four or Five years, *Charles* had divers Wars with the *Saxons*, the *Almans*, and the *Bavarois*. In the year 725. he reduced *Hubert*, Duke of *Bavaria*, and all that Country, and carried away with him *Bilirade*, and her Niece *Bilichilde*. Some are of opinion, that this *Bilirade* is the same before-mentioned *Pletrade*, that had retired her self to this place, to procure him fresh troubles. She must needs then have been very aged; but it appears rather that she was Sister to *Odilon* Duke of *Bavaria*, and Widow of some Lord of that Country; as yet very beautiful, since *Martel* would take the trouble of bringing her, unless it were some affection he had for the Niece, whom indeed he was married unto some while after.

After divers Wars against the People beyond the *Rhine*, of which we have no particulars, hapned that against *Aquitain*. Duke *Eudes* had broken the Treaty made with *Charles*, and made a League with the *Sarrasin Munuza*, giving him for pledge of this Union, his Daughter *Lampagia*, one of the most beautiful Princesses of those times. This *Munuza* was Governour of the *Spanish* Countreys on this side the *He-brut*, but was revolted from *Isic*, who was Caliph. *Charles*, who was ever on Horse-back, having had intelligence that *Eudes* moved, falls immediately into *Aquitain*, and having sacked it all as far as the *Garonne*, severely chastised him for his breach.

But he was not quit for all this, for at the same time as *Charles* went out, *Abderracman*, or *Abderame*, Lieutenant-General of the Caliph *Isic* in *Spain*, being entred in another way, after he had vanquished, and taken *Munuza* prisoner in *Cerdagne*, with his new Spouse, traversed *Aquitania Tertia*, perhaps not without fighting the *Gascous* who held it, and forced and sacked the City of *Bordeaux*. In this manner it was that *Eudes* drew the *Sarracens* into *France*; which hath given occasion to some to write that they were called in.

Now he durst not wait for them beyond the Rivers, but was retreated on this side the *Dordogne*: and there being reconciled with *Martel*, he assembled his Forces, staying for him to come and joyn him with his French Men. *Abderame* would not allow him the time, but pressing still forwards, passed the River to attack him in his Camp. The Duke stood his ground, and fought him as bravely as could be; but in the end was overcome with ineffimable loss of People. However some small portions of this great wrack were left him, with which he made his Retreat, and came an I joynd *Martel's* Army, which had passed the *Loire*, and were Encamped, some far near *Tours*, upon the River of *Cher*; others a little on this side of *Poitiers*.

M

Abderame

Thierry

Abderame following his blow, after he had sacked the City of *Poitiers*, marched directly to *Tours*, to plunder the Sepulchre of *St. Martin*; in his way he meets with *Martel*, who puts him to a full stop. The two Armies having looked with threatening countenance upon each other several days, beginning first with several skirmishes, at length came to a general Battle, which was given upon a Saturday in the month of *October*. The *Saracens* being light and nimble, charged with much briskness; but being ill Armed, broke themselves against the great Battalions of the *French*, who were sheltered under their Bucklers. There were great numbers slain, but not 27000. *Abderame* himself the General perished there. The night passed the fray, and favoured the Infidels, who not daring to abide another days Engagement, Retreated by long Marches into *Septimania*: the *French* perceived, very late, that their Camp was forsaken; but fearing some stratagem, and withal, being busy in getting together, and sharing the Plunder, which was very rich, they did not endeavour to pursue them.

This great Victory secured Christendom, which would have become a prey to the *Barbarians*, if they had gained *France*, which was its only Bulwark: but it seems *Charles* did not make good use of this great advantage, no more then of all those others that Heaven bestowed upon him: when he gained his ends, he set himself upon perfecting every thing that came but the least shadow upon his Grandeur; even the very Prelats, whom he banished, and imprisoned, taking away, not only the Treasures and Revenues of the Churches, to pay his Captains; but likewise bestowing on them Abbeys and Bishopricks for their reward; so that there were many without Pastors, and Monasteries were filled more with Soldiers then with Monks. The Churches of *Lyon*, of *Vienne*, of *Auxerre*, were despoiled of their Bishops, and dispoiled of their Goods, which he had given to his Martial Officers, as if they had been a Prize taken from the Enemy.

Upon his return from *Aquitain*, he banished *Eudes*, Bishop of *Orleans*, with some of his Kindred, first to *Colen*, then into the Countrey of *Harbain*, because he defended the Rights and Possessions of the Church with too much courage. Five years before he had also banished *Rigobert*, Bishop of *Rims*, who had refused him his Gates when he marched against *Rainfray*.

The Kingdom of *Burgundy* did not as yet own his Commands; perhaps *Arnold*, the Son of *Grimald*, whom some believe was their Duke, thought to hold the Sovereignty. When he had conquered the *Saracens* he marches directly to them, and brings all the Countrey into subjection.

With the like expedition he vanquished the *Frisians*, killed their Duke *Popen*, who succeeded *Ratbod* in a great Battle, subdued afterwards the *Offergon*, and the *Westerfegon*, these are two Countreys in *West Frisia*, pulled down all their Temples, their Sacred Groves, and their Idols, and covered all the Land with slaughter and destruction, and the rubbish of their Ruines.

The year following a new War was kindled betwixt him and the Duke of *Aquitain*; this Duke having been compelled to make a very disadvantageous Treaty with *Charles*, to procure assistance against the *Saracens*, as soon as the danger was over, scorned to keep his word; Therefore *Martel* marches a third time into his Countrey, and having followed him at the very heels with his drawn Sword from place to place, without being able to catch him, returned home laden with spoil.

The same year Death ended the misfortunes of that Duke, but not those of *Aquitain*. He had two Sons, *Hunaud* and *Hattin*; some add *Remisang*, who to others appears rather to be his Wives Brother. He bestowed upon *Hattin* the County of *Poitiers*, for his Portion; *Hunaud* had all the rest of the First and Second *Edict*, of which he took possession, as if it had been an Hereditary and Independent Estate. *Charles*, who would have no other partaker, soon returned again with his Army, and marching quite thorough to the *Garonne*, seized upon *Blaye*, and some other places; so that *Hunaud* was constrained to submit to his Will, and receive the Duchy from him as he had before from his Father, giving his Oath both to him and to his Son *Peppin*.

His Celerity and his Valour did let nothing escape; the same year he beat the *Aquitain* Forces, and went and settled the Governours that had disturbed the City of *Lyon*, and a part of *Burgundy*, and proceeding forward, made sure of *Provence*, and put Governours into *Arles* and *Marsilles*. From thence he turned upon the *Saxons*, beyond the *Rhine*, and brought them so low, that they did not afterwards make any attempt for divers years.

* The *Gafcons* held the Third.

A3

As *Martel* was an Usurper, every Governour thought he had reason enough to disobey him, and acted like Sovereigns. *Maurontus*, Governour of *Marsilles*, that he might make himself Independent, craved the assistance of the *Saracens*, and delivered the City of *Avignon* up to them, whence they spread themselves over *Dauphine*, *Lyonnois*, and if credible, even as far as *Sens*; with a horrible desolation of all those Countreys.

The *Barbarians* did not hold *Avignon* long, *Charles* sent thither his Brother *Childebrand*, who having made them quit the Field, besieged them in that City. Soon after he came thither himself with the gros of his Army, gave an Assault by *Scalado*, and forced them, part of the City was burnt, and all the Infidels that were within it put to the Sword.

This done, he crosses over *Septimania*, and goes to besiege *Narbonne*, resolved to have it what ever it cost, thereby to shut up that passage into *Gall*.

Atlim, Governour of the City, and perhaps of all that Countrey for the *Saracens*, was gotten into the Town: Those in *Spain*, informed of the danger the place was in, made great Levies of Soldiers, and put them aboard some Vessels to relieve it. There is a Lake between *Narbonne* and *Ville-Salve*, at whose Mouth the little River of *Bere* discharges it self into the Sea; it is called the Lake *Oliviere*: there it was their Boats came into Land: those Forces they had brought; *Anorox*, Governor of *Terragonne* was their General. *Martel* leaving his Brother with part of the Army to maintain the Siege, went thither to them, and gave them Battle: nigh *Sigac*. It was very obstinate; but in the conclusion, *Anorox* was overthrown upon huge heaps of his slain Men, and most of the rest that fled into their Boats, Drowned, or put to the Sword.

Atlim's courage increased by this ill success, and he defended himself so bravely, that *Charles* left him there, and turning his Forces towards more easy Conquests, made himself master of *Besiers*, *Agde*, *Maguelonna*, and of *Nismes*, all which he dismantled.

About the year 738. hapned the death of *Thierry of Chelles*, about the 23 year of his age, and the 17th of his imaginary Reign. Now *Charles Martel*, having perhaps the design of taking up the Title of King, as he had the Authority, put no other in his stead, nor his Sons neither, till a year after his death, so that there hapned an Interregnum of Five years.

Interregnum.

Charles Martel, Maire and Duc of the French.

Popes Greg. III.

A Second time *Maurontus* calls the *Saracens* into *Provence*; *Jusep*, Governour of *Narbonne*, Besieged and Took the Town of *Arles*, and from thence over-ran, and ransacked all *Provence*. *Charles* summons *Luithrand*, King of the *Lombards*, to joyn with him against this Enemy. *Luithrand*, who did not desire to have them so near *Italy*, and who besides was a friend to *Martel*, presently marches to joyn him; the Infidels dare not stay for them, but retreat to *Narbonne* without striking a blow. *Maurontus* likewise forsakes *Marsilles*, and retires amongst the Rocks; so that *Provence* remained peaceably in the hands of the *French*.

The power of the *Saracens* which threatened to overwhelm all Christendom, being as it were upon its ebb, the Spanish Princes recovered themselves by little and little again, especially with the assistance of the *French*; and yet nevertheless, they were above Seven hundred years in regaining what they lost in three years time. This year *Charles Martel* sent them a considerable assistance, which helped them more then a little towards the settling their affairs.

In *Spain* they called the *Saracens* Moors, because indeed they were come from *Mauritanian*, which they had conquered; and because most of their Forces were composed of Men from that Countrey.

737, and 38.

738.

739.

738.

The dispute about the worship of Images caused a pernicious and bloody Schisme in the Church. The Emperour *Leon* upon the reproaches the *Saracens* and *Mahometans* had made him, that it was idolatry to adore Stone and Wood, would needs pull them out of the Churches, the Popes at the same time contending to keep them there. *Gregory II.* stood up stoutly in this Cause; the Dispute went so far, that *An. 726.* not looking upon *Leon* as his Sovereign, he wrote him Letters that were very haughty, and full of new Maxims; stop'd the Moneys he was raising in Italy, and turned the People from that Obedience they owed to him. *Gregory III.* his Successor went yet farther, and Excommunicated him. On the other hand, the Emperour turned every stone to revenge it: but all his endeavours proved fruitless, and a shame to himself in the end.

740. Whilst affairs were in such a condition, that the Pope could hope for no assistance of the Emperour in his occasions, it hapned that he offended *Luitprand*, King of the *Lombards*, by giving Retreat to *Troisfrons*, Duke of *Spoleto*, and making League with *Godscalf*, who had invaded the *Duchy of Benevent*: That King pressing upon him with his Army, and having seized some Towns within the *Duchy of Rome*, he had recourse to the protection of *Martel*, and wrote two or three very moving Letters to him, in the Titles whereof he called him his most excellent Son, and gave him the Title of

740.

741.

741.

Sub-King, or *Vice-Roy*. *Charles* was a little hard to be moved, the Letters having operated no great matter; he sent him a most remarkable Embassy, which carried as a Present, the Keys of the Sepulchre of *St. Peter*, and the Bonds wherewith that Apostle had been tied; and after that came another, which bestowed and conferred upon him the Sovereignty of *Rome*, and the Title of *Patriarch*.

He was not now any more in a condition for great enterprizes, a troublesome and lingering distemper which undermined him by little and little, forwarned him to think of his Death, and the settlement of his Family: He had three Children Legitimate, *Carloman*, *Pepin*, called the *Breiff*, and *Griffon*; the two first by *Chrotude*, and the other by *Sonchilde*; and besides these, three Bastards, *Remy* or *Randa*, *Herofine*, and *Bernard*. *Remy* was Bishop of *Raven*, *Herofine* and *Bernard* Married. The first had a Son named *Fulrad*, Abbot of *St. Quintin*, which he built. The second had three Sons and two Daughters, the two eldest Sons were *Adelard* and *Vala*, both Counts at Court, then successively, Abbots of *Corbie*, and the third named *Bernier* was likewise a Monk. The two Daughters *Gondrade* and *Theodrade*, vowed themselves to God in a Religious Life: the first in her Virgin State, the other in her Widow-hood.

Now Prince *Charles* dividing the Estate between his three Legitimate Children, as if he had been the lawful Sovereign, gave to *Carloman*, who was the eldest, *Austrasia*, *Souabe*, and *Turingia*; (*Bavaria* had its Dukes, *Frisia* and *Saxony* were Revolted) to *Pepin*, *Neustria*, *Burgundy*, *Septimania*, and *Provence*; and to *Griffon*, a Portion betwixt his two Brothers, made up of some parcels of the three Kingdoms. The Son of the Duke *Euder* held *Aquitania Prima* & *Secunda*, and the Duke of the *Gascous* the other.

Shortly after, on the 20th of *October*, he ended his Life in the Castle of *Cariffy* * upon the *Oyse*, within three Leagues of *Nejon*. He had ruled about three years in *Austrasia*, and 28 in this Kingdom and in *Neustria*. The Martial Courage and Spirit which inclined him to have always his Sword in hand to smite his Enemies, acquired him the name of *Martel* in History, and an immortal Fame: But the Ecclesiasticks, whom he had rudely handled, sullied his Memory, and would not forgive him in the other World. For they affirmed, according to a Revelation of *St. Euder*, Bishop of *Orleans*, that he burned both Body and Soul in Eternal Flames, and that his Tomb having been opened, there was nothing to be found in it, but a huge Serpent and a stinking Blackness, the marks of the ill condition of his State, or Salvation;

CARLOMAN
in Austrasia,

and

PEPIN
in Neustria &
Burgundy.

Dukes and Princes of the French.

How little soever the share was which *Griffon* had, his two Brothers could not endure it; they Besieged him in the City of *Laon*, shut him up in *Chasteau-neuf* in *Ardenna*

Ardenna, and having seized on his Mother *Sonchilde*, allotted him the Abby of *Chelles* for his Subsistence and his Prison. At the same time *Theodebald* Son of *Grimoald*, whom *Martel* had left in Peace after he had strip'd him, was taken out of the World, perhaps because he had some intrigues with *Sonchilde*.

All those People, whom *Martel* had brought to their Duty by the power of the Sword, imagined, that after his death it would be easy for them to cast off the yolk: Particularly *Thibaud*, Son of *Godfrey*, Duke of the *Almans*, and *Hunoud* Duke of *Aquitain*. This last being the most dangerous, the two Brothers joyned their Force against him. They handled him so roughly, having driven him beyond *Poitiers*, and forced the Cattle of *Loches*, that he desired a Peace, the conditions are not specified. Before the two Brothers left *Aquitain*, they shared the Kingdom berwixt them, or rather what they had taken from *Hunoud*, which they did at the place called *The Old Poitiers*, between the *Clain* and the *Vienne*, near *Chastelleraud*.

Besides these two Expeditions, the year was remarkable for the Birth of *Charles* called the *Great*, or *Charlemain*, the Son of *Pepin*, and *Berte* his Wife, who was born into the World in the Palace of *Ingelheim* upon the *Rhine*, this year 742.

The same year *Carloman* passed the *Rhine*, marched into the *Alman* Country, as far as the River *Luce*, which separates them from the *Bavarians*, and brought them so low, that their Duke *Thibaud*, Son of *Godfrey*, gave him up Hostages for pledge of his Faith, and the tribute he was to have from him.

It seems to have been in this year, or at least the next, that the two Brothers began to think themselves of filling the Royal Throne, in appearance, which had been vacant five years, and putting *Childeric* in it, who was furnished the *Witless*, or * *Sensless*, as being either really such, or so represented to the People. Some make him to be the Brother of *Thierry de Chelles*, others of *Cloaire III.* and if so, he must have been at least 17 or 18 years of age; but many think him the Son of *Thierry*, and then he could be but 10 or 12 at most.

742.

742.

742.

743.

* L'incense
or L'Hebete.
Dull, slow
blockish,

Childeric

741.
* Now Crecy
a small Village.

Childeric III. called the WITLESS. King XXI. Aged Eighteen years.

POPE.

Zachary Elected in Dec. 741. *St. Ten years Three Months,
whereof above Nine Months in this Reign.*

CARLOMAN
in Austrasia.

and

PEPIN
in Neustria.

Dukes and Princes of the French.

743.

Those Princes that had Revolted in the time of Martel, obeying his Children but unwillingly, made a powerful League to break and throw off the Bonds of their subjection. *Odilon* Duke of *Bavaria* was the Head, instigated, no doubt, by his Wife *Chiltrude*, Daughter of *Martel*, and *Sonichilde*, who two years before, having stolen away from her Brothers, went into that Country and was Married to him. The *Saxons* and *Almans* assisted him with Men; and at the same time, while the two Brothers were on their way thither. *Hunoud*, Duke of *Aquitain* falls upon *Neustria*, and defends as far as *Chartres*, which he forced, and buried almost under its own Ruines.

Odilon was encamped with his Army on the brink of the River *Loos*, which he had Palisaded with strong Timbers. The two Brothers having staid Fifteen days right over against him, without attempting to pass; one fair night, a kind of impatient Spirit prompting the *French*, they forced their way over, with the loss of many of their Men, who were drowned, and brought a terror to his whole Camp: All his Men betook themselves to flight, and left their Baggage, and the two Brothers their full and free liberty to range over the whole Country of *Bavaria* for two Months together.

744.

From thence *Carloman* marched against the *Saxons*, gained the Castle of *Hochburg*, upon Compulsion; and *Theoderic* Duke of that Country, who solemnly gave his Faith to him; and yet he nevertheless broke it again presently, and obliged *Carloman* to return thither the very next year, to the very great damage of his Country.

But it was not till after the two Brothers having ravaged *Aquitain*, had constrained *Hunoud* to crave their pardon the third time, and redeem his fault with the price of many great Presents made to them.

745.

He had the courage of a Woman, quarrelsome and weak, and consequently suspicious and cruel. His Brother *Haron* being come to see him upon the security of his Word, he put him to death, and a short while afterwards, either upon some Motions of Repentance, or lightness and giddiness of Brain, he made himself a Monk in a Monastery, in the title of *Rbe*, having left his Dutchy to his Son *Gaifre*, about the age of 18 or 20 years.

Prince Chastrian, whom he had struck his hat blow against the *Almans*, whose pride he had abased by the blood of a great many of the most noble of his, which was in the year 746. as related his will to quit the World, rather by a pious and emulative inspiration of God, or the terror of those most dismal stories they spread of his Fathers Damnation.

The fifth year of his Principality, having given up his Estate, and his Son *Drogon*, or *Drogan* into the hands of *Repin*, he went to pay his Devotions at *St. Peter* in *Rome*; from thence he went to take the Habit of *St. Bennet* at *Mount Cassin*, or *Mount St. Euseb*; and some while after, because he was too much importuned by *Vifters*, he retired to *Mount Cassin*.

Pepin allowed no share of his Dominion to his Nephew *Drogon*, nor his Brothers other Children: but the same year, and perhaps at his request, he set their youngest Brother *Griffon* at liberty, treated him honorably in his Court, and gave him some Counties for his allowance.

The ambition of this young Prince, not being tamed by a Prison, could not be so by kindness, he made his escape, and went and stirred up the *Saxons* in his quarrel. *Pepin* followed him close, the *Sorabe* *Sclavonians*, who were divided from the *Turingians* by the River of *Saale*, the *Attracians*, and other *Sclavonians*, who were spread all along the Frontiers of *France*, brought him 10000 Fighting Men. Inasmuch as the *Saxons* *Nordsgautes*, overwhelmed with his numbers, submitted to his pleasure, and received Baptism. *Griffon* with the other *Saxons*, was encamped and entrenched on the other side of the River *Ouse*; fear seized upon them; they deserted their Post in the night time, and their Country remained exposed to the mercy of the *French*: so that not finding himself any longer in safety there, he leaves them to make their Peace, and retired to *Bavaria*; where he seized on that Dutchy, usurping it from the young *Tafilon*, aged but 6 or 7 years, who was the Son of his Sister *Chiltrude* and *Odilon*.

This Country no more then that of *Saxony*, could not protect him from the pursuit of *Pepin*, who joining Gold and his Favours, with his Sword and Threats, soon unhinged his Party. The *Bavarois* made their agreement; *Landfroy* Duke of the *Almans*, and *Suidgard* Earl of *Hirberg* did the same; and he finding himself alone, was compelled to follow their Dance, and come to his Brother. He receiv'd him most kindly, and assigned him the City of *Mans*, and Twelve Counties in *Neustria*: but the very self same year he made a third escape, and cast himself into the Arms of *Gaifre* Duke of *Aquitain*.

Pepin having gained the better over all his enemies, had no more left him to do, but to sit down in the Throne, a thing his Father durst not undertake. He saw all the power in his own hands, with the Treasures of the Kingdom, and the Affections of the *French*, and there was no other Prince of the *Merovingian* Race remaining, but one young stupid and witless Man. He therefore assembled a Parliament, which being wholly Devoted to him, were very willing to confer the Title of King on him: but he was glad that he might be disengaged from his Oath of Fidelity, to consult with the Pope, who had great authority over the *Galican* Church, and whose Answers passed for Oracles, though not for Laws.

He who sat then in the Holy Chair was *Zachary*, a most intimate friend of *Pepin*, who wanted his assistance against the *Lombards*, and who could well apprehend, that what was desired of him, was a most favourable prejudice for the Popes against the Emperours. Besides, it seemed reasonable and just that *France*, after to many Idols and Shadows, should now have a King in reality; and therefore he could not but answer favourably to the point that *Pepin* propounded, and consulted him about; and his Reply was certainly of great weight. It is in this sense, according to my opinion, that we must understand some Authors of those times, who tell us, that *Boniface* set him upon the Throne by the Command of *Zachary*. Otherwise we should say the *French* did not truly understand their own Right, and that this Pope attributed to himself what did not belong to him.

Upon this Answer, the *French* having called another Parliament at *Souffons*, degraded *Childeric*, and elected *Pepin*. There is some likelihood that this was done in the general Assembly, which was held in the month of *March*. The bishops were there in great numbers, *Boniface*, Arch-Bishop of *Mentz* being in the head of them, who declared to them the validity of the Popes Answer; and indeed this King and his Successors, as if they had some obligation to the Clergy for their Royalty, gave them a great share in the Government.

* St. Beriza
at St. Omer's
in Artois.

By the same Decree *Childeric* was shaved and made a Monk at *Saint** There are some affirm, that from thence he was removed to the Monastery of *St. Himeran* at *Katibonne*, and his Wife being veiled to that of *Cenebilla*. But others believe he was not Married, though he were of an age ripe enough for it.

Thus endeth the First Race of the Kings of France; who if we reckon from the year 418. to the year 751. had Reigned 333 years, and had 21 Kings, only accounting those of *Paris*: but Thirty six, if we take in all those that had the Title, as well in *Austrasia*, where there was but one that resided at *Metz*, as in *Neufria*, while sometimes three of them at the same time had their Seats at *Orleans*, at *Soissons*, and at *Paris*. The first Four of these Kings were Idolaters, and all the rest Christians. But their Baptism did not quite purge away their Barbarity; they were Savage and Bloody till *Clotaire II.* Those that followed were more Benigne, Merciful, and Religious, excepting *Childeric II.* But all being either shallow-Brain'd, or Minors, they fell necessarily under the Government of others.

End of the First Race.

THE

The Second Race OF KINGS

Which have Reigned in *FRANCE*,

And are Named

CARLIANS, OR Carlovinians.



HIS Second Race is commonly called the * *Carlian*, * Or *Caro-*
or *Carlovinian* Race. We know not whether it took
that denomination from *Charles Martel*, or *Charles* 752
the Great. After it had been raised to a great height
by the Virtue of its Five first Princes, to wit, the two
Pepins, *Charles Martel*, *Charlemain*, and *Lewis the*
Godly, and had extended their Empire much beyond
the Bounds of the First; It began to decline under the Children of that
Lewis, and in the end was reduced to so narrow a compass, all the Lords
having made themselves Masters in their Governments, that their last
Kings had nothing left which was properly their own, but the Cities of
Laon, and that of *Reims*.

It is observed, That they had much resemblance with the First Race, in
that they had a very fair beginning, and an unhappy end; That *Charles of*
Lorraine their last Male, was deprived of the Crown, as *Childeric* had been;
and that they had several stupid and senseless Princes amongst them. But
this held one Advantage above the other, That they Reign to this day in
all *Europe*, by the Males in the House of *France*, and by the Women in
that of the other greatest Princes. Inasmuch, that the *Carlovinian* Blood
is held for the most Noble in all the Earth; whereas there is not any
remaining of that of *Meroveus*.

A a

Pepin

PEPIN named the Breif;

OR,

The Little, King XXII.

Aged xxxvii, or xxxviii Years.

P O P E S,

ZACHARY, One Year during
this Reign.STEPHANUS II, in 752. S.
2. Tears, 3. days.STEPHANUS III. The same
Year, S. 5. Tears, 20 Days.PAUL I. Elect in May 717. S. Ten
Tears, one Month.CONSTANTINE and PHI-
LIP, False Popes, in 767.STEPHANUS IV. In August
768. S. 3. Tears, 5 Months, where-
of 2 months in this Reign.

After the Estates of Soissons had Elected Pepin, and, as it is believed had lifted him on the *Pavois* and upon the Royal Throne, he would needs add the Ceremonies of the Church, to consecrate his Royalty, and render it more august: Boniface Archbishop of *Mems* Crowned him in the Cathedral of *Soissons*, and anointed him with holy Oyl, according to the Customs of the Kings of *Israel*, that thereby the Word of God, Touch not mine Anointed, might become a Buckler to him and his Successors.

The Anointing and Crowning began from this time to be practised at the Inauguration of the Kings of France, and hath been continued to this day.

Being of a very low stature, the Lords had not all that respect for him which they should. Having perceived it, he would needs let them see by experience that he had more Courage and Vertue than those great bulks who very often have nothing but an outward appearance of bravery. Those Kings took much delight in Combats of Wild Beasts, and not only pleased themselves with the divertissement of such Spectacles in those Publique Entertainments they gave the People, but many times in private in their own Palaces. One day being at the Abbey of *Ferrières*, a furious Lion having grappled with a Bull, whom he held fast by the Neck, he laid to some Lords that were about him, That they must needs make him let go his hold. Nor one had the Courage to undertake it, the very proposition affrighted them. After he had observed them all, and plainly perceived their astonishment, he leaped down from the Scaffold, his Back-Sword in his hand, went directly to the Lion, and at one stroke managed with as much skill as strength, divided his head from his body, his Sword entering even a good way into the Neck of the Bull. After this wonderful blow turning himself towards his Lords, Do you not believe, said he with a kind of Heroick Pride, that I am worthy to Command you?

His first Warlike Expedition, after his Coronation, was in Saxony, where he constrained

constrained the Saxons to pay every Year Three hundred Horses for a Tribute, and to bring them to him into the Field of *Mars* or General Assembly of the French.

On his return from that Country, he heard of the Death of *Griffon* his Younger Brother. That unquiet Spirit being come out of *Aquitain* whither he had retired to Duke *Gaifre*, was assassinated in the Valley of *Morieime* going into *Italy*, either by some People of *Pepin*'s, says our Author, or by some of *Gaifre*'s, who conceived some Jealousie for having been too familiar with his Wife.

To *Childebrand* and Grandson of *Luitprand* King of the *Lombards*, degraded by his Subjects, *Rachis* Duke of *Friul* succeeded by Election: who professing himself a Monk in the same Convent with *Caroleman* Brother of *Pepin*, *Astolphus* his Brother had taken his place. He finding the Emperour *Constantine Copronimus* full of Trouble, had seized on the Exarchat of *Ravenna* and *Pentapolis*, which till then had been held by the Exarchs or Vicars of the Emperour. Besides, he had got into his power even under the very Walls of *Rome*, several Towns, belonging to several private Lords who had made themselves as it were Sovereigns in the time of the disorders and disorders of the *Grecian* Empire, and finding all things submitted to him, he had likewise a great desire to make himself Master of *Rome*, pretending and maintaining, That the Exarchat he had conquer'd, gave him all the Right and Title the Emperours had enjoy'd in *Italy*, and therefore *Rome* and the Popes being in subjection to the Empire, were now under his.

By vertue of this pretence he marched with his Army towards *Rome*, and sent to Summon the Romans to acknowledge him, and to pay him a Crown in Gold for every head. Pope *Stephanus* much amazed at this enterprize, beseeches him to leave the Lands belonging to the Church in Peace, hath recourse to the intercession of the Emperour *Constantinus*, and afterwards comes himself to *Pavia* to see the *Lombard*. But finding his Intreaties, nor the Emperour's Request had no influence upon him, he implored the Assistance of *Pepin* and his Protection, as *Gregory III.* had done that of *Martel*. So that, after he had prepared and disposed him by some Ambassadors sent before-hand, he went from *Lombardy* into *France*, to the great astonishment and vexation of *Astolphus*, who however durst not detain him.

The King being unable to go so far as *Morieime*, as he had made him hope, sent to intreat him to come to *Pontignon* a Royal Castle near *Langres*; *Charles* his Eldest Son went above fifty Leagues to meet him. The Pope arrived at *Pontignon* the sixth day of *January*: the King with his Wife and Children, received him about a mile from the place, and treated him with all manner of respect and honour; But not to that degree as to walk on foot by his Horses side, and hold the bridle, as *Anastasius* hath written, who in some places hath spoken of ancient times, rather according to the Practice and Customs of the days he lived in, then according to the naked truth.

After several Conferences both publique and private, *Pepin* promised him all manner of assistance, as soon as he had put his own affairs into some order, and wished him in the mean time to go and repose himself in the Abbey of *St. Denis* in *France*. *Stephanus* hath written, That being fallen desperately ill, and causing himself to be carried into the Church under the * Bells to begg his recovery of God, he beheld *St. Denis* in a Vision, together with the Apostles *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, who miraculously restored him. Which could not but be very pleasing to the French, who had a singular Veneration for that Saint, and to *Pepin* himself, whose Father, either out of devotion, or to do like other Kings, had acknowledged he was greatly beholding to the intercession of those Holy Martyrs.

A little while after his being recovered from his Sickness, which was in the Month of *July*, he Crowned and Anointed *Pepin* and his two Sons with his own hands, exhorting the French to keep their Faith, and from that time Excommunicating them, if they ever chose a King of any other Race. Some say that this Ceremony was performed in the Church of *St. Denis*, before the Altar of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, which the Pope did on that day dedicate, in remembrance of the recovery of his health. Others believe it was in the Abbey-Church of *Ferrières*. Wherever it were, the Ceremony being ended, *Stephanus* declared him * Advocate * *Advocatus* or Defender of the Roman Church.

Astolphus well foreseeing that the Pope would bring the *French* upon him, had by Threats obliged the Abbot of *Mount-Cassin* to send the Monk *Carloman* into *France* to bring *Pepin* his Brother, upon pretence of demanding the Corps of St. *Berniet*, which had been stolne, and convey'd to the Abbey of *Fleury* upon the *Loire*, which from thence was named St. *Berniet*: but it was to oppose the endeavours of the Pope, and counterminde his Designs in those Undertakings. In effect the Monk pleaded the Cause of *Astolphus* so stoutly in the Parliament of *Crecy*, that it was agreed some Ambassadors should be dispatched to *Astolphus* to endeavour an accommodation.

The *Lombard* received and treated them as coming from a Great and Potent State. He was willing to lay aside his pretences to the Sovereignty of the City of *Rome* and its dependences; but would reserve the Exarchat he had conquered by the Sword. The Pope on the contrary maintained that it belonged to him as being the spoils of an heretick; and he solicited *Pepin* to effectually, that that King promised to assist him in the conquering of it.

754. Mean time *Carloman* for having espoused the Interest of the *Lombard* too far, brought himself to an ill pass: for the King and the Pope consulting and contriving together, shut him up in a Monastery at *Piemme*, where he dyed the same Year, and his Sons were shav'd for fear they should one day claim the Estate their Father had once possessed.

755. The great Preparations for War, and a second Embassy being not sufficient to remove *Astolphus* from his firm resolution of detaining the *Exarchat* and the *Pentapole*, *Pepin* caus'd his Army to march that way. His Van-Guard having seized the Cluses or the Passages of the *Alps*, and beaten off those *Lombards* that thought to defend them, *Astolphus* retires into *Pavia*, where presently afterwards he was shut up by *Pepin*.

The havock, the ruine, and firings the *French* made use of round about that City, could not draw him into the Field. The Pope in the mean while grew weary and melancholy at the desolation of *Italy*, and he also feared lest *Pepin* should make himself absolute Master, if he took that Place by force. He therefore condescends to an Accommodation at the earnest intreaty of the *Lombard*; and it was easily obtained, for he then promised him to give up the Exarchat, and the Justices of Saint *Peter*; which in my apprehension were certain Lands within the Bishoprick of *Rome*.

756. So soon as the *French-men* backs were turned, the *Lombard* instead of performing those hard Conditions, resolves to revenge himself upon the Pope, and the following Year went and laid Siege to *Rome*, where he made such spoil as declared his cruel resentment. This infraction oblig'd *Pepin* to repass the Mountains. Upon the noise of his March, he decamps from before *Rome*, which he had much straitened, and retreats the second time to *Pavia*. *Pepin* besieges him and presses on so close, that having no other means to save his Life and Crown, he is compell'd to take himself for Judge and Arbitrator of the differences between him and the Pope. It was not possible but *Pepin* must judge in favour of the last. And indeed he would grant no Peace to *Astolphus*, but upon condition he should make good his former Years agreement, and moreover give up *Comachio*. This was treated and negotiated in the presence of the Emperor's Ambassadors, who being come to that Siege to demand those Countries for their Master, the *Lombards* had taken, suffered the displeasure and shame of a refusal.

The *Exarchat* comprehended *Ravenna*, *Bologna*, *Imola*, *Faenza*, *Forly*, *Cesenna*, *Bobia*, *Ferrara* and *Adria*.

The *Pentapole* held *Rimini*, *Pesaro*, *Conca*, *Fano*, *Senigalia*, *Ancona*, and some other lesser places.

756. A Chaplain of King *Pepin*'s received all these Towns, brought away Hostages, and laid the Keys upon the Altar of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* at *Rome*, with the draught of the Treaty, to signify that *Pepin* made a donative thereof to those Holy Apostles. Some do imagine he did it in the Name of the Emperor *Constantine Copronymus*,

Copronymus, who indeed would not consent to it; and they believe that it is upon the equivocation of this name, that the Popes have founded their fabulous donation of *Constantine* the Great.

Astolphus dyed the Year following by a Fall from his Horse, *Didier* his Constable had a Party strong enough to Elect him King. But those for the Monk *Rachis* Brother to King *Luitprand*, who had left his Cloister, pulled him very much. He betakes himself to Pope *Stephanus*, promising him to make good the restitution *Astolphus* had agreed to. *Pepin*'s Ambassadors were of Opinion that he should assist him in it; so that he constrained *Rachis* to return and betake himself again to his Monastery. *Stephanus* dyes some Months after, *Paul I.* succeeded him, *Didier* and he lived well enough with each other.

The Emperor *Constantine* had not yet lost all hopes of recovering the *Exarchat* by means of the *French*; and he endeavoured to regain it by the force of Presents and fair Words. Amongst other things he sent a pair of Organs to the King who was then at *Compiègne*. These were the first that had been seen in *France*.

Tasillon Duke of *Bavaria*, Son of Duke *Orilon* or *Odillon*, came to the same place to take his Oath of Fidelity to King *Pepin*, rendering Homage to him, his hands * within the Kings, and promising him such Service as a Vassal oweth to his Lord; which he confirmed by Swearing on the Bodies of St. *Denis*, Saint German of *dau* per *ma* *nne*, *Pardis*, and Saint *Martin* at *Tours*.

This Year they changed the time of the General Assembly which was held in *March*, and was now put off till *May*. And so it was no longer called the Field of *Mars*, but the Field of *May*.

Pepin thought to take some rest this Year, when Intelligence was brought him, that the *Saxons* were revolted. Though they were embodied in an Army, and had made Retrenchments upon all the Passages into their Country, he gained them all at the first attempt, and forced them to give him their Oaths and to pay Tribute.

The Kings of this Second Race Celebrated the Festivals of Christmās and Easter with great Solemnity, clothed in their Royal Ornaments, the Crown upon their heads, and keeping open Court: and for this reason the Authors of those times never fail to put down every Year the place where they solemnized those holy Feasts.

The City of *Narbonna* was yet held by the *Saracens*. This Year *Pepin* having besieged it, the Citizens who were *Visigoths* and Christians, slew the Infidel Garrison, and delivered the place up to him, upon condition that he should suffer them to live according to their own Laws; that is to say, the *Roman* Law, which had ever been observed by the People of *Septimania*, and is yet to this day.

There remained of all the Countries that had been subject to the Kingdom of *France*, none but *Aquitain*, that was not brought to their duty. Their Duke *Gaifre* did not acknowledge *Pepin*; and moreover he, or the Lords of his Country, retained what belonged to those Churches the *French* had in *Aquitain*. This was a plausible pretence for *Pepin* to quarrel, by demanding restitution of the Poor's Patrimony. He expected that *Gaifre* would refuse to do right; thereupon he gets his Militia together and marches into *Aquitain*, to the place they call *Theodad*, where was an Ancient Palace of their Kings. *Gaifre* who was not prepared for so sudden an Expedition, was so much astonished, that he promised him full satisfaction, and gave him up some Hostages.

It was to be feared that the *Saracens* in *Spain* would bring assistance to this Duke, and that he might be persuaded to deliver some places into their hands for Security and Retreat, which would have given them footing in *France*: *Pepin* provides against this, by pretending to desire the Alliance of their Caliph; to whom he sent a splendid Embassy. The Caliph looked on this proposition as very honorable coming from so great a Prince, agreed to all what was desired, and sent back; the Embassadors laden with rich Presents, whose Voyage thither and home again took up three Years time.

Instead of performing his promise, *Gaifre* sent out his Forces, who ravaged all about *Chadon* upon the *Soane*. *Pepin* extraordinarily offended at this infidelity, resolves to make a perpetual War upon him, till he were quite ruin'd. This Year he

he conquered *Bourbon*, *Chantelle*, *Clermont*, and divers Places in *Auvergne*, and from thence descends into *Limofin* and took *Limoges*, having defeated and slain in a great Battle *Chilping Count d' Auvergne*, and *Amingue Count de Poitiers*, who would have hindered him. His Eldest Son *Charles* began his first Apprentitship of Warr in this Expedition.

762. The following Year after he had held the General Assembly at *Carisy*, or *Creey* upon the *Oyfe*, he entred for the third time into *Aquitain*, and by force took the City of *Bourges* and the Castle of *Taf-sillon*.

763. At his Fourth Expedition, which was after the Sitting of the Parliament of *Neners*, he pierced as far as *Cabors*. But the Duke *Taf-sillon* his Nephew, whom he carried along with him, having made his Escape and got into *Bavaria*, he feared that Young Prince might have some League with the *Saxons* and with *Didier King of Lombardy*, whose Daughter he had married.

764. Therefore returning again into *France*, he let slip one Year without taking the Field: during which time nothing was done, but sending and receiving Messengers from *Bavaria* and *Lombardy*, concerning Treaties with *Didier* and *Taf-sillon*.

765. When he had made sure of them by some agreement, he undertakes afresh his design of Warr upon *Aquitain*. *Gaifre* had dismantled most of his Towns, as not having Numbers sufficient to maintain them: *Pepin* Repairs them, and places good Garrisons, then made himself Master of *Angoulesme*, *Saintes*, and *Agen*.

766. The Year after he fortifies *Agen* in *Berry*, and according to some Chronickers, took the Town of *Limoges*, which by this reckoning must have been taken twice.

767. Anno 767. After the General Assembly of *Orleans* was over, he enters into *Septimania*, and gained the Cities of *Nismes*, *Maguelonne*, *Beziers*, *Thouluse*, *Albi*, and the Country of *Givaudan*. We cannot find by what Title these Cities could belong to *Gaifre*; and if it be said, They were in the hands of the *Visigoths*, what reason had *Pepin* to take them from those People.

He must of necessity have made all this long March in the Winter time, since he kept his Easter Festival at *Vienne*, held the Field-meeting of *May* at *Bourges*, and in the Month of *August* descended from thence as far as the Borders of the *Garonne*, clearing all the Country of such of *Gaifres* Garrison Soldiers as skulked amongst the Rocks and in the Caves of *Auvergne* and *Perigord*.

768. After the Celebration of the Christmas Festival at *Bourges*, he crossed *Aquitain* as far as *Saintes*. In his way he took *Remifrang*, Brother, or Uncle by the Mothers side, to *Gaifre*, whom he caused to be hanged for having broken his faith to him Three Years before; and while he was at *Saintes*, they presented to him the Mother, a Sister and a Niece of the same Dukes.

This Unfortunate Man fled still before him, sometimes into one Town, then into another. In fine, the King after he had kept his Easter at *Selles* in *Berry*, divided his Forces in two Bodies, that he might be hemm'd in. So that *Gaifre* being put to a full stop near *Perigoux*, was constrained to stake his last Fortune in a Battle: but he lost it and his Life soon after, being slain either by the *French*, or even by his own men, who were willing to put an end to their Troubles, and the desolation of their Country.

Thus all *Aquitain* was entirely subdued, saving only they permitted the *Gaifrons* to have a Duke. *Pepin* had but life enough just to finish this Conquest: for being come back to *Saintes*, he fell sick of an *Hydropisic*. As they were conveying him to *Paris*, he paid his Devotions and made his Offerings on the Tomb of *St. Martin de Tours*; and being brought to perform the same duty at *St. Denis* in *France*, he resigned up his Soul the 24th of September, in the Year 768. Aged 52. or 54. Years, of which he had reigned Seventeen and a half, if we reckon from the day of his Election, supposing that was made in the Field of *Mars*, Anno 751.

He married but one Wife who survived him, which was *Bertha*, whom the Histo-rians have surnamed *Great Foot*, Daughter of *Caribert* Count of *Laon*, by whom he had four Sons, *Carloman*, *Charles*, *Pepin* and *Gilles*; and three Daughters, *Rotaide*, *Adelaide*, and *Giselle*. Of his Sons, the Youngest was thrust very young into

into the Religious Monastery of *Mount Soracte*; *Pepin* dyed when three years old; The Kingdom was left to the other two, who were Crowned in the Month of *October* following, *Carloman* at *Sossion*, and *Charles* at *Noyon*. As for the Daughters, the two Eldest *Rotaide* and *Adelaide*, dyed young, *Giselle* married to a *Cloister* and was an Abbess. Some Genealogists bestow five or six Sons more upon him, and as many Daughters, of which, say they, *Berte* was married to *Milon* Count of *Angiers*, and Father of the invulnerable *Orlando*, and *Chiltrade* to *René* Count of *Genoa*, who was the Father of *Oger* the Dane.

The two Brothers being in dispute about their partition, the Lords interposed to bring them to an agreement, and obliged them till all should be determined, by way of provision to take, *Charles* all *Neuftria*, and *Carloman* *Austrasia*.

In the Reign of *Pepin*, God began to make *Christendom* feel the strokes of the severest scourge that was ever laid upon them. I mean the insulting Turks, which to this day threatens to overthrow us. They were not unknown in *Pliny's* time, who reckons them amongst those who inhabited along the *Palmus Meotides*. There may have been some likewise amongst the *Mefagetes* and elsewhere, as we have observed of some other Barbarians. In the time of the Emperor *Iustin*, they were even then so potent, that they over-awed the *Avari* and other Neighbouring people. The Emperor *Heraclius* made use of them against *Colfoes*, and they made a mighty diversion being entred into *Perfia*, a great part whereof paid them Tribute divers Years afterwards. But in the Year 763. they fell upon *Armenia*, and so spread themselves very far into *Asia*, where they subdued even the Kingdom of *Perfia*, An. 1048. Nevertheless they had no Sovereign, nor Chief General, but only many Colonels, till the first Croifado of the Christians in 1196. at which time they made choice of one to be the better united for their own defence and preservation.

CHARLES

CHARLES I.

CALLED

The Great:
OR,
CHARLEMAINE.
King XXIII.

Aged xxix, or xxx. Years.

POPES,

STEPHANUS III. S. Three
Years, and Three Months.ADRIAN I. Elected in Feb. 772.
S. near 24. Years.LEO III. Elected in Decem. 795.
S. Twenty Years, Five Months,
of which Eighteen under this
Reign.Charles in Neustria and Bur-
gundy, Aged 29. or 30.
Years.Carloman in Austria, Aged
22 Years.

769. **D**uring the Discord between the Two Brothers, which lasted some Months, Old Hunold the Father of Gaire who had put himself into a Monastery, throws down his holy Frock to take up the Title of Duke of Aquitaine, and endeavoured to make that Province Revolt by the assistance of his Friends, and a League he made with Loup Duke of Gasconny. Charles, to whose share this Province fell, intreated his Brother to help him in quenching this Flame of Rebellion. Carloman joins Forces with him: but in the mid-way, either of himself or by the suggestions of some busy-bodies, he conceives a Jealousie against his Eldest Brother, and leaves him there. Charles however continues on his March.

770. Upon the noise of his approach Hunold flies, and goes to hide himself in the farthest parts of Gasconny, where he thought to find an Asylum. But there is none against too great a Power. The Duke of Gasconny fearing the Threatnings of Charles, proved no more a Faithful Ally, then he had been a Faithful Vassal, but comes to meet Charles, submits intirely to him, and delivers up that Unfortunate Man to his disposal; who notwithstanding a short while after having made his Escape, got into Sanctuary at Didier King of the Lombards. Thus ended the Dutchy of Aquitaine, which about Eleven years afterwards was Erected to a Kingdom by Charlemaine for Lewis the youngest of his Sons.

In this Expedition he built Franciac, which is to say, the Castle of the French upon the River Dordogne. It is now called Frensfac.

Pepin

Pepin in his Life-time had married his two Sons, it is not mentioned to whom; perhaps they were only betrothed; but if they were compleatly married, we must say they afterwards were divorced: for their Mother obliged them to take other Wives. Carloman espoused Berthe or Bertrade, whom the old Annals make to be the Daughter of Didier King of the Lombards. Charles likewise was married to Hildegarde another of that King's Daughters, notwithstanding the great opposition the Pope made, even so far as to represent to him, how the Lombards stunk; and were infected with the Leprosie.

Carloman his Brother was of an odd humorous spirit, which gave him a great deal of trouble. But death happily delivered him in the Month of November of this Year 770. having cut the thrird of his Life in the Palace of Montfueon nigh Langres, at the beginning of the Third year of his Reign, and the 28th of his Age. His Brother caused his Corps to be conveyed to the Abbey of St. Remy of Reims, which he had greatly endowed. He had one Wife named Berthe, and two Sons.

While Charles held a General Assembly at Carbonnac, most part of the Lords and Austrasian Prelats came thither to acknowledge him for their King. They might do so; and it must be granted, that if he had not had that right, he had been an Usurper. The Widow of Carloman apprehending they might proceed further, took her Children and went her way to Tassillon Duke of Bavaria.

Some Spanish Chroniclers, to whom I know not what faith we are to give, have written, that besides Gaire and Hatton, Eudes Duke of Aquitaine had a Son named Aznar, who considering the misfortune of his Brother, passed the Hebre, and having in Battle slain four petty Kings, or Saracen Generals, became the First Earl of Arragon. It was at that time but a small Territory between two Rivers of that name, whereof the City of Jacque was the Capital.

Charlemaine alone in all the Kingdom.

One cannot hear the Name of this Prince, without conceiving some great Idea. He was of a tall and becoming stature, seven foot in height, well shap'd in all his Limbs, unless his Neck, which was somewhat too thick and short, and his Belly strutting out a little too much. His gate was grave and firm, his voice of the shrillest. His Eyes were large and sparkling, his Nose high and long, his Countenance Gay and Serene, his Complexion fresh and lively, nothing of effeminate in his gesture and carriage, his humour sweet, facile and jovial, his conversation easy and familiar. He was humane, courteous and liberal, active, vigilant, laborious, and very sober, although fasting were prejudicial to him; an enemy to Flatterers and vanity, who hated huffing and new modes that were strange, cloathing himself very modestly, unless it were on some publique Ceremonies, where the Majesty of the Kingdom ought to appear in their Sovereign. At his Meals he made some read to him the History of the Kings his Predecessors, or some Works of St. Augustine's; took two or three hours repose after Dinner; interrupted his sleep in the Night, rising three or four times; heard all Complaints, did Justice at all Seasons even at his time of dressing himself.

The Spring and Summer time he spent in War, part of Autumn in Hunting, the Winter in Counsels and the Management of his Government. Some certain hours both of the day and night in the Study of Learning, as Grammar, Astronomy and Theology. And in truth he was one of the most Learned and most Eloquent of that Age; the Works he left behind him to posterity are undeniable proofs of it. With all this clement, merciful, charitable, who maintained the Poor even in Syria, Egypt, and in Africa, who employ'd his Treasure in rewarding Soldiers and Schollars, in building publique Structures, Churches and Palaces, repairing of Bridges, Cause-ways, and great Roads, making Rivers Navigable, filling Sea-Ports with good Vessels, civilizing Barbarous Nations, and carrying the Honour of the French Nation with much Credit and Lustre into the remotest Kingdoms. And who above all other things had the greatest care to regulate his People with good and wholesome Laws, and bent all his Actions and Endeavours to the Welfare of his Subjects, and the advancement of the Christian Religion.

Amongst the rest he had four very Potent Enemies to deal with, the Saxons, the

the *Huns*, the *Lombards*, and the *Saracens*. The *Saxons* a most Warlike and as yet Idolatrous Nation, compounded of several People, and such as had been invincible, had they acted by a mutual agreement and consent, gave him work and exercise enough for above Thirty Years; during which time he made divers Expeditions against them always with advantage. He never denied them Peace, and they broke again as soon as he was out of their sight: But his Piety constant as their Malice, was never wearied in forgiving them; not so much out of a desire to allure them to his obedience, as to bring them under the Yoke of *Christ Jesus*; The highest part of his Care having no other end but the propagation of Religion.

He entered into *Saxony* therefore this Year, and would try to terrify those Rebels by Fire and Sword: but they were not afraid to bid him Battle somewhat near *Osnaburg*. Their Confidence was punished by a huge Slaughter of their men; those that remained made their escape beyond the *Veser*. He pursuing his Victory, took in the Castle of *Erfurgh*, demolished the Famous Temple of the false God *Irmensul*, and broke his idol. It is supposed to have been the God *Mars*, whence *Mersburg* took its name. He afterwards paid the *Veser*, compelled the *Saxons* to give him some Hostages, and having rebuilt *Fresburgh*, put a French Garrison into it.

From the
Year 767,
to 771.

King *Didier* not able, or willing, to give over the Design his Predecessors had formed to abate the Power of the Popes, to make himself thereby Master of all *Italy*, sowed a Schisme in the Church of *Rome* whereby to discompose and weaken them. Pope *Paul* being dead Anno 767. *Toton Duke of Neper* at his instigation enters into *Rome*, and forced the Clergy to Elect his Brother *Constantine* who was not in Orders. The following Year another Cabal, Enemies to this Violence of *Constantine's*, sets a Priest in the holy Chair, named *Philip*; But *Crescense Primicer* (this was the highest Dignity in the City, next to the *Presbiter*) constrained both the one and the other to renounce the Popelish, and caused *Stephanus* to be duly elected, a Priest of *St. Cecils*, who was the fourth of that name.

Didier betinks him of another method; in the Year 770. he goes to *Rome* upon pretence of Devotion, and by force of Presents, gained *Paul Astarte*, Duke or Sovereign Judge in *Rome*, to cause this *Crescense* to be put to death, and to banish, or imprison for colourable reasons all such *Roman* Citizens as he knew to be most able and disposed to thwart his attempts. *Astarte* did according to his desire: but *Adrian*, who was chosen after *Stephen*, stopp'd those unjust proceedings, and not only eluded all the vain essays of the *Lombard*; but was likewise the cause of his utter destruction.

After all other Experiments, *Didier* employs Force, seizes on several Cities of the *Exarchat*, ravaged the Neighbourhood of *Rome*; and the Year after, to turmoil the Pope, advances towards him, upon pretence of Visiting the Sepulchre of the holy Apostles; carrying along with him the Sons of the late King *Carloman*, to oblige him to Crown them. The Holy Father flatly refuses him, and failed not to make use of this Motive to exasperate *Charlemaine* the more against the *Lombards*.

773.

Betwixt these two Kings there were already some other causes of Enmity. For in the Year 771. *Charles* had repudiated *Hildegard* the Sister of *Didier*, saying she was infirm; A pretence that did not please a great many good people, particularly *Adelard* the King's Cousin, who for this reason retired from the Court into a Monastery. And *Didier* on his side had given a reception to *Carloman's* Widow, and promised her his assistance and support to restore her Sons to the Inheritance or Kingdom of their Father. These offences having inclined *Charles's* Mind to hearken to the Pope's Intreaties, he was the more easily induced to pass over the Mountains, but with so great and numerous Forces, that it was evident it was not meant so much to assist him, as to conquer *Lombardy*.

Having therefore Rendezvouz'd his Army at *Gaveva*, he divided it in two Bodies, his Uncle *Bernard* with one took his way by the Mount *Jou*, and himself led the other by Mount *Cenis*. *Didier* had fortified the Passages; and in case they should be worsted, himself was advanced with all his Forces near *Turin*, and in the Valley of *Aost*; to observe and oppose the *French* even to the hazard of a Battle: but some of their Army having stolen by him very silently, and charging them in the Rear, he was so much afraid of being hemm'd in, that he cast himself into *Pavia*, and *Adalgise* his Son, whom he had made Partner of his Crown, into *Verona*.

773.

Tho

Those of *Spoleta* and *Rietra* had already forsaken him to join with the Pope. When his Retreat was known, all the *Athrac Anconitan*, and many other Cities followed their Example. *Charles* with a part of his Army encamped before *Pavia*, and sent the remainder before *Verona*. And to demonstrate he did not intend to go thence till he had them in his power, he ordered his new Wife *Hildegard*, Daughter of *Childbrand Duke of Savoy*, to come to his Camp, and passed the Winter there, even till *Christmas*, at which time he goes to *Verona* to press that Siege forwards. *Adalgise* apprehending to fall into his hands, abandoned that City, and fled to the Emperor of *Greece*. The *Veronians* soon after yielded, and gave by *Carloman's* Children and Widow; they were carried into *France*, what afterwards became of them, is not mentioned that I know of.

774.

Nothing remained but *Pavia*. The Siege spinning out in length, *Charles* had a desire to go and pay his Devotions at *Rome*, at the good time of *Easter*. The Pope made him a magnificent Entrance, such as was accustomed to be made for the *Emperors*. He in return confirms all the Grants made by his Father, and besides, say some, added that of Sovereign Justice and absolute Power in all those Countries. So that, to speak properly, the Pope before this time held what they had from the *French Kings*, from whom it must be owned they derive the best portion of their temporal Grandeur.

In length of time *Paul* became so fraightned, not by any Attacks, but by Famine, and the people so ill disposed, *Charles* the Fire-brand of this War, having been knock'd on the head by the Women, that *Didier* surrenders himself with his Wife and Children to *Charles*. He was conveyed into *France*, Cloister'd, and Shaved, and died soon after. Thus was the Kingdom of *Lombardy* in *Italy* extinguish'd, after it had lasted some 204 Years.

Before his return into *France*, *Charles* made a second Voyage to *Rome*, where the Pope with 150 Bishops whom he had summoned to honour his Retention, and likewise the *Roman* People, conferred upon him the Title of *Patriarch*, which was the Degree next to the Empire. It belonged to the Emperours only to bestow it: but they being now no longer acknowledged in *Italy*, the Pope and *Romans* attributed that Power to themselves: and which is more agreed, that *Charles* should have the power of the Investiture of Bishopsricks, and even to Nominate the Popes, to prevent those Cabals, and the Disorders that happen upon Elections. The *Italian* Authors assure us that he remitted this right to the *Romans*: but however he at least reserved to himself that of Confirming them, which the Emperours had enjoyed without the least contradiction, for above Three Ages. After this there was a very great and strict Friendship betwixt *Charles* and *Adrian*.

Upon his Return *Charles* was Crowned King of *Lombardy*, as the Kings of that Nation were used to be, at the Burrough of *Modene* near *Milan*, by the Archbishop of that Great City, who Anointed him, and put the Iron Crown upon his head. It is so called, because indeed it was made of a Circle or hoop of iron, but cover'd over with a Plate of Gold. It is said, that the generous *Teudolaine's* Daughter of *Gairald Duke of Bavaria*, the who about the Year 592. converted the *Lombards* from Arianism had made for the Coronation of her Husband *Agilulph*.

774.

The Order he established in *Italy* was thus. To the Pope he left the *Exarchat*, the *Pemapolis*, (they were since called *Romandiale*); the Duchies of *Berisfa*, of *Rome*, of *Toscana*, *Ufferiora*, and *Campania*. He gave the Duchy of *Benevent* to *Adalgise* Son in law to *Didier*, that of *Spoleta* to *Hildegard*, and that of *Friuli* to *Rozgach*, upon conditions only of Homage and Service, and to revert again to him for want of Heirs Male.

He gave the Earldomes and Captaincies of those Countries upon the same conditions. The rest he reserved for himself, viz. *Liguria*, *Emilia*, *Venetia*, and part of the *Alpes*, and settled Counts there to govern them, and do Justice. He imposed a certain Tribute on the Cities, and would have the Salique Law be in force there; so that they had three sorts of Laws, the *Lombard*, the *Salique*, and the *Roman*; and the Subjects were permitted to live, and observe, and make any Contracts according to such of these Laws as they best liked. Since that this Conquest hath been called the Kingdom of *Italy*, and it extended to the River *Alpsidus*, or *Osimus*, *Puglia* and *Calabria* together with *Sicilia*, belonging then to the *Grecian* Emperours.

During his absence the *Saxons* had unchained themselves, and put all in the Countrey

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774. Countrey of *Hesse* to Fire and Sword. About the latter end of the Year he sent four Squadrons of men thither, who Attacked them in four several parts, and brought a great deal of booty thence.

775. The following Springs, he went amongst them himself with greater forces, took the Castle of *Siegburg*, rebuilt that of *Ereburch* which they had demolished, drove them upon the *Veser*, and having beaten them soundly, forced them to quit the Post of *Brunsbere*, where they had fortified themselves.

He after this divided his Army in two Bodies, and chased them to the *River Onacre*, and there he received the oaths and hostages of Prince *Halsen* or *Helsin*, and of the *Offsals* or *Offrelands*, which is to say *Easterlings*; then upon his return at the place named *Buké*, those of *Vitiking*, and the most considerable of the Duchy of *Angria*.

In the mean time the other part of his Army had like to have been surpris'd by other Saxons near the River *Onacre*, of whom he took so severe a revenge by Fire and Sword, that these likewise cry'd him mercy, and gave him no hostages.

During all this, *Adalgise* Son of *Didier*, whom the Emperor had honoured with the Title of *Patriarch*, got an Army at Sea to recover his Kingdom of *Lombardy*, and debauched *Rogaud* Duke of *Friaul*, who was very unwilling to obey a stranger. *Charles* hastens thither with all diligence, defeated *Rogaud* in a great Battle, caus'd his head to be cut off, and having chastis'd those that supported this Rebellion, gave that Duchy to a French Lord by name *Henry*, together with *Stria* and *Corinthia*, placing Counts and Garrisons in the Cities.

Empp. Lewis II.
Son of *Cogep*
synise, in Sep.
775. R. 5
Years.

In his absence the Saxons fly to their Arms, surpris'd and razed the Castle of *Ereburch*: but thinking to do the same to that of *Siegburg*, they were repuls'd by the French, who surpris'd them with slaughter to the banks of the *Lipp*. With this misfortune they had intelligence likewise that *Charlemain* was in their Country, looking out for them; they came with all humility to prostrate themselves before him, together with their Wives and Children, desiring his Pardon and Baptism. Their submission and conversion though dissembled disarm'd his wrath.

777. In the Month of *March* following they all came from their several quarters to the general Assembly of *Paderborn*, excepting the Valiant *Vitiking* Duke of *Angria*, who had retired himself into the Country of *Danemark*, which the Authors of those times call *Normandy*. Thither likewise came the Saracen *Imlarabi* Governor of *Sarragossa*, with some other principal persons of the same Nation, who implored the protection of *Charles*. He easily granted it, and would lead his Army thither himself, rather to defend and encrease the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, than for his own honour or augmentation of Empire.

There had been Nine or Ten Lieutenant Generalissimo's in Spain belonging to the *Caliph*, who resided at *Damas*; whence he ruled all that vast Empire extending from the *Indies* to the *Pyreneans*. There were two very potent Families amongst the *Saracens*, that of *Humeia* and that of *Alevari*. The first had held the Sovereignty for 150 years, and there had been Fourteen successive Caliphs of them: the other pretended to be descended from *Fauma* the Daughter of *Adabom*; and for that reason had their claim. Now it happen'd that the whole Race, *Abdese* these Fourteen Caliphs, and undertaken the task to destroy the whole Race, *Abdese* these Fourteen Caliphs, by making it a distinct and independent Kingdom, from the dominion of the *Caliph*, by making it a distinct and independent Kingdom, but in this revolution other Governors had also fallen off from his obedience; and amongst these was *Imlarabi*, with the rest that came along with him, who wanted the assistance of the French to maintain them in their Usurpation.

778. The great Forces rais'd by *Charles*, being divided in two Bodies, march'd two different ways. The first with whom he went in person, pass'd thorough *Bearn* into *Navarre*, and laid Siege to *Pampelune*. This was the longest and the most memorable that ever the French had undertaken. At last the place surrendred upon composition.

From thence he march'd towards *Sarragossa*, where the other part of the Army who had taken their way thorough the Countreys of *Roussillon* and *Cerdagne* joyn'd him. *Imlarabi*, and the other Saracen Chiefs came to meet him, and tender'd him hostages and other assurances of their fidelity.

We must know that till this time the Christians on all those Frontiers, as well

as those of Spain had been subdued by the *Saracens*, to whom they paid a Tribute. *Charlemain* deliver'd them from that Slavery, and made them joyn in a League with these petty Moorish Princes who had put themselves under his Protection. It is said that he also sent some Forces to *Alphonso* the *Chaste*, to help him to throw off the Yoke of Vassallage and Tribute to which he had been hitherto compell'd: Which these Divisions of the Moors made the more easie to be effected: Thus do the Spaniards owe their first Enfranchisement to the Assistance of the French.

The *Gascous* about the *Pyreneans*, who carried on the Trade of Theft, rewarded him but very ill for all his generous help; As he returned into France, passing by *Pampelune* which he dismantled, these *Bandits* lying in Ambuscade in the narrow Passages about *Roncevaux*, took all the Baggage which was in his Rear, and slew many of his brave Lords; amongst the rest, that Famous *Roland* his Nephew, his Sisters Son, who was Marquis of the *British Seas*; that is to say, Governor of the French Coasts along that shoare. The Lords of those Countreys fearing his just Anger, deliver'd up many of those Robbers to him, that they might suffer such in Sep. 780. punishment as he would have inflict'd on them.

The Spanish Authors triumph of this Defeat, and cry they have Vanquish'd *Charles* the Great and his Twelve Peers. But certain it is that *Navarre*, *Aragon*, and all that is between the *Pyreneans* and the *Hebre*, was at that time brought under the dominion of this King, and that he plac'd Counts at *Giron*, *Ampuries*, *Urgel*, *Barcelonna*, *Ribagorra*, and other places. This Extent of Land was call'd the *Marches* * of Spain.

780.

When he return'd he plac'd French Counts in all the Cities of *Aquitain* and of *Septimania*, to keep those People the better in obedience. Some others will have this Establishment to have been in 781. at the time when he bestow'd the Kingdom of *Aquitain* upon Prince *Lewis*.

* *Limes Hispani-
cicus, Marca
Hispanica.*

In his absence *Vitiking* had re-inflam'd the Fury of the Saxons, who made most terrible havoc as far as *Mens* and *Colen*. As soon as he was come back, he sent away Three Squadrons of his Army, who soon beat them off; and the following year went thither in Person. They had the confidence to wait for him near the *River of Lipp*, and to give him Battle: but he overcame them, and afterwards reduc'd *Welfphalia*, *Eastphalia* and *Angria*; and the next year went outwards as far as to that place where the *River Hore* meets and joyns with the *Elbe*, and receiv'd many of their People, amongst others those that are call'd *Nordleudes* and *Bavars*. Then having given the necessary orders to secure these new Conquests, and bridle the *Slavonians* who were on the other side of the *Elbe*, he return'd into *Naustria*.

778.

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779.

780.

Now fearing lest Italy, wont to have a King, and who besides *Adalgise*, or give with the *Haus* by Land, and the *Saracens* at Sea, should receive *Adalgise*, or give the Crown to some other; He makes a third Journey to Rome under colour of Devotion. He celebrated the Feast of *Christmas* at *Pavia*, and that of *Easter* at Rome. The Pope baptiz'd his second Son *Pepin*, and was his God-father, and afterwards Crown'd him King of Italy, and *Lewis* his younger Son King of *Aquitain*: This last was scarce three years old. His Kingdom contain'd the Duchy of *Aquitain*, that of *Gascogne*, and the Marca of *Spain*. The King gave not any to *Charles* his eldest Son, because he would keep him near himself to manage the Affairs of France and of Germany.

781.

Charlemaine
King of France.

Pepin ---
King of Italy.

And --- Lewis
King of Aquitaine.

HE sent *Lewis* to *Orleanne* under the Tutelage of a Bail, or Governor, named *Arnold*, and left *Pepin* in Italy, where he kept his Royal Seat at *Milan*, but yet was frequently at *Regenna*. Though he had been already Crown'd at Rome, yet he would be again Crown'd at *Modene*. *Tassillon* Duke of *Bavaria* had suffer'd his Faith to be shaken by *Luitperge* his Wife, Daughter of King *Didier*. Whilst *Charles* was at Rome the Pope had agreed with

782.

783.

with him to send a couple of Bishops to that Duke, to put him in mind of his Oaths. The Pope failed not, and *Tassillon* having taken Hostages for his Security, comes to *Worms*, and gave Twelve on his behalf.

782. For some Years *Charles* held his General Assembly in *Saxony*: This was held at the Spring-head of the *Lippe*, where he gave Audience to the Ambassadors of *Sifroy* King of *Denmark*, and those from *Cagan* and *Ingwre*, Princes of the *Huns*. The Assembly being ended, he repassed the *Rhine*, and then *Vitiking*, who upon his former approaches had saved himself in *Denmark* returned to his own Country, and caused part of the *Saxons* to rise up again.

The *Sorabi*, a People that inhabited the Country between the *Elbe* and the *Saal*, were of the Confederacy. Three of the Kings chief Commanders who were ordered to observe and oppose them, leaves them, and goes against the *Saxons*; and falling rashly and disorderly upon them, without staying for Count *Thierry*, who was of Kin to *Charlemain*, because they thought all the honour of the Victory and Success would be attributed to him; they were farrounded, and most of them cut off and destroy'd. The shame for this rebuke and loss enraged the King so highly, that for this time he would not forgive the *Saxons*, unless the Country would deliver up Four thousand of the greatest Mutineers to him, all whose heads he caused to be struck off upon the Banks of the River *Alare*.

783. This Severe bleeding did not yet qualify them so much as to hinder them from rising in Arms again the next Year, not one part of them, but all as one. Their Courage was so undaunted, that they gave him Battle, and their Forces so numerous, that having lost it, they had yet enough left to fight him the second time, wherein they were as unsuccessful as at the first.

Before he took the Field, *Charles* had the unhappiness to lose a very good Wife Queen *Hildegard*, who died on the last of *April*, on the Ascension Eve.

The very same Year he married another who was named *Fajfrade*, Daughter of a *French* Count called *Rgol*.

All the following Year the King with a Flying Army, and *Charles* his Eldest Son with another, did only scowre and make Incursions upon the *Saxons*, sometimes upon one side of the Country, sometimes on another: and it was resolved in Council, That he should never give over till he had wholly subdued them.

784. Though he had much broken them, yet they failed not the Year after to take the Field again, with the assistance of the *Frisons* their Allies: but they were as ill handled as before. In fine, their two bravest Leaders *Albion* and *Vitiking* being disheartened by so much ill success, gave ear to the Friendly persuasions which the King, being touched with a real esteem for their great Courage, had made use of to bring to their duty. Having taken their Sureties, they appeared before the Estates at *Paderborne*, and thence followed him into *France*, where they were Baptized in his Palace of *Arzney*. He gave the Duchy of *Angria* to *Vitiking*, who from that day forward led so good and Christian a life, that some have placed him amongst the Saints. From him many do derive the descent of the Race of the *Capetian* Kings.

785. At this Assembly of *Paderborn*, *Lewis* King of *Aquitaine*, came to his Father with all his Forces. He often sent for him and his Brother *Pepin*, either when he wanted them, or to call them to an account, thereby to keep them in subjection.

786. After *Easter* in the Year 786. the Army went and fell upon *Bretagne*, whose Princes thought themselves independent, and had their little Kingdom apart. These likewise were compelled, after they had lost divers strong Places, to submit to the Grandeur of *Charles*, and to send several Lords to him to take their Oaths of Fidelity; But not believing themselves bound to do so, they kept them no longer, then till they found an opportunity to violate their Faith without danger.

786. In the mean time *Adalgise*, Son of the unfortunate *Didier*, was at Sea with an Army, soliciting his Brother in Law *Tassillon* to fall into *Italy* at the same time as he should land, for the same purpose having made sure of *Aregisa* Duke of *Benevent* who married his Sister; *Charles* to prevent the execution of their Designs, passes the Mountains the fourth time, and having taken *Benevent* and *Capova* from *Aregisa*, who would be called King, forces him to give sufficient Pledges, and renounce that vain Title.

786. He had seen the Pope at his passing by *Rome*, upon his return he saw him again. In this Voyage to please himself, he brought into *France* the *Gregorian* Singing, and the Liturgy or Mass that was used at *Rome*, and would needs abolish the Mu-

ick

sick and Service of the *Gallican* Church. This change began many difficulties, and stirred up Persecutions against the Ancient *Galls*, who persisted in keeping their own Customs: This good Prince was so wedded to this Singing, that he made it a considerable business, and a main point of Religion; whereas several of the Ancient Fathers held it as a very indifferent thing.

787. Whilst he was last at *Rome*, *Tassillon's* Ambassadors came thither to intreat the Pope to reconcile *Charles* perfectly to him. The holy Father and the King willingly hearkened to it. But when the King press'd them to name the time wherein their Master would perform what he promised; they replied, that they had nothing in Commission but to carry back his answer: So that the King perceiving he did not walk uprightly, resolved when he got again into *France*, to make him speak clearly. Having therefore held the Estates at *Worms*, he drew three Armies into the Field, his Son *Pepin's* in *Italy*, one of the Eastern *French*, and a third which himself Commanded.

787. When *Tassillon* saw them all upon his Frontiers, the first in the Valley of *Trente*, the second on the Borders of the *Danube*, and the other under the Walls of the City of *Augsburgh*, not knowing which way to turn, he came with all humility to begg his pardon, and delivered up Thirteen Hostages, whereof his Eldest Son, *Theodon* was one.

Yet the hatred he had for the *French*, and the correspondence he held with *Adalgise* his Brother in Law, still prompted him secretly to solicit the *Bavarian* to take up Arms, and to join in League with the *Huns* his Neighbours who held *Pannonia*, which is *Hungary* and *Austria*. Part of these were led by his persuasions, but the rest apprehending the Calamities of War, gave the King notice hereof. For which cause this Duke being a second time summoned to the Assembly of Estates which met at *Ingelheim*, and there accused by his own Subjects, and convicted of Treason, was by his Peers condemned to lose his Life. Howbeit the King, in favour of him as being near of Kin, commuted that punishment; so that both he and his Son *Theodon* were only Shaved and sent to the Cloister of *Lorschheim*, and then to *Jumiege*. And at this time *The Dutchy of Bavaria* was extinguished, and divided into several hereditary Counties.

788. Out of these ruins sprung a more powerful Enemy. The *Huns* angry for the loss of their Allie, and that the *French* were become their Neighbours, began a most bloody War with them, which lasted for Eight Years together. This Year let them however know what the Event was like to be, for they lost three Battles against them, one in *Friul*, and two in *Bavaria*.

At the same time *Adalgise* having obtained some Forces of *Constantine* the Emperor of *Greece*, who was nettled for that *Charles* had denied him his Daughter *Rodrude* in Marriage, descended into *Italy* by *Calabria*, imagining the rest of the *Lombards* would take up Arms in his Quarrel. But he was mistaken in his reckoning. *Grimold* Son of his Sister, and *Aragise* Duke of *Benevent*, whom *Charles* had gratified with the Dutchy after the death of his Father, *Hildebrand* Duke of *Spoleta*, *Fuinigisa* who was so after him, and some other of King *Pepin's* Captains, fought him at his going forth of *Calabria*, and obtained an entire Victory. That unfortunate man falling into their hands alive, was cruelly put to death, as generally most Princes are that endeavour to regain their own, when they suffer themselves to be taken.

789. Of the *German* People, there was hardly any but those that Inhabited along the *Baltick* Coasts, who did not acknowledge *Charlemain*, or held themselves Enemies to the *French* and their Allies. Those nearest to his Frontiers were the *Witises*, seated on the further side of the *Elbe*, in the Southern part of the Country. He built a Fort upon that River, which he strengthened with two Castles, and having made an inroad even to their Principal City, which they called *Drazant*, brought such astonishment amongst them, that they all submitted without striking one blow; Their chief Head, named *Viltzan*, coming forth together with the most eminent of them to take the Oath of Fidelity, and offer him pledges for Security.

790. He spent the Year 790. in his Palace of *Worms*, without undertaking any Military expedition. He addicted himself to works of Piety, sent great Almes to the Christians in *Syria*, *Egypt* and *Africa*, who groaned under the *Saracen* yoke, and brought the amity of those infidel Princes, thereby to oblige them to treat the Christians more mercifully.

This

790.

Emperour
Constantine
having banish-
ed his Mother.

This very Year was begun, as some do hold, that indissoluble Alliance between France and Scotland. Charles having sent four Thousand Men in assistance of King Achatus, who made him a present (say the Scottish Authors) of *Claudius Clement*, and *Alcimus* an Anglo-Saxon, two learned Men for that Age. It is added that they came to Paris, and erected some publick Schools, Beginning of that Famous University, the Mother of all those that are in Europe.

791.

France having at this time no other Affairs, Charles thought it was time to take his Revenge of the Huns: but so as it proved a blessing to them, by their being subdued to embrace the Christian Faith. They had, say some Authors, seven Ringues, or Vast Enclosures, lock'd within one another, and wonderfully Palli-faded and strengthened with Rampires, into which they made their retreat with their Spoil, which they had practised above two hundred Years. Charles having passed the River *Emms*, which divides *Bavaria* from their Country, went forwards with his Forces who marched along the two sides of the *Danube*, attended with a Fleet which sailed on the same River; and at the same time another Body of Eastern French-men entered upon them from *Bohemia*. Upon his arrival they all fled, and left two of their Ringues to him, and afterwards he made his way and ravaged as far as the River *Rab*. Had it not been for a great mortality which almost destroy'd all his Horses, he would have push'd his Conquest further.

We must observe, That the Country of those Avari, which lay on the East of *Bavaria*, was by the French, because of their Situation Eastward in respect of them, called *Oosterich*, whence comes the name of *Austria*.

792.

An eminent danger wherein he found himself the following Year, prevented his return thither as he had projected. The French *Austrasian* Lords, offended at the lofty behaviour of the Queen *Fastrade*, conspired to be freed from her to ridd themselves of their King her Husband, and to set up one of his Bastards, named *Pepin*, in his stead, who had a handsome face, but crooked, and as malicious as it was possible. The plot was discover'd by a poor Priest, who being accidentally in the corner of a Church, where they met for this purpose, over-heard them discoursing of the design. Charles by Sentence of the Estates, caused several to be beheaded, some their Eyes to be put out, others hanged, and his Bastard to be shaved and thrust into the Abby of *Prum*, which is in the Bishoprick of *Triers*.

793.

This Year *Liderick* de *Harlebec* Great Forester of *Flanders*, was made Earl of it, but not hereditary; though from him are descended the Earls of that Country.

793.

The same Year a Tumult was raised in the Dutchy of *Benevent*, contrived perhaps by *Grimoald* and the rest of the *Lombards*, which proved so dangerous, that *Lewis* King of *Aquitaine* went into *Italy* with his Forces to assist his Brother *Pepin*.

793.

Whilst Charles was at *Ratisbon*, and had laid a Bridge over the *Danube*, to go and subdue the *Avari*; A Design was propounded to him which would have proved of great benefit in that War, and for ever after to all Europe. Which was to make a Communication between the River *Rhine* and the *Danube*, and by consequence between the Ocean and the Black-Sea; by cutting a Channel from the River *Almuts*, which discharges it self into the *Danube*, to the River *Redits*, which falls by *Bamberg* into the *Meine*, which does afterwards run into the *Rhine* near *Mems*. To which end he caus'd a world of men to work: but the continual Rains that hapned, filling up his Trenches, and over-flowing and washing away his Banks, ruined that brave and useful Undertaking.

Besides, he was diverted by two accounts of ill tydings; one, the revolt of the *Saxons*, who having kept themselves quiet seven or eight years, now threw off again both the Yoke of Obedience and of Religion; The other, that the Forces Commanded by his Counts in the *Marca* of *Spain*, were defeated by the *Saracens*.

794.

Felix Bishop of *Urgel* had in his answers to *Elipand* Bishop of *Toledo*, published a most dangerous heresy: That *Jesus Christ* as Man, was but the Adopted Son of God the Father; And although about two Years before the King having sent for him, obliged him to recant, and to go to *Rome* to abjure his Error: nevertheless he began

began anew to dogmatize. Wherefore he caus'd a Council of French Bishops to assemble at *Frankfort*, as also several Bishops of *Germany* and *Lombardy*, who all condemned that Error in presence of the Pope's Legat: They also rejected the Second Council of *Nice*, which had ordained the adoration of Images, and pronounced that it did not deserve the title of *Oecumenique*.

Whilst the King was at *Frankfort*, died Queen *Fastrada* his third Wife.

From thence he went and fell with all his Forces upon the *Saxons* Country, his Army being divided in two, whereof he Commanded one part himself, and his Eldest Son the other, struck so great a Terror thorough all those Provinces, that instead of running to their Arms, they came running to him to begg for Mercy; and this good Prince sparing the blood of those obstinate People, contented himself with the taking away of one third of all such as were capable of bearing Arms, and transporting them to the Sea-Coast of *Flanders*.

Upon his Return he passed away his Winter in the Country of *Juliers*, where having discovered some hot Baths, he built a fair Palace and a Church to the honour of the Virgin *Mary*. For which reason that place was called *Aix la Chapelle*. These Baths had in former times been accommodated and adorned with handsome Structures by some great Lord, or *Roman* Governour, whose Name was *Grannus*, (it is not well known in what time) from whence in Latin it takes the name *Aquis Grannus*.

But I should have told you, that before this Year was expired, the *Saxons* had once more play'd the enraged Devils, cutting in pieces an Army of the *Abodrites* in the Passage to the *Elbe*, as they were marching by the King's Command upon an Expedition against the *Avari*. *Vilzan* who Commanded them was slain; which put the King into so great Wrath, that he gave up all *Saxony* to the mercy of the Sword; and at this time there were slain at the least Thirty thousand of those People bearing Arms.

Pope *Adrian* his intimate Friend being dead, *Leo* was Elected by the Senators and the Principal of the Clergy at *Rome*. He sent him an Ambassadors to give him notice of his Election, and to carry the Keys of St. Peter's Church, with the City Banner and other honourable Presents to him, desiring him to send one of his Princes thither to receive the Oaths of Fidelity of the *Romans*, a certain proof, that the King in quality of *Patrician*, held the Lordship of the City of *Rome*.

The Two most potent Princes of the *Avari-Huns* were so strangely bent to destroy one another, that both of them perished in that Civil War. *Henry* Duke of *Friuli*, taking his opportunity when that Nation was weakened by so much loss of Blood, enters the Country and makes himself Master of their principal Ringue, where he found Vast Treasures which those Robbers had heaped up, out of the plunder of all their Neighbouring Provinces for at least two Ages. He sent all to *Charlemain*, and Thence one of their Princes came to him almost at the same time, and was Baptized; but being sent again to Rule in those Countries along the River *Raab*, he did not keep his Faith long. And so he was slain by the French and *Bavarians*.

The other *Avari* thinking to restore themselves, Elected a * *Kan*, (that is to say, a Commander, for so they called all their Princes) but he was likewise Slain in a Battle by King *Pepin*; all the Country conquer'd from the River *Raab* to the *Drauwis*, and from thence to the *Danube*, and all those Barbarians put to the edge of the Sword, or driven over the River *Tysa*.

There was a continual War between the French and the *Moors*, beyond the *Pyreneans*. The City of *Barcelona*, which was sometimes the one's, sometimes the others, fell into the hands of *Zad* a *Saracen* Prince, who fearing he should not be able to keep it, came and paid Homage to King *Lewis*: but upon the first occasion broke his Faith with him.

Charlemain spent this Year and almost the two following in completing the Conquest of the *Saxons*, who broke all Agreements as soon as they had made them, and sometimes signalized their Treachery by some base and mean Cruelties; As they did Anno 798. having killed the King's Commissioners or Judges, who did not leave that Crime unpunished. He built some Cities within their Country, amongst others *Heristal* upon the *Weser*.

The Astronomers of those times, observe that the Planet Mars was not visible in the Heavens, from the Month of July in the Year 797, until the same Month of the Year 798.

P

Some

Some Roman Officers Kindred of the deceased Pope *Adrian*, and Enemies of Pope *Leo*, having made a great Faction, fell one day upon him, whist he was at a Solemn Procession, and endeavoured to tear out his Eyes, and cut out his Tongue, afterwards dragging him to a loathsome Prison. But he escaped being so mangled as they supposed him to be, and he found friends that contrived his escape to the French Ambassadors, who were lodged at Saint *Peters*: they conducted him to *Spoleta*, and thence sent him to the King, well guarded, who at that time was in *Saxony*. The King having heard his sad complaints, sent him back again to *Rome* with the same honour as he had received him, promising he would soon be on the place to do him justice.

The Islands called *Baleares*, * gave themselves up to France, that they might be protected against the *Saracen* Pyrats.

The *Saracen* *Aza*, who had made himself Sovereign of *Huesca*, that he might have the protection of the French, sent the Keys of his City with Presents to *Charles the Great*, proffering to deliver it up to him when ever he desired it. But when they would have taken him at his word, he failed them, and they did very well in keeping the Forts in their own hands which were erected opposite to *Huesca* and *Sarragossa*. Count *Aureolus* Commanded them.

The *Avari* after several vain attempts to recover their Liberty, were entirely subdued, all their Nobility cut off in the several Battles that had been fought, and the remainder of their Wealth carried away by the French, who became very rich, and began to adorn themselves with Ornaments of Gold even to the very common Soldiers.

Guy Count of the *Marches of Bretagne* wholly submitted that Country, and brought the Shields and Arms together with the Names of all the Lords and Commons that were become Subjects to the King. So that all that Country was for a time under the Dominion of France.

The *Danes*, *Normands* and *Saracens* began their Piracy and robbed the Coasts of France, these in the *Mediterranean*, the others in the *Ocean*. *Charlemain* visited them all, gave Orders to build Vessels, and to raise Forts in several places; and amongst others, to repair the Tower d'Orde * at *Boulogne*, an ancient Building which had been erected by the *Romans*.

The Piracy of those Infidels was not only an effect of their inclination to get Wealth and Plunder, but likewise of their false Zeal against the Christian Religion. Idolatry being hunted and pursued from one Country to another, and drove beyond the *Rhine*, had taken refuge in *Saxony* with her false Priests, together with all those that struggled in their defence: And then being hotly attacked by the French, had thrown themselves beyond the *Elbe* and in *Denmark*, as their last Bulwark. From whence those Exiles and their Offspring, burning with the cruel desire of avenging their Gods and their loss of Liberty, made perpetual Excursions, and principally exercised their bloody malice upon such Priests and Monks as they could light upon, as being those that had destroy'd their Superstitious Temples and false Gods.

Luitgard fourth Wife of *Charlemain* dies at Saint *Martins de Tours*, whither she was gone to pay her Devotions.

From *Meims*, where he had called a Parliament, he went into *Italy*, as well to take cognizance of those Outrages committed against the Pope, as upon some vehement suspicions that they were contriving with *Grimond* Duke of *Benevent*, not well affected, and the Inhabitants of *Frisli*, who had slain their Duke *Henry*, to revolt from the French.

Passing by *Frisli*, he punished the Authors of that Murder. Being at *Rome*, he admitted Pope *Leo* to justify and purge himself by Oath, no body then appearing to accuse him. He afterwards ordered Process to be made against those that had attempted him so basely, who were all condemned to death: but the Pope imitating the Mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, interceded and obtained that both their Lives and Limbs should be spared. For in those times it was so common a punishment to Mutilate, that even some Abbots used it towards their Monks.

The Pope in retribution of so many favours which this King, his Father and Grandfather, had conferr'd upon the Holy Chair, and to gain that protection which the *Grecian* Emperours were incapable to give, obliged the *Romans* to demand him for their Emperour, and Crowned him upon *Christmasts* Day in Saint *Peters*, the People crying aloud three times, *A long and happy Life and Victory to Charles the August, Great, and Peaceable Emperour of the Romans, Crowned by God.*

This

This was in the Year 800. beginning the Year on the First day of January; but 801, if we account *Christmasts* Day the first of the New Year, as the French Emperours of those Times are wont to do. After the Ceremony the Pope adored the New Emperour; that is to say, Kneeling down before him, and acknowledged him for his Sovereign, and caused his Portraiture to be exposed in publique, that to all the *Romans* might pay him the same respect. If we give credit to some of the Annals of those Times, he did not seek for this honour, and the Pope surprized him when he besought him to accept of this Title. And indeed, it was so far from bringing him any advantage, that it made him now hold that only by the Election of the *Romans*, which he before held by the power of his Sword.

By this means the West had an Emperour again: but one that had no connexion now with that in the East, as formerly it had.

As the New Emperour was returning into France, being at *Spoleta*, there was a furious Earth-quake, accompanied with horrible Noise which shook the Country thereabouts. Neither was France and Germany free from it. But Italy felt it most: a great number of Cities being thrown down and destroy'd: and this Prodigy was followed with Furious Tempests, and afterwards with divers Contagious Maladies. This Year Charles made no Military Expedition: but his Son Lewis made himself Famous by the taking of *Barcelona*.

When the petty *Saracen* Princes upon the Frontiers of Spain feared they should be oppressed by the King of *Cordoba*, who was Generalissimo of Spain, they made an Alliance with the French, but the danger once past, they fell again to their wonted Treachery. *Zad* Prince of *Barcelona* studying some Treason against the French, was nevertheless so imprudent, thinking the better to conceal his Design, as to come to King Lewis at *Narbonna*, who caused him to be seized. The *Saracens* Elected one *Hamar* of his Kindred in his room, resolved to defend themselves to the uttermost.

Whilst this hapned the *Gascons* revolted, because Lewis had set up at *Esfenac* a Count they were not pleased with. After he had severely chastiz'd them, he undertakes the Siege of *Barcelona*. The King of *Cordoba* takes the Field to Relieve it: but being informed there was a Body of an Army to hinder his passage, he bends his Forces against the *Asturians*. The besieged after a Twelve-months resistance, surrendered themselves up to Lewis, who came himself to hasten forwards the Attacks, he settled a Count in it, named *Bera*, who is said to be the Stock of the Earls of *Barcelona*.

All the Princes of the Earth either feared or loved *Charlemain*. *Alphonso* King of *Galicia* and the *Asturias*, writing or sending Ambassadors to him, would be called no other but his Man *, his Vassal. The Scottish Kings * always stiled him their Lord, and termed themselves his Subjects, and his Servants. The Chiefs of the *Saracens* of Spain and Africa, revered him and besought his Alliance. The Haughty *Aravon* King of *Persia*, who despised all other Princes in the World, desired no Friendship but his; He this Year sent him Jewels, and Silks and Spices, and one of the largest Elephants. Withal, understanding that he had a great devotion for the Holy Land, and the City of *Jerusalem*, he gave him the Propriety of them, reserving to himself only the Title of his Lieutenant in that Country, And two Years after interposed so earnestly in his behalf with *Nicephorus*, that he engaged that Emperour to conclude a Treaty of Peace with him very advantageous to France.

During this great Torrent of good Fortune, it had been easy for *Charlemain* to conquer all the remainder of Italy and their Islands; the *Grecians* having only a very wicked Woman in their Imperial Throne, it was *Irene* the Widow of *Leo*, who had caused the Eyes of her own Son *Constantine* to be put out. But to stop his progress she had the policy to amuse him with the hopes of marrying her, which would have put the Empire of the East into his hands.

This Negotiation was well advanced, and Charles's Ambassadors were at *Constantinople* to conclude it, when he was driven thence by *Nicephorus* who made him self Emperour.

Nicephorus having chased away *Irene*, proposed to the Ambassadors of France, who were come to Treat with her, to make an agreement with Charles about the sharing

* *Misorgue*.
detestable.

799.

799.

799.

800.

* A Tower
called the Old
Tower of Bon-
logne.

800.

800.

Emperour
Constantine in
the East.
And
Charlemain
in the West.

801.

801.

* *Propriety*.
* Of Scotland,
and Ireland.

802.

802. Sharing the Empire. He agreed therefore that he should bear the Title of Emperour as well as himself, and that all Italy should be his to the Rivers of *Osonus* *, and the *Viluvonia*, with *Beuvonia*, *Hungary*, *Aufria*, *Dalmatia*, and *Slavonia*, the *Gauls*, and *Spaines*. For as to *Germany*, it had never been in subjection to the *Roman*: But *Great Britain* or *England* had been a Member, and by consequence ought to hold of *Charlemaine*.

802. *Grimoald* Duke of *Benevent* had revolted under the favour and with the support of the *Greeks*. The *French* gain'd from him the City of *Noera*: but soon after he retook it with *Vinigifa* Count of *Spiera* who lay lick in the place. But when the agreement was made betwixt the two Empires, he sent him back again very civilly, and made his peace with the *French*.

804. The *Saxons* now revolted for the last time, especially those beyond the *Elbe*, incited by *Godfrey*, who was King of *Denmark*, and very potent at Sea. *Charles* being come thither with all his Forces, and having pitched his Camp near the River *Elbe*, that King advanced as far as *Shelforp* upon the Borders of his Kingdom and the Country of *Saxony*, to confer with the Emperour: but some kind of Jealousie made him on the sudden turn back again: and so the *Saxon Hofsarians* finding themselves abandoned, redeemed themselves from utter destruction by turning all Christians.

But he transported one part of them into *Flanders*, and another into the *Helvetian* Country, whence it is said the *Swiss* are descended, a People who are very free in their own Country, and yet serve in all others. He bestowed the Lands they inhabited beyond the *Elbe* upon the *Abroate Slavonians*; and he established a Council in *Saxony* in manner of an Inquisition, who had power to punish Mutineers, especially such as returned again to their Idolatry. This sort of Inquisition lasted in *Westphalia* to the 15th Age. Thus ended the long and obstinate Rebellion of the *Saxons*, who partly by consent, partly by force, submitted to the Yoak of *Jesum Christ*, and the Dominion of *France*.

804. In the Month of *October* of the same Year, Pope *Leo's* Ambassadors came to him at *Aix la Chapelle*, to let him know their Master desired to see and entertain him with some of the Miraculous Blood of our Lord *Jesum Christ*, which was affirmed to have been found at *Mantova*. The King sent his Eldest Son *Charles* as far as Saint *Maurice* in *Chablais* to meet him, and himself went and received him at *Rheims*, whence he had him to his Palace of *Crecy* * upon the *Oise* to pass his *Christnast*, and from thence to *Aix la Chapelle*, to consecrate the Church. The Holy Father having been there eight dayes, went back again to *Rome* thorough *Bavaria*.

He had undertaken this Journey to complain how that *Maurice* Duke of the *Venetiens*, and his Son *John* whom he had joynd with him, persecuted the Patriarch *Fortunatus* whom he had approved of, and honoured with the Pall; and also how they favoured the *Grecian* Emperour. The City of *Venice* was not yet built, and the Seventy two Islands that compose it, together with the Country and Towns upon the Shoers of the Gulph, were governed by Tribunes who counter-balanced the power of the Duke. Now those Tribunes (*Beat* and *Obelier* whom our *French* Authors of those Times call *Willieric*) had caused themselves to be Elected Dukes by one part of the People, and had driven away *Maurice* and *John*, who had recourse to the Assistance of the *Greeks*.

806. These therefore and *John* Duke of *Zara*, with some other Lords of *Dalmatia*, came to the Palace at *Thionville* to desire assistance of the Emperour, in case the *Greeks* should assault them.

While he remained there, he shared his Estates between his three Sons, in such manner that either of them hapning to dye without Children, his Portion should be re-divided betwixt the other two; but if a Son were born, and that the People would Elect him to succeed his Father, the Uncles were to consent thereunto.

This partition was made, all his Sons being present, subscribed by the *French* Lords, and carried to the Pope, that he might likewise Sign it, not to make it the more Valuable, but to render it the more Authentique.

806. This Year the *Navarrais* were reduced to the Obedience of the *French*, from whom they had withdrawn themselves (upon what motives is unknown) to put themselves under the dominion of the *Saracens*.

The

The Emperour's eldest Son employ'd himself without intermission in subduing the remaining Idolatrous people in *Germany*. The preceding Year he had gained a very great Victory over the *Beheman Slavonians*, or * *Behains*, they are now called *Bohemians*, and flew their Duke named *Lachon*. This Year he had the like advantage over the *Slavonian Sorabes*, who inhabited on the other side of the River *Elbe*.

At the same time, his two other Brothers laboured each in his division to encrease their Limits upon the Infidels. *Pepin* made War against the *Saracens* at *Sza*, *Ademar* Count of *Genoa* lost a Battle and his Life: but *Bouchard* Count de *PEstabl* obtained another very signal one. *Lewis* with his Aquitains made his Incursions to the further Shoar of the *Elbe*.

Nicetas Patrician of the *East*, sent into the *Adriatique* Sea by the Emperour *Nicephorus*, to recover *Dalmatia*, restored that Country to the obedience of his Master, and re-settled *Maurice* and *John* Dukes of *Venice*, who had been expell'd, and they soon expell'd all those that had taken part with *France*. *Pepin* had resolved to attack *Nicetas*; yet he made a Truce with him for some Months, perhaps because he had enough to do with the *Saracens* who infested the *Tuscan* Seas.

This Year 807. was seen in the Heavens two extraordinary Phenomena, besides three Eclipses, two of the Moon, and the third of the Sun. For on the last day of January, the Planet *Jupiter* seemed to enter into the Moon, who was in her 17th day, and the 14th of March *Mercury* appeared in the disk of the Sun, a little above the Center, like a little black speck; which lasted so eight dayes.

The Pyracies of the *Normands*, and their Descents and Landing on the Coasts of *Nesfria*, and even in the *Mediterranean*, became more frequent and troublesome. *Charlemaine* one day being in *Provence*, and seeing some of them appear, was so touched with the Misery *France* was like to suffer by these Pyrats, that he could not refrain from Tears.

The Ambassadors from the King of *Persia* brought him Rare Presents, Tents all of Silk, and a Striking Clock with wonderful Automata. They were accompanied by some Monks whom the Patriarch of *Jerusalem* (for *Syria* was then under the obedience of the *Persians*) had given them to be their Guides.

In the *East* all acknowledged or honoured *Charlemaine*. There was none but *Godfrey* that countermined his Grandeur; and *Charles* desired to get into his Country, not to take possession of the Ice and barren Rocks of that Northern Region: but to bring those poor ignorant Wretches to the Knowledge of true Faith.

The *Dane* prevented him, and had the confidence to attack his Country. At first he made a great battle, drove before him *Tracifon* Duke of the *Abrodites*, who was under the dominion of the *French*, took by Treachery, and hanged another of their Dukes, and made two thirds of those people become his Tributaries. Nevertheless having lost his best Men, and his Brothers Son upon the storming of a Castle, being informed that *Charles* eldest Son to the Emperour had passed over the *Elbe*, he retreated, and spoiled or ruined his Haven at *Rerie*, whither much Goods and Merchandise had went to be brought, for fear the *French* should fortify themselves there.

He designed likewise to shut up and cover his Country of *Danemark*, by drawing a line and making a great rampart just opposite to the *Saxons* Territory, from that Gulph of the Sea on the Eastern part to that on the West; and all along the Banks of the River *Egidore* or *Egid*, and in this part of his Earthen Wall or Works, he had but one Gate well flanked, for the passage of Carts and Soldiers.

Amongst divers exploits which were done in the Marches of *Spain*, *Lewis* King of *Aquitain* took by force of Engins and assaults the City of *Tortosa* in *Catalonia*. But Count *Aureolus* who had the Government of those Frontiers dying the year after, *Amorox* a *Saracen* Prince of *Sarragosa* seized upon several Fortresses of the *French*, protesting notwithstanding he was ready to restore these places and his own person to the Emperours disposal. Whereupon a Treaty was begun, during which *Abdalar* King of *Cordova*, to whom these Negotiations were no way pleasing, sends his Son *Aberdaran*, who craftily seized upon *Sarragosa*, and constrained *Amorox* to retire himself to *Huesca*.

The Truce being expired between the *French* and the *Greeks*, *Pepin* enters into the

* Within 200 years *Bohemia* was called *Bohemia*.

807.

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the Gulph of *Venice*, and gave *Battel* to *Paul*, who was *Patrician* and one of the *Greeks* Generals. Eachide pretended they had gained the Victory.

809. The following year *Nietus* having presented him *Battel* near *Comanche* was rudely repulsed.

At the same time *Charlemain* desiring to repress the *Danes* incursions, sent orders and materials to build a great Fort on the River *Sturia*, at the place called *Aselst*.

The *Gascans* were again revolted, *Lewis* being gone to *Dags* with a powerful Army ruined all the Countries of the most Factions and Stubborn, and gave quarter only to those that besought his Pardon. From thence finding he was so far on his way, he pushes on to *Pampeluna*, where he made some stay to assure himself of the fidelity of the Inhabitants of that Country, which was very uncertain. Before he Filed off his men thorow the passages of those Mountains, he would needs be precautioned against the Robberies of those *Gascan* Mountaineers, some of them being already in Ambuscade, by seizing on their Women and Children, and hanging one of their Spies, who came on purpose to observe them, and give his Companions notice of their motion.

810. Being returned into *Aquitain*, he mightily laboured to reform that Kingdom, and especially the Ecclesiastical Order, which was so much deformed, the Prelates and Priests being all turned Sword-men, that there were no footsteps of any Discipline remaining. He not only restored it by his exemplary devout life, and by his good Rules and Orders, but also by the great care he took to repair or build Monasteries which were as the Seminaries of good Church-men. The Author who wrote his life, reckons no less than Five and Twenty, or Thirty.

810. *Pepin* not able any longer to endure the double daling of *Maurice* and *John* Dukes of the *Ventians* who favoured the *Greeks*, and desiring to restore *Obeliv* and *Beat* who were expelled, goes out of *Chiasfi*, which is the Port of *Ravenna*, with his Fleet, and enters the Lake of *Venice*. In the beginning he took all the little Towns which were upon the Shore, then turned towards the Island of *Malanauca* the Dukes Seat, which he found quite forsaken, *Maurice* and *John* his Son having withdrawn themselves into that of *Rialto* and *Olivolo*.

The *Venetian* Authors relate that commanding his men to Attaque those Islands with floats of Boards or Timber, and the Army of the Dukes defending them, it hapned that wanting knowledge of the Channels and Depths, his Fleet received a notable repulse; That a great number of the *French* were slain, and stilled in the Mud; and that he himself who staid in the Island *Malanauca* with the least part of his Forces, retreated to *Ravenna* carrying *Obeliv* and *Valentine*, who had very unluckily engaged him in this enterprise, along with him.

In this Island of *Rialto* was soon after built a Palace for the Duke, and in that of *Olivolo* another for the Bishop, and in time they joynd all those little Islands, near one another, by Bridges, so that all these together have made the City of *Venice* so renowned, for its wonderful situation, and more for the wisdom of its conduct.

In the mean time *Godfrey* with a Fleet of Two Hundred Sail, lands in *Frifis*, pillaged the Country, and exacted Tribute. He brag'd also that he would give the Emperor *Battel*, who was encamped near the place where the Rivers *Alare* and *Veser* joyn together; but instead of coming forwards he retreats back into his own Country, where he was killed by a certain Son of his, in revenge for having repudiated his Mother. *Heming* his Brothers Son, who succeeded him, Treated a Peace with the *French*.

810. *France* had not their revenge for the affront received in the Gulph of *Venice*, because *Pepin*, a Son worthy of his Father, dyed at the age of 33 Years, the 29th of his Reign in *Italy*. He left only one Bastard-Son named *Bernard*, who succeeded him in that Kingdom, a young Prince not above Twelve or Thirteen Years old at most.

810. About the end of the following Year *Charles* the Eldest Son of the Emperor dyed likewise, who left no Children. But the preceding Spring his Father concluded a Peace with the *Danes*, and sent Three Armies, one against the *Sclavonians* beyond the *Elbe*; the second into *Pannonia* to make head against the *Saracens*, for they molested the *Huns* very much who were Subject to the *French*; and the third against the *Bretons*, who renouncing that obedience they had sworn to him, had chosen themselves a King named *Carnaph Machon*. The two last returned home laden with Spoil, and the last with the honour of having vanquish'd the *Bretons* and their new King.

Charlemain

812. *Charlemain* being already broken with Age and Labour, the loss of his two Sons made him more inclinable to have a Peace with the *Saracens* in *Spain*, with the *Greeks*, and with the *Danes*. Which was the more easie to be compass'd, for that *Mahomed* King of the *Saracens* in *Spain* being in War with *Abdella* his Brother, was the year following forced to let him have a share in the Kingdom in *Greece*, the Emperor *Nicephorus* was slain in a *Battel* against the *Bulgarians*, and *Heming* King of *Denmark* being dead there was a Civil-War about the Succession between *Siegroy* and *Amulon* or *Hamildon*, this Nephew to *Hericold*, and the other to *Godfrey*. They fought a bloody *Battel*, where both of them were slain together with Ten or Eleven Thousand men: but *Amulon*'s Party remaining Victorious, Secured the Kingdom to *Hericold* and *Rainfroy* his Brothers.

Amidst the Multitude of Affairs which *Charlemain* had in all the three several parts of the World, he did not forget what concerned Religion. Upon the intreaty of *Biorn* King of *Sweden*, he sent some Priests thither to instruct those People in the knowledge of the Gospel, *Ebon* a Man of a holy life established a Bishoprick there in the City of *Linconen*.

Finding himself grow weaker day by day, he caus'd his Son *Lewis* to come to the Parliament of *Aix*, where he had call'd together the Bishops, Abbots, Dukes and Counts; he asked them all one by one, whether they would be pleased that he should give him the Title of Emperor. To which all having replied, yes, he declared him his Partner in the Empire, commanded him to go and take the Crown which was upon the Altar, and put it himself upon his own head.

In the same Parliament he likewise declared *Bernard* the Son of his Son *Pepin*, King of *Italy*, whither he had already sent him under the Conduct of *Fala*, or *Galon* Son of *Bernard* his paternal Uncle.

814. The death of this mighty Prince was preceded with all sorts of prodigies both in the Heavens and upon the Earth, enough to astonish even those that have but little faith in such prefaces and give least Credit to them. Whilst he was studiously employed in the Reading and the Correcting some Copies, or Manuscripts, of the holy Bible in his Palace at *Aix*, a Fever seiz'd him and carried him out of this World the 28th of January the Two and Seventieth year of his Age, at the beginning of the 14th of his Empire, and the 49th of his Reign. His Will and Testament which is yet to be seen, is one of the greatest Tokens of his Piety; For he left but one Fourth part of his Treasure and Goods to be divided amongst all his Children, and gave the rest to the Poor, and to the Metropolitane Churches of his Kingdoms. He was buried in the Church of *Aix la Chapelle* which he had erected.

He caus'd all the Laws and Customs of the several Nations under his Empire to be digested in writing, contrived several Capitularies or Ordinances, he Collected all the ancient Poetry that contained the brave Acts of the *French*, to serve as Memoirs for a History thereof, which he did intend to Compose. He understood Theology so well, that he wrote himself against the Heresy of *Felix Ortel*, and about the controversy of Images. He made Speeches in their great Assemblys, and took as much care to make his Eloquence triumphant as his Arms. In the clearest Nights he pleas'd himself in the Observations of the Spheres and Planets; whereof there are many curious things in his *Annals*, which it is believed were made by himself. To illustrate his Language, which was the *Dutch*, he brought it under Rules and made the Grammar, and assign'd names for all the Months in that Tongue, as likewise for every Wind, such as for the most part are retained to this very day.

In fine, hitherto no King of *France* hath had a life and Reign so long and so illustrious, nor a Kingdom of so large extent as he. His Fame would be without blemish, as it is beyond parallel, had he not been too much given up to Women, and too indulgent towards his Mistresses and his Daughters in their carriage.

He had at least Three lawful Wives, *Hermengard* Daughter of *Didier* King of the *Lombards* whom he repudiated the second year, *Hildegard* Daughter of *Childbrand* Duke of *Subbia*, and *Fastrade* Daughter of one Count *Rodolph*. The last brought him no Children: but *Hildegard* had Nine, Four Sons, and Five Daughters. The Sons were *Charles*, *Pepin*, *Lewis*, and *Lotaire*; these two last were Twynns. *Lotaire* dyed young, *Charles* and *Pepin* fell in the strength of their Age. *Louis* reaped alone the whole Succession of his Father. The Daughters were named, *Retrude* who was promised to the young Emperor *Constantine*, Son of *Leo* the III. and *Irene*, she dyed when Marriageable: *Berte* who espoused Count *Angilbert*.

Angilbert afterwards Abbot of *St. Riquier*, *Gisèle* who became a Nun, and *Hildegard* and *Adelaide* who dyed in infancy.

Neither the number or names of his Mistresses are set down, who were not few : but amongst his Bastards there is mentioned *Pepin* the Crook-back, *Hugo* Duke of *Burgundy*, called the Great Abbot, *Dreux* Bishop of *Metz* ; and amongst Seven or Eight Daughters, *Terrade* Abbess of *Argentan*, *Euphrasia* Abbess of Saint *Laurence* of *Bourges*, and *Hildetrude* who became scandalous in her Fathers House, by her actions.

The Church
in the 8th cen-
tury.

The *Gallican* Church had never yet been in so great disorder as towards the latter end of the Seventh Age or Century, and to the middle of the Eighth, and indeed they were above Sixty Years without any Council. Nevertheless they had happily enough preserved their Temporal Estates under *Pepin* the young, who was a liberal and religious Prince ; but *Charles Martel* his Son had not the same countenance, nor shewed the same respect as he had done. Many Prelates of *Neustria* and *Burgundy*, having favoured *Rainfroy's* Party, gave him an occasion to squeeze them ; and the Wars he had against the *Saracens*, furnished him with a pretence of taking away the riches of the Altars to defend them.

In some Countries he gave the Abbies and Bishopricks to Lay-men, who instead of keeping Clergy-men, maintained Soldiers : In others he took away their Lands and Tithes and distributed them amongst his Warriours. The Priests and Monks that mixed with them laid down their Psalters to take up the Sword, some out of pure licentiousness, others to get a livelihood ; For the same reason the Bishops and Abbots turned Soldiers and were made Captains. The whole Clergy was in extreme disorder, the most of them had Concubines, there were some Deacons known to have at least Four or Five in keeping. The least debauched married Wives and proceeded even to second Marriages. The Nuns neither kept their Cloisters, nor their Vows. In fine, there was no rule, no obedience of Inferiours towards their Superiours, little Divine Service, no Study, and great ignorance in things of Religion, and the Holy Canons.

This disorder gave opportunity to *Boniface* a Man very Illustrious in those days, as well for his exemplary Life, as his Activity and Zeal to strengthen himself with the Authority of the Pope, that he might apply some Remedy. He was an *Englishman* by birth, who by a particular inspiration, and emulation of divers holy men of the same Robe had gone from his Monastery, to sow the Seed of the Gospel amongst the barbarous Nations in *Germany*, especially the *Frisia*, the *Turingi* and the *Catti*, and had devoted his Service to the Pope so strictly and intirely, as to change his *English* name which was *Vinfred* or *Winifred*, to that of *Boniface* : he had been first made Bishop by *Gregory* the II, then Archbishop by *Gregory* the III, and by him not only honoured with the Pall, but also with the Title of his Vicar. In this quality he divided *Bavaria*, where there was but one Bishopricks, into Four Dioceses. This was in the Year 739. The following Year he established Three in *Germany*, one at *Wurtsburgh*, another at *Baraburg*, and the third at *Hersford*. These two last held not this honour long. But the Pope, together with the Title of Vicar had given him power to call Councils and to make Bishops in those Countries which he had Converted to the Faith, with Letters of Recommendation to those People, and to *Charles Martel*, praying him to take him into his protection, which he did ; as likewise an Order to the Bishops of *Bavaria* and *Germany* to assemble together when he should call them, as being his Vicar.

Now Prince *Carloman* having declared he would restore the Ecclesiastical Discipline, *Boniface* embraced that work with much willingness ; and as he was active and indefatigable, he advanced space, but not indeed without somewhat diminishing the Liberty and the Dignity of the *Gallican* Church to the advantage of the Popes.

At his instance *Carloman* held a Council in *Germany* (the place is not mentioned) where he assisted with the Grandes of his Kingdom, and the Year after another at the Royal Palace of *Leptines* or *Eftines*, just against *Binck* in *Hannau*, which confirmed the Acts of the former. *Pepin* likewise Convocated one at *Soissons* An. 754. and subscribed it with three of the Great Men of his Country's, perhaps there might be one belonging to *Neustria*, one to *Burgundy*, and one to *Aquitain*. In all these Councils *Boniface* presided in quality of Legate from the Holy Chair. And in the first the Clergy Signed a Profession in writing, which obliged them not only to keep the Catholique Faith, but likewise to remain in Unity,

subject

subject and obedient to the *Roman* Church, and Saint *Peters* Vicar : which being carried to *Rome* and laid upon the Tomb of that Prince of the Apostles, was received with huge joy by Pope *Zachary*, and not without reason. Thus there, as upon all other occasions, he contrived things so, that all made still more and more for the Popes Severaignty, and tended chiefly to that end.

As to the Discipline, it was resolved that the Bishops should be re-admitted to their *Sees*, the Churches to the enjoyment of their Goods, and the Clergy to their Rules : but the two first particulars were not brought to pass till the time of *Charlemain*. The Canons which they made were principally to prohibit the Clergy from bearing Arms, or going in the habit and garb of Soldiers ; and yet the Bishops could not be excused from going to their Wars and Armies, till *Charlemain* exempted them by a particular Capitulary : to take away their Wives and Concubines, to hinder and prevent Incests and Adulteries, the punishment whereof was left to the Bishops, and also to abolish and root up the remainders of Pagan Superstition. The Religions of both Sexes, were enjoined to walk by the Rule of Saint *Benedict* which *Wilfred* Bishop of *York* had set up and caused to be observed in *England*. Till that time the Rules of Saint *Colomban* and Saint *Cesarius* of *Arles*, amongst many others, had born the greatest Vogue in *France*.

At the Council of *Soissons* were two men Condemned, who were Consecrated, but without any *See*, *Adalbert* a Gaul, and *Clement* of the Scotch Nation. The first was an Hypocrite and Frantick, rather than an Heretique, he made the ignorant people follow him, as having a particular Spirit of God, built Oratory's, and let up Crosses near Fountains, in Woods, and the midst of open Fields. The other Preached divers Errors, maintaining that *Jesus Christ* descending into Hell, Redeemed Pagans as well as the Faithful, that they ought according to the Jewish Custom, to marry their Brothers Widdow, and that which appeared more horrible, he would needs keep his Wife, and wear his Mitre at the same time.

At *Leptines*, *Carloman* caused it to be ordained, with the Consent of the Clergy either voluntary or extorted, that to carry on the War which he had on every side of him, he might take part of the Lands belonging to the Church, and bestow it during pleasure, or while that necessity lasted on his followers, who for every Mansion or House, should pay only a Crown in Gold, or twelve Deniers in Silver, and the Ninths or Tenths towards the reparation of the buildings, and that such as held these Precaries, or Leases during pleasure, hapning to dye, the Prince should give it to any other upon the like conditions.

In the Year 779. *Charlemain* made an Edict, wherein he ordains that such as held those Lands should pay the Nones and the Tithes to the Church. But moderates the Tax or Quit-Rent to a Sol for Fifty Manes, and half a Sol for Thirty. Besides the Council of *Frankfort*, and *Lewis* the *Debonnaire* in his Edict of 828. Charges the Possessours with the Reparation of Churches. This was the beginning of the Alienation of those Lands, by publick Act and Authorized by Law. There are some that maintain that those Kings did not only invest the Laity with these Church Lands, but the Tithes, and all the Rights and Revenues of the Altar, as the first fruits, oblations, distributions for * Masses and other Prayers, and even with the right of putting in Priests, whence say they is derived the gifts and presentations claimed and exercised by many Lords in divers Churches : Hence they are called Patrons ; a name found in the Council of *Rheims* held Anno 878.

* *Missa con-
tenda.*

It had been ordained in the Council of *Soissons*, that thenceforward a Council should be held there every year to stifle and suppress disorders, and heresies at their first birth. Likewise *Pepin* called one at the Royal Palace of *Verberis* Anno 752. where he would assist in person, one at *Mets* the year following, one at *Vernon* upon the *Saine* two years after, one at *Compiègne* about the same distance of time, and one at *Genilly* right against *Paris* Anno 767. We have the Canons of the first four : but nothing of that at *Genilly*, unless the two questions they propounded : to wit, *Whether the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and the Son, which the Greeks denyed, and whether we ought to adore Images.*

We may almost put in the Rank of Councils the *Conventus* or Assemblies which the Kings often held, as that of *Durra* in 760. that of *Newes*, of *Wormes*, *Atigny*, *Orléans*, and Saint *Denis*, which were held successively from the year 763. to 768. In all which the Lords being joyned with the Bishops, they ordained such things as concerned the Polity and Government of the Church, as well as

what concerned the Temporal and Government of the Kingdom. Of the decisions of Councils, and the Ordinances made in those Assemblies, partly Political and partly Ecclesiastical, were Composed those Laws which are called Capitulars, the best and most holy that any Nation hath had since the Roman Law.

Never Prince had more affection for the Honour and the Discipline of the Church than Charlemain; There hardly passed any year in all his life but there were either some of these Assemblies or Councils for that purpose. I will not quote the years of the Councils held at Worms, (which were Five) at Valence, Geneva, Duren and other places, because we have only the names. But that of Frankford is very considerable. It might be called the Western Council: for the Bishops of the greatest part of Italy, with those of Germany and those of Gall, were there. It was called and appointed by Charlemain, who it seems presided in it, at least he reasoned and argued very learnedly against the Errors of Elipand, of Toledo, and Felix d'Urgel, who taught that Jesus Christ was the adopted Son of God the Father according to the Flesh. Those whimseys were Condemned, and that Great King refuted them, in a long Letter which he wrote to the Bishops in Spain, very amply and very learnedly.

They also discussed the questions about Images. The Council of Nice had ordained that they should be retained in the Churches and adored. In France they would have them allowed to be set up in Churches as things proper to instruct the people, but not to be adored. Wherefore the Fathers in this Western Council Assembled, disclaiming to acknowledge that for Occumenick, rejected that Adoration in all respects and manners, and condemned it by common consent; and Charlemain wrote a Book to oppose it, to which Pope Adrian made a reply.

There remains nothing of that of Aix la Chapelle held in 809. but that the question concerning the Procession of the Holy Ghost was again debated, and no doubt but they agreed, That the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and the Son; For the French believed that so firmly, that it was the cause of having it added as an express Clause in the Symbol * of Faith or Creed. The last year of his life, he Convocated Six, at Ales, at Metz, at Reims, at Tournay and at Chalons on the Saone, of all which the Canons are still to be found. Thus the Church of France could not miss the being reformed, and Pope Adrian would needs contribute towards it by giving several Reglements to Charlemain, drawn from the Councils of the Greek and Latine Churches, and the Papal degrees, which he sent to him in the Year 789, by Ingilram Bishop of Metz.

The Ecclesiastiques had their particular Judges for their Lands, where the Kings Judges had no inspection neither for things Civil nor Criminal, and as for their persons, they were judged by none but of their own Body. Now it was almost impossible to Convict them, for mean and reproachful people were not admitted to accuse them; and there were to be Seventy and Two Witnesses to Convict a Bishop, Forty for a Priest, Thirty Seven for a Deacon, and Seven for others of inferior degree, all without exceptions, and if they were of the Laity, only such as had Wife and Children. This last condition was required in all sorts of Testimonies, at least in matters Criminal.

Charlemain excessively increased the power of the Bishops, by renewing in all his Dominions the Law of Constantine the Great, quoted in the Sixteenth Book of the Theodosian Code, which allows of one of the parties pleading before a Secular Judge, to bring the Cause before the Bishops, and leave it to their Arbitration without Appeal, though the other party doth not consent therunto. Which would have still continued perhaps, had they not corrupted the effects of so holy a Law by infinite deceits, and by appeals to the Metropolitan, and from thence to the Court of Rome, against the express terms of it.

It was in the Eighth Century that the Metropolitans commonly took up the Title of Arch-Bishops; for there are none mentioned in the foregoing. Those that subscribed the Council of Chalons, and to the immunity of the Abby of Saint Denis had not this Title as yet.

Towards the end of the same Age, or about the beginning of the Ninth, began the Devotion and Pilgrimages to Saint Jacques, * or James, the Great in Gallicia. This Apostle suffered Martyrdom at Jerusalem, however his body was immediately carried into Spain, and being hid in the times of the Pagan Persecution, was not found out again till about that time by the Bishop of Iria, near Compostella, where King Alphonso built him a Church, at the recommendation

* Qui ex Patre Filioque procedit

* St. Jacq.

Santa Maria Jacobi

of Charlemain, Pope Leo transferr'd thither the Episcopal See of Iria, and Two Hundred years afterwards Pope Calixtus II. the Metropolis of Merida.

We find by the Ecclesiastical Capitulars of Charlemain, that there were besides some * Chorevelques, and although they were only the Successors of the Seventy Disciples, they pretended nevertheless to do all the Functions of Bishops, who were Successors to the Apostles. There were endeavours for Five or Six Hundred Years together used to bring them to the just bounds they ought to have kept (it were difficult to describe it) and in the end, it was found much more easie to abolish, then to regulate them.

The ignorance amongst the Bishops was amazing, since they were enjoined even to learn to understand the Lords-Prayer, and Charlemain after so great a reformation had much ado to bring them only to make some little kind of exhortations to the People.

To dissipate these Clouds of Darknes, it was ordained there should be Schools in the Bishopricks and the Abbies: but they only taught the Psalter, Musick, to Compose, and Grammer. I find one Capitulary that enjoins them to send their Children to study Physick, it does not mention at what place.

Under so ignorant a Prelacy the People could not but be blockish, unpolished and very illiterate, all their Religion was turned into Superstition; and there were a great many Soothsayers, Enchanters, * Tempestaries, and other such infamous Sorcerers, who were very wicked, because they thought themselves such, or would have others believe so.

We must not wonder if amidst such gross Ignorance, even the very Women would needs usurp a Power in the Church. There were some Abbesses so vain, (without doubt because many of them were of great Families) as to give their blessing to people with the sign of the Cross, and Vail some Virgins with the Sacerdotal Authority.

Likewise the better to reform the Clergy, it was ordained that they should live by Rules and in common. The superiours of those Communities were called Abbots, and they Chanons, which is to say, Regulars.

In those very times there were found to be certain Amphibies, if I may so say; Who put on the habit of the Religious, and yet would neither be Monks nor Priests. It was said they should be compelled to one of the two Professions, it being fit they should make their choice to be either one or other.

The Covetousness of the Clergy was not less apparent then their ignorance, all the Councils from the Fifth Century, and all the Capitulars are full of Rules and Orders to Tye them up from Selling of Holy Things. They took Money for Ordinations, for Visits, for the Crism, for Baptising, for Preaching, for Confirmation, and for every thing.

People of servile condition were not admitted to Orders: (which we should have noted before.) If such had been admitted their Masters had power to disband and turn them out of that sacred Militia, and bring them back to the Slavery and Chains of their former mean condition. Even the Free-men could not be admitted to enter into Orders, or into a Monastery without Letters from the King, because many were otherwise apt to creep in, either out of base Cowardice or afraid to serve in the Wars, or for want of understanding, being seduced thereto by such as had a mind to get their Wealth and Estates from them.

Because the Arch-Deacons managed the Almes and Offerings, the Laity would needs get that preferment; and this abuse had been introduced in the former Ages. Whatever Orders Pepin could make, they still held the most part of the Abbies and Bishopricks, and enjoyed the Revenue, allowing but a small portion thereof to the Bishops and Abbots. Charlemain did almost quite root out this abuse, and restored the liberty of Elections, at least his Capitularies bear it: Benefices History makes mention that he often named and recommended people to Benefices.

Tithes were become obligatory, so that such were excommunicated who did refuse to pay them after three admonitions: and it was even exacted upon the increase of Cattle. Pious Donatives were not restrained, unless by one Law, which prohibited the Church from receiving any which disinherited Children and the next of Kin.

Charlemain had a very great care of the poor. Of every thing that was bestowed upon the Church, there was Two Thirds allotted for them, the other third only being for the Clergy, unless in some places where they were richest they shared

them equally, afterwards they made the Division in Four parts, one for the Bishop, one for the Clerks, one for the Poor, and one for Repairs.

The practice of publick Penance and Absolutions, was almost the same as in the Former Ages, I mean the third and fourth, as well as that of Baptisme, which was performed by dipping or plunging, not by throwing on or sprinkling of the Bishop, or the Priest, and this was only done at *Easter* and *Whitsuntide*, unless upon urgent occasions.

The prayers for the dead were very frequent. Singing made up a great part of their Study and Employment, not only amongst the Clergy, but the Nobility also that were very devout. The *French* had brought this Passion towards Music from *Rome*. Bells grew also mighty common, but they did not make any very great ones. The Churches as well as most of their other Buildings, were almost all of Wood. It was ordained that the Altars should be made of Stone.

* Judge of a
Bishops Tem-
poral Jurisdi-
ction.

The Bishops and Abbesses had their * *Vidames*, the Abbots their Advocoyers or Advocates; some Cities likewise had the same. They were as their Protectors or Administrators, in whose names all things were transacted, and who Treated and Pleaded every where for them. Every Bishop, Abbot and Count, had his Notary. Excommunications were so frequent as they even became an abuse. The person Excommunicated was Treated with great rigour, no body would keep any Commerce or Conversation with them.

The *Gallican* Church had not extended the degrees prohibited in Marriage but to the Fourth, in which Case it self they did not separate them, being satisfied with imposing a Penance on both the Parties: but the Popes extended it to the Seventh; and *Gregory* the II desired it might reach as far as any thing of parentage or kindred could be made out between the parties. But if so, it being notorious to Christians that all Mankind are of Kin in *Adam*, to whom should they marry? They likewise established the degrees of Spiritual Affinity between the Godfather and Godmother, and between the Godson and his Godmother, as well in Baptism as at Confirmation.

Saints.

Notwithstanding the Corruptions we have noted, the Church was not without her great Lights and Ornaments, I mean a good number of Holy Men, and some that were not Ignorant. Amongst the Bishops *Sylvain* of *Toulouse*, *Wlfrain* of *Sens*, who renounced the Miter to go and Preach the Faith in *Frise*, where he Converted *Radbod* the II, Son of that King of the same name, who was to obliterate a defender of Idolatry. *Rigobert* of *Reims* who was driven from his Seat by *Martel*, *Gregory* of *Treves* who was the Apostle of the *Turingians*, and the Countries adjacent to *Dorelun*. *Corbinian* Native of *Chastres* under *Monteberry* near *Paris*, who was the first Bishop of *Frisingen* in *Bavaria*; as *Suidbert* the first of *Verden*, *Immeran* of *Ratisbon* who was a *Poitevin* by birth: *Eucher* d'Orleans, who was banished by *Martel*, and lived a good while after him, as appears by the revelation he had how it fared with *Martel* after his death, as hath been observed in the life of *Martel*, if that were true. *Gombert* held the Bishoprick of *Sens*, and then retired to the solitude of the *Vogte*, *Lohier* * that of *Sees*, and after him *Godegrand*, doubly remarkable, both for his own Vertue, and for his Sisters Saint *Oppontine*, who took upon her the Vows of Virginity, and lifted many more into her Mutter-Roll, of whom she had the Conduct. But above all *Boniface* of *Mens* was eminent, whom we have mentioned; he suffered Martyrdom *An* 754. amongst the *Frisians*. He was Founder of the Great Abbey of *Fulda*, in the Forrest of *Bukon*, the most Noble of all that are in *Germany*.

In the monasterial retirements, we observe two *Fulrads* or *Volvads*, the one Abbot of Saint *Denis*, however a little too much taken up with Court Affairs and Negotiations for one that is dedicated entirely to God, the other Cousin to King *Charlemain*, and Abbot of Saint *Quentin*. *Adelard* of the same degree of parentage to the same King, who withdrew from Court for the reasons we have before noted, and was Abbot of *Corbie*, and from thence recalled into the Kings Council. *Adalbert* who exchanged the favour of *Charlemain*, one of whose natural Daughters he had married, for the austerity of the Monastery, and was Abbot of *Cenab*.

* *Rigobert*. le * *Pirmin*, who is said to have quitted the Bishoprick of *Meaux*, and who ha-

ving

ving retired himself into a solitary place in *Germany*, built there that Celebrated Abbey of *Reche-Nowe*, *Angia Dives*, and Nine or Ten other Monasteries in those parts and in *Alsacia*; and the learned *Alcuin* to whom *Charlemain* gave the Abbey of *Tours* in recompence of those inestimable Treasures of Learning and Science he brought into *France*, with *Claud* and *John* the *Scottsman*.

A great part of the Manners and Customs we described under the First Race were preserved under the Second. All the great Offices of the Kings House were still the same, unless the *Maire* of the Palace, in whose place it seems the grand *Seneschal* or *Dapifer* succeeded, but with much less authority, and different Functions. *Hincmar* sets down an *Apostolique*, a Count of the Palace, a great Camerier or Chamberlain, three Ministerial Officers, to wit, the *Seneschal*, the *Bailler*, and the Count of the Stable, one Mansionary, that is, grand *Mareschal* of the House, Four Huntsmen, and one *Faulconer*. The King had ever a Council of State, in his Train, consisting of men chosen out of the Clergy and Nobility. The *Apostolique* assisted in it, when he pleased, the other great Officers never went but as they were sent for.

Ministers and
Customs under
the Second
Race.

Those of the Clergy had a place apart to meet in, where they treated of Ecclesiastical Affairs, as the Nobility treated of matters purely Temporal; and when there was any thing of a mixt nature, they joyned all together to determine it.

In the Militia and Courts of Justice we hardly meet now with any Dukes, but only Earls; some of whom were called *Marqueffes*, when the Care and Guarding of the Marches was committed to them, which ordinarily was in the new Conquered Countries: others were called Abbots, either because they possessed the Revenue of the Abbeyes, or because they commanded some certain Company; near the King, and taught them their Discipline and Exercise, the *Grandees* were called Princes, and we have light enough even in those dark times to see, that it was not in the power of the King to dislize them, nor put them to death but by certain Forms and Rules, and the Judgment of their Peers and Equals where he presided, or in their general Assemblies.

I find three sorts of great Assemblies, the general Pleas of the Provinces; the May-Assembly whither came the *Seniores* & *Majores* men of the *French* people, there they chiefly consulted about Warlike Affairs; and the *Conventus*, *Colloquia*, Parliaments where met together, the Bishops, Abbots, Counts, and other *Grandeues*, consider of Laws and Rules for their Policy, Justice and the Treasury, as well as the Discipline of the Militia both sacred and profane. The two last kinds of Assemblies were after confounded in one.

The Kings had ever made use of *Envoyez* or Intendants, of Justice. But *Charlemain* made them ordinary; and I observe that there were Intendants fixed and perpetual, but no Intendants that were so. Neither do I find that they had any in *Aquitain* nor in *Lombardy*. He most commonly joyned in such Commissions a Count and a Bishop. Seldom do we find two of either of these qualities joyned in the same Commission; they were called *Missi Dominici*, and their Jurisdiction *Missaticum*. The People found them Lodging, and a certain quantity of Provision; They took care chiefly to publish the Kings Orders and put them in Execution, to hear the Peoples Complaints and do them right, to punish the Count or Bishop if they were faulty, to reform and reverse unjust Judgments, and compel the refractory to obey. And if they wanted strength or power to effect it, they gave notice to the King. They likewise drew up into Writings and Deeds such Grants of Lands as the King and the Church bestowed in Benefice. They rode their Circuits Four times a Year, in *January*, *April*, *July* and *October*. They could not keep Courts but in those Months, and in Four different places if they thought fit; They summoned the Counts, and were forced to let them hold all the rest. They Elected Sheriffs with the consent of the people, as also Advocoyers and Notarys. The Sheriffs were, if I mistake not, the Assistours of the Courts.

Those that were Free-men were only obliged to be at Four Assizes or Pleadings a Year. This was a most Christian Method that the cause of the Poor was the first of all determined, the Kings business next, then what belonged to the Church,

Church, and last of all that which concerned the People in general. The *Centre-nier* had not power of Condemning to death. The King gave Audience one day in every Week, before whom were brought only such Causes as concerned the Grantees who had no other Judge but himself, or such whom the Commissioners or Counts had refused to do Justice to, or had adjudged contrary to Law.

The licentiousness in times of War had made most part of the *Frenchmen* turn Thieves and Robbers, and some of them false Coyners. The greatest difficulties the Judges met withal were to suppress these disorders. Those that made counterfeit Money had their hand cut off, the other accomplices escap'd only with a Whipping. They were forced to reduce all their Money to one sort of species, and to punish such as harboured a Thief with the same severity as the Thief himself; and that was the loss of an Eye for the first fault, the loss of the Nose for the second, and the third cost them their life.

Even in those days drunkenness was very frequent, particularly in the Armies, since they were fain to punish such as forced another to drink, and he that made himself drunk was Excommunicated and Condemned to the Penance of drinking Water only, for a certain time.

The Law permitting every one to take his own satisfaction or revenge for an affront or injury, unless he chose rather to accept of a certain Sum of Money Taxed by Law, Murders were very frequent. *Charlemain* Commanded the Judges to be very careful in agreeing such as had any thing of a quarrel, and if any appeared too obstinate to bring them before him.

There was three sorts of restraint, the one was imprisonment, another was a Guard set upon them, the third was bail or caution who obliged themselves to answer for the Parties.

Homicide committed on a Clergy-man cost them much dearer, then upon any other of equal condition; for they were to pay 800 Sols of Gold for killing a Bishop, 600 for murdering a Priest, 400 for a Deacon, and as much for a Monk.

The Method of making War and arming themselves was much changed since the Reign of *Clovis*. They had as much Cavalry as Infantry almost; and they used great Launces* which they darted, or retained in their hands after they had struck their blow. They were Armed *Cap a Pie*, their very Horses were barded, so that a Squadron seemed to be all of Iron. The Infantry had no Cuirasses or Armour, but cover'd themselves admirably well with their Bucklers. They also began to learn the use of Engines in some Sieges.

Whoever deserted the Army without leave incurred Capital Punishment. Every one was obliged to carry Three Months Provision, and Arms and Cloaths for Six, to be reckoned from the time they went beyond the Marches or Limits of their own Country. This when they came from *Aquitain* hitherward was the *Loire*; to those that went thence into *Spain*, it was the *Pyrrean*: to those of *Neustria*, when they made War on *Germany*, it was the *Rhine*, and to those in the Provinces beyond that River, when they were to march far into *Germany*, it was the *Elbe*, which were thus set as their Limits, or Frontiers. The Soldiers were allowed to take nothing but in an Enemies Country. Those Lords that led them were responsible for their pilfering, and they were disbanded presently in the Field if they did not justly punish them. When the Captains came to Court they were presented with some Gifts or *Regalia*; and it was the Queen had the care and charge of such distributions, or in her absence the grand *Chambrier* or *Chamberlain*.

Though the Demeasnes of the King and those of the Church were inalienable, they had been necessitated either to reward such as had served them, or to retain such as could do them mischief, to bestow upon several, but it was only for life and by title of gratification; wherefore they were called Benefices, which term remains only in the Church. Which had of two sorts, the one of such Goods as are effected to such as deserve, which at the present we call a Benefice, and the other certain Lands which they gave to Seculars, to hold of them during

during Life. There were even in those times Arts and crafty ways to confound the demesnes of the Crown with the Lands of particular People; and this subtraction was accounted for a Crime, since it was punished with Banishment and Confiscation of Goods.

There were besides another sort of Lands, which were called *Dominicates*, appropriated to *Dominus* which was the King, but which were Rented by particular Men, at about the Ninth* of the Profits. These were ordinarily only some little Farms or petty Portions of Lands perhaps lopp'd off from the greater ones belonging to the Crown, which could not all be set to the most advantage.

The Levying of Moneys was of three sorts, either by Poll, or upon the fruits and growth of the Earth, or Merchandize and Goods for Traffique; But of the last kind, the *Carlovinian* Princes took none but of the Trading Merchants. For every one besides sent his Goods up and down in Carts or any other ways for his own Families use without paying the least Toll, no more then those that supplied the Kings Household, or even those that went to the Wars.

We may again in some other place, according as occasion requires, take a summary Notice of certain Laws and Usages practised in the time of the *Carlovinian* Race.

LOUIS

314.
* Used amongst the
Normans to
this day.

814.

LOUIS I.

CALLED

The * Debonnaire, or Pious. King XXIV.

* Debonnaire, is Courteous, Affable, Meek, Gentle, Mild, Friendly, of a sweet temper, and conversation, Pious.

POPES,

LEO III. S. 2. Tears, 4 Months, under this Reign.

STEPHANUS V. Elect. in June, 816. S. 7 Months.

PASCAL I. elect. in January 817. S. 7 Tears, 3. Months and a half.

EUGENIUS II. Elect. in 824. S. 3. Tears, 3 Months.

VALENTINE, Eccl. in 827. S. 40 Days.

GREGORY IV. Elect. in September 827. S. 16 Tears, whereof 13 under this Reign.

Lewis I. Called the Debonnaire, Emperour and King of France, Aged about 35 Years.

Bernard his Nephew, King of Italy, Aged 16 Years.

814.
Emper.
Leo the Armenian,
And
Lewis I. Called the Debonnaire.

AS the Court of that Prince whose Reign is at end, is ever an Enemy to that which is to succeed, it was to be feared there might be some Faction in that of *Charlemain* which would oppose the advancement of *Lewis*. He particularly dreaded *Walla* an undertaking person, who being a Prince of the Blood, and one that had a great hand in the management of his Fathers Affairs, might have aspired to the Succession, or have called in *Bernard* King of *Italy* who was the Elder Brothers Son; and he might likewise have been incited thereto by the Daughters and Mistresses of *Charlemain*, who were confederated against *Lewis*, because he would reform their disorders.

The Forces he brought from *Aquitain*, and which he gathered up in his way dispersed the whole Faction, if any such were: *Walla* comes to him upon his Summons with an intire submission, and all the *French* Nobility made haste to go and meet him. He had a very great mind to purge the Court from Scandal, and to that end had Commanded Count *Garnier* to seize upon two Lords *Odille* and *Tulle*: who lived too familiarly with his Sisters. The first of these had the impudence to find out *Garnier* and murder him, but he was cut in pieces on the place, and the Emperor enraged at his insolence caused the eyes of *Tulle* to be put out.

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After he had celebrated the Funeral of his Father, and divided the Goods with his Brothers and Sisters, he thrust out of the Court all those Women who were there only upon pleasure, and sent his Sisters to remain in those Abbeyes which *Charlemain* had bestowed upon them.

The Ambassadors which his Father had sent to *Constantinople*, returned home in Company with some who came from the Emperor *Leo*, and brought with them a Treaty of Peace betwixt the two Emperors. He sent *Lothaire* the eldest of his Three Sons into *Bavaria*, and *Pepin* into *Aquitain*, but retained *Pepin* at Court with himself, because he was as yet too young.

Grimoald Duke of *Benevent* surrendered his Dutchy into his hands, that he might receive it again and hold it from him, upon condition of a yearly Tribute of Seven Thousand Crowns of Gold. *Bernard* King of *Italy* in obedience to his Command, came to wait on him, acknowledged himself his Vassal, and gave him Oath of Fidelity. He could not require this in quality of Emperor, nor as the first of the Family: It must be, in my opinion, that *Charlemain* had given it to *Bernard*, upon condition that he should hold it of his Uncle.

The Sons of *Godfrey* who had sheltered themselves in *Sweden* being returned to *Denmark* with their Friends, had given Battel to *Heriold* and *Reginsoy*, where the last was slain, but the others obtained the Victory. *Heriold* driven out of his Country came to *Louis* to implore his Assistance, and became his Vassal.

The *French* Counts who Commanded in *Saxony*, with the *Abrodites*, had orders to restore him again. They passed the River *Egid* with a potent Army. The Sons of *Godfrey* raised one more numerous, and withal a Fleet of Two Hundred Sail: but keeping themselves at Sea near an Island about Three Leagues from the Shore, the *French* could do no other mischief but only scowre and plunder the Country.

The same Year a Peace was made with *Abulaz* King of the *Moors* or *Saracens* in *Spain*; but that Prince being dead, and the *Moors* still pillaging the Coasts of *Italy* and its Islands, the Deputies of *Calara* in *Sardinia* obliged the Emperor to break it.

The *Romans* having conspired against Pope *Leo*, he put some to death by his own Authority. The Emperor took those proceedings very ill as being contrary to his natural Clemency, and his Sovereignty over the City of *Rome*. He ordered *Bernard* King of *Italy* to go thither and inform himself of the full truth and particulars, which he did; the Pope on his part, sent his Legates into *France* to clear himself there: but the *Romans* were so dissatisfied at that cruelty, that *Leo* being fallen sick, they did not only seize upon those Lands he had usurped from them, but likewise ranlack'd his Castles in the Country. *Bernard* was forced to send *Vinigise* Duke of *Spolera* with an Army, to appease the Tumult. He took some of the most active and leading Mutineers and sent them into *France*.

The *Sorabes* having rebelled were reduced, after the taking their best Hold, by an Army of *Austrasien*, *French* and *Saxons*. The *Gascous* a giddy People, had also taken the Field, because their Count named *Seguin* was taken from them, who had shewed himself disobedient to the Emperor: They were punished for their insolence by the loss of two Battels, and compelled to renounce him whom they had Elected in the room of *Seguin*. We must observe that *Gascogne* was divided into a County and a Dutchy, and that the County held of the Dutchy, and comprehended the Country from the *Pyreneans* to the River of *Adour*, so that *Dagys* was part of it.

Pope *Leo* being dead the 23d of *May*, *Stephen* the Deacon, was put in his place by Election of the Clergy. He waited not for the Emperors confirmation to be Inlitted, to whom nevertheless he made the *Romans* swear fidelity and afterwards came himself to him at *Reims* to tender his Devours. The Emperor gave order to his Nephew *Bernard* to accompany him as far as the *Alpes*, where divers Lords attended to receive him on his behalf; and when he was gotten farther into the Country, he found his Arch-Chaplain and Two or Three Bishops. The Emperor staid for him at *Reims*, received him upon his alighting * off his Horse, accompanied him to the Abbey Church of *Saint Remy*, which when they entered he took him by the hand to help him. The *French* Clergy sung the *Te Deum*, and the *Romans* made loud acclamations in the Emperors praise.

The Pope and the Emperor eat and drank some consecrated Bread and Wine together; then the Emperor retired to the City, and left him to lodge in the Abbey. They entertained each other with Feasting, and gave mutual Presents:

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* *Thogan* say, he prostrated himself before him, with his whole Body.

the

the Emperor began, and the Sunday following the Pope Crowned both him and the Empress *Hermengarde*, having purposely brought with him two gold Crowns : that for the Emperor was set all over with Jewels and Stones, the other being plain Gold without other Ornament.

817. Three Months after *Leo* went out of *France*, he died at *Rome* the 25th of *January* An. 817, and the Clergy Elected *Paschal* : this man knowing the softness of the Emperor, durst likewise take his Seat in the Pontifical Chair without waiting for his consent ; and yet excused it to him by an Ambassador sent expressly. Though the Emperor was not very well pleased, yet he did what was required for his Confirmation : But he reproved the *Romans*, and admonished them never to fall upon such an attempt again. And yet if we believe the *Parisians* of the Court of *Rome*, *Paschal* wrought so far upon the Emperor that he yielded up his right of confirming Popes.

817. The Sons of *Godfrey* demanded Peace of the Emperor : It was taken to be only a pretence, and therefore great succours were sent to *Heriold*. Upon the demand of the *Grecian* Emperors Ambassadors, who were come for that purpose, *Louis* dispatched a Deputy to settle the Limits of *Dalmatia* between the two Emperors, together with *Cadolac* who commanded for him in those Marches, and the *Slavonians* that had some interest.

817. The 17th of *February*, during an Eclipse of the Moon, a Comet began to appear in the Sign of *Sagittary*.

817. Upon *Holy-Thurs*day, as the Emperor was coming out of the Church belonging to his Palace, a Gallery fell down under him, twenty persons of Quality were hurt ; but it proved to have more of fear than danger, for their bruises and broken-bones were soon healed.

It seemed *Louis* was Born rather for the Church, then for the World ; For as he behaved himself he would have proved a better Abbot or a Bishop, then a King. Besides his perpetual exercise in Devotion (which does not always fute with the Activity of Government) he busied himself very much about the reformation of the Clergy ; Amongst other things in the Assembly at *Aix la Chapelle*, he caused a Rule to be made for the Chanoins, drawn from the Writings of the Holy-Fathers, commanded the *Benedictins* to observe theirs, sent Commisary's into the Provinces to prevent the Simony, Luxury and Pride, with such other like abuses of the Churchmen, and obliged the Bishops, in Fine, to Reform at least in outward appearance, and throw aside their Belts, and Embroidred Girdles, their Daggers with Hilts beset with Jewels, and glingling Spurs ; which drew upon him the hatred of the Churchmen, amongst whom the greatest number were the worst.

In this assembly he Affiliated *Lotaire* his Eldest Son in the Empire, and gave *Aquitain* to *Pepin*, and *Bavaria* to *Louis*, both with the Titles of Kingdoms. *Tegan Chrovesque* of *Treves* hath written that he designed *Lotaire* his Eldest to be Sole Heir ; whether he did it before or after this partition, it was a great weakness.

Louis the Debonnaire,
Emperour and King
of *France*, *Eastern* and
Western.

<i>Lotaire</i> , King of <i>Italy</i> , and Af- fociate in the Empire.	<i>Pepin</i> , King of <i>Aquitain</i> .	<i>Louis</i> , King of <i>Bavaria</i> .
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To this place they brought him intelligence of the defection of the *Abodrites*, and the conspiracy of *Bernard* King of *Italy* : both the attempts of the one and the other were suppressed and stifled in their Birth. *Bernard* a young Prince had suffered himself to be possessed with an opinion that he could dethrone his Uncle. This counsel came from the very Court of *France*, where he had divers abettors, who without all doubt persuaded him that all the Kingdom was his, belonging to him as Son to the Eldest. His design was discovered before he had time to take his measures : the Forces to whom he had committed the defence or keeping of the passages to the *Alpes*, abandoned them upon the first notice of the March of the Emperors Army, and those that first set him upon this business, were the first that

forsook

forsook him. In this distress he took the most dangerous counsel, which made him come himself to *Chadons*, and fall down at his Feet begging his pardon. This hindred not his being made a Prisoner, together with all those Lords that were in his Train.

The Emperor being returned to *Aix la Chapelle* caused their process to be made : The Seculars were all condemned to Death : The Bishops, amongst whom was *Theodulfe d'Orleans*, degraded and confined to a Monastery. Some of the first suffered the rigour of the Sentence, others had their eyes put out, whereof two of the most Eminent died, and *Bernard* himself lost his life within three days after. Whoever disturb the Peace of a Nation deserves death ; but it was too extreme a rigour towards a young Prince of nineteen years, and an Uncle towards his Nephew. And indeed *Louis* had great remorse all his life, nor did the French forgive him that cruelty.

Bernard left but one Son named *Pepin*, and at his age, he could scarce have any more, at least Legitimate. This same begat three, *Bernard*, *Pepin*, and *Heribert*. From *Pepin* sprang *The First Branch of Vermandois*.

The Emperor apprehending his Bastard-Brothers, (*Charlmaine* had left several) might fall into the like Conspiracies, caused them all to be shaved and thrust into Monasteries, and sent away *Adlard* Abbot of *Corbie*, and *Valla* his Brother.

The *Bretons* had created a King called *Morman* or *Movan*. The Emperor going thither in Person reduced all the Country in Forty days, and *Morman* being slain in his own Camp, either by his own, or by the *French-men*, nor did the French Duke of his own.

At this return from this Voyage he lost his Wife *Hermengard*. She died at *Augsiers*, leaving him three Sons *Lotaire*, *Pepin* and *Louis*.

The *Abodrites* were Subjects and Tributaries to the *French*, who nevertheless allowed them to have a King. He whom they then had was called *Selaonir* ; who having intelligence with the Enemies of *France*, was seized upon by the Emperors Lieutenants, and being unable to justify himself before him, was banished, and his Crown given to *Ceadraque* Son of *Tracifcon* who had been cut off by the *Danes*.

Long Centule Duke of the *Gascous*, guilty of the like Crime, being vanquished in a great Battel by the *French* Counts, and afterwards taken Prisoner, was likewise destituted and exiled. He withdrew himself into *Spain* to the Court of the King of the *Asturias*.

These Commotions shewed enough the weakness of the Government, *Liuderie* Duke of *Pannonia Inferiora*, who sought pretences to revolt for grievances he alleged to have suffered by *Cadolac* Duke of *Friuli*, threw off his Masque in the end, and for three or four years gave a great deal of trouble to those Lieutenants that served the Emperor in *Dalmatia*, *Friuli* and *Bavaria*, till at length he was quite driven out of those Countries. The same Year, upon his return from that expedition, *Cadolac* died upon the Frontiers, and *Budry* succeeded in his place.

In the general Assembly held at *Aix Bera* Count of *Barcelonnia* being accused of Treason, and thinking to justify himself by combat, fell under the Sword of his accuser, and should have shamefully forfeited his life according to the Law, had not the Emperor changed his Sentence of Death, for banishment.

It was ill counsel made the Emperor give his Sons their shares so young, as he had done : But it was worse after he had done so, to Marry a second Wife. But being resolved, notwithstanding his Devotion, to taste again the pleasures of the Nuptial Bed, he made choice of *Judith* Daughter to *Helpon* Duke of *Bavaria*, so much the more a trouble to his repose as she was Beautiful Witty and Gallant.

The Truce between the *French* and *Saracens* of *Spain* is broken, and the *Saracens* begin to range about the Coasts of *Italy*, *Sardinia* and *Corsica*.

Thirteen *Normand* Vessels having attempted to make a descent in *Flanders* at the Mouth of the *Seine*, went and pillaged the Island of *Anbom* upon the Coasts of *Poitou*. So great a Mortality hapned amongst Bulls and Cows, that it almost destroyed the whole Race of that sort of Cattel throw all *France*.

The Emperor confirmed the partition he had made amongst his Sons, and obliged all the Lords that were present to Swear they would maintain them therein ; and as though he feared his Family might want Princes, he made haste to marry them.

Empp.
Theophilus Son
of Michael,
and
Louis Debon-
naire with his
Son Lotaire in
886.
329.

Louis
Emperor

Lotaire Empe-
ror and King
of Italy.

Pepin King
of Aquitaine.

Louis King
of Bavaria.

Charles King
of Rethia, aged
6 years.

Then all the rest of the Party that had been for King Bernard, the Relations and Friends of those whom the Emperor had put to Death, those whom he had banished and sent away and afterwards recalled, Leagued themselves together, and taking this opportunity of the discontent of these young Princes, Heated and Animated the People with divers rumours and reflections.

The Emperor fore-saw the Tempest well enough by the gathering of these clouds; His Wife, as well to have the Absolute Government of her Husbands weak Spirit, as out of affection, increased his Apprehensions, and persuaded him to put an entire confidence in Bernard Earl of Barcelona whom she loved, with the Office of Chamberlain, that she might ever have him near her.

Bernard's Pride and his too great familiarity with the Emperess bred envy and jealousy, which caused several other Lords to join with the contrary Party. All the discontented therefore address themselves to Pepin: And in the ill humour he had conceived against his Mother-in-Law, easily made him believe that Bernard was her Gallant, and that she had bewitched her Husband: and therefore it was a becoming Duty in the Son, to revenge those injuries Practised against his Father, and to restore him to his Honour and Wits again. He believes them, and takes the Field; The Emperor being informed that he approached permits Bernard to retire, sends his Wife to a Monastery at Laon, and comes to Compiegne.

The Conspirators Seize the Emperess; she promises them to persuade her Husband to suffer himself to be shaved, or depol'd: and upon this assurance they grant her the liberty to speak with him in Private. They having conferred together made an agreement that the Emperess should wear the Veil for a time, but that he should demand some longer time to consider and resolve them.

Mean time his Son Lotaire arrives from Italy, who confirmed all that had been done, shuts up his Father in the Abbey of St. Marci at Soissons, and appointed some Monks to instruct and advise him to put on the habit.

Some time after the Emperess was brought to her Husband, and upon the Peoples clamours confined to the Monastery of St. Radegonde of Poitiers.

In this Miserable condition the Debonnaire passed the Spring and Summer-season, his Courage so sunk that he would have consented to turn Monk, if the very Monks themselves, who designed to take advantage of the opportunity, and by some methods bring the Affairs of Court into their management by his means, had not dissuaded him, and found a way for his escape out of that Captivity. One Gondoband amongst others stickled much in his service, and went in his behalf to his two Sons Pepin and Lewis, to entice them to embrace their Fathers Cause, to which they were already much inclined out of the jealousy of the growing power of their elder Brother, and his undertaking to govern all things according to his own fancy.

The Power of these two Brothers serving as a Counter-poise to that of Lotaire, there needed a general Assembly to settle the Government. The contrary Faction would have it in Neftria where they were the stronger, to degrade him, or at least to dissolve his Marriage with Judith, because she was of Kin to him: But yet he had Friends or craft enough to have the meeting held at Nimigen. There making his Party the strongest by the help and addition of the Eastern French, he obliged his Son Lotaire to come and submit to him in his Tent, and give up the principals of the Confederates into his hands. All the Lawyers, and his Sons themselves Judged them worthy of Death: He Pardoned them notwithstanding, and did only command the Laity to be shorn, and the Church-men to be shut up in Monasteries.

When he was got back to Aix, he recalled his Wife, and her Brothers who had been shaved at the beginning of the Commotion; but he would not admit her till he had cleared her self according to the usual manner, of every thing laid to her charge. In the Easter-Holy-days, he was so merciful, that in Honour of him who with his own Blood had Redeemed all Mankind and obtained Pardon for Sinners, He released and recalled likewise all those whom he had caused to be shorn, and

and restored them to their Estates and Lands; but he sent his three Sons into their own Kingdoms. Bernard was admitted to purge himself by combat, and there appearing no accuser to oppose him, he purged himself by Oath.

After these broils neither of his three Sons showed him a perfect obedience. Pepin and Louis, though he had enlarged their shares, did not leave vexing him; And Lotaire their elder did under-hand contrive all their practices. Pepin being sent for to a general Assembly at Autonne, came not till they were broke up, which made his Father keep him with him. At the same time almost Louis was making ready to come and visit him with too great an Attendance: But the Father going forth to meet him, made him retire, and pursued him as far as Augsburg. From thence he summoned him to be present at the Assembly of Francfort; to which he obey'd.

When he had done with one, another began anew. He had intelligence that Pepin was again Arming himself; he went therefore as far as the Palace of Logontiac in Limosin where he Assembled the Estates of Aquitaine. The rebellious Son was forced to appear there; And his Cause having been discussed, he was kept Prisoner. As they were conveying him to Trier he escaped, and as soon as his Father was out of Aquitaine, he got in again with the same evil Spirit. In fine, having been Summoned to appear at the general Assembly of Saint Martin, he not obeying, his Father punished his Rebellion by taking the Kingdom of Aquitin from him.

It was said that Gondoband the Monk enraged because Pepin hindered him from Governing the Emperor, in recompence of his good Services; stirred up his Fathers wrath against him, and Judith with her Artifices completing the Project, pushed the young Prince on to these extreams, that she might have his spoil for her own Son Charles; as in effect the Emperor did bestow it on him, and caused him to be acknowledged by the Lords of the Country, to the great displeasure of the other two Sons, who feared the like Treatment.

They therefore conspired all those afresh against him; and the two youngest leave the management of it all to Lotaire, who brings Pope Gregory along with him the better to Authorize him. They take the Field with a numerous Army; The Father on his side gets his Forces together at Wormes; for they were arrived nigh Basle. The Ambassadors he sent to his Sons, and the Pope, finding they urged the Pope to Excommunicate him, declared before his face, that if he came for that purpose, he might return Excommunicated himself, since he transgressed the Holy-Canons.

The two Armies remained encamped between Basle and Strasburgh Five or Six days, during which time the Emperor and the Pope had some conference about a Peace: But under the pretence of Treating, his men were debauched and persuaded to forsake him, and went to the service of his Sons; In so much, that himself was likewise compell'd to go over to them, having before stipulated that his Wife nor his Son Charles should either of them forfeit Life or Limbs.

They immediately confin'd young Charles to the Monastery of From, but did not shave him, and banished the Mother to Tortona in Italy, maintaining that her Marriage was Null, because she was of Kin to their Father within the degree prohibited, which was truth. And that in those days was accounted a crime so great, by the Church, that they punished it with the utmost rigour. Add that the Prelates were mightily offended with her, for that she had caused Frederic Bishop of Trever, a man reputed to be of Holy-life, to be Massacred, because he had dared to reprove the Emperor publicly as he was eating at his own Table.

The Debonnaire, being thus detained, Pepin returned to Aquitaine, and Louis to Bavaria. Lotaire aligned a general Assembly at Compiegne to be on the first of October, leaving his Father under a strong Guard in the Monastery of Saint Medard of Soissons. During the Assembly the French beginning to be touched with compassion towards their ancient Emperor, some Lords with some of the Bishops, who feared they should be punished if ever he were again restored, contrived wholly to exclude him, by degrading and condemning him to do publick Penance. Ebon Arch-Bishop of Reims, his Foster-brother and his School fellow, but Son of a Slave, was the principal Author and Promoter of this Council.

The Ceremony of this Degradation was as follows. The Bishops having remonstrated his Scandalous faults to him, he sent for his Son Lotaire, and his Princes, and made his reconciliation with him. Then they led him into St. Medards Church, where prostrated before the Altar upon a Sack-cloth, he confessed he had

been

been the cause of great mischiefs and troubles to France; and the Bishops exhorting him to name his Crimes openly, he repeated them according to a writing they had given him, containing amongst other things, that he had committed Sacrilege, Parricide and Homicide, in that he had violated the Solemn Oath made to his Father in the Church and Presence of the Bishops, consented to the Death of his Nephew, and done violence to his Relations. That he had broken the agreement made betwixt his Children for the Peace of the Kingdom, and compelled his Subjects to take new Oathes, which was Perjury; from whence proceeded all manner of mischiefs in the Government. That after so many disorders and infinite damages and losses to his People, he had again brought them together to destroy each other: For which he desired pardon of God. Then he presented a Paper to the Bishops, who laid it upon the Altar. After this they took off his Military Girdle, which was laid there likewise: And lastly they disrobed him of his secular Habit, and clothed him with a Penitential one, which was never to be quitted, when once they had put it on.

The People (that is say to the soldiery) who would have trampled him under foot before he was deposed, now pitied him after his deposition. Louis King of Germany feeling some remorse, or thinking to Aggrandize himself if he restored him, Solicited *Lotaire* to deliver him, to which *Pepin* joyned his interest. But *Lotaire* not being inclinable thereto, and having transfer'd him thence to *Compiègne*, and then to *Saint Denis*, both of them brought their Forces into the Field, and appointed a place to joyn together nigh *Paris*. *Lotaire* observing they flocked thither from all parts, amuses them for some days with the Prospect of a Peace; then finding there was no safety for him, he takes his way by *Burgundy*, and retires to *Vienne*, leaving his Father at *Saint Denis*.

The *Debonnaire* being at liberty, would not immediately put on his Imperial Robes, but first desired to be reconciled to the Church by the Bishops: So that even in *Saint Denis* Church it self, they returned the Crown and Military girdle to him with the deliberation and consent, or Counsel of the French People. Some time after a couple of Bishops brought his Wife and his Son *Charles* to him who were let at liberty by those that were to guard him.

Lotaire had placed some Counts in the Cities above the *Loire*, amongst others *Lambert* at *Nantes* and *Mainfroy* at *Orleans*, who undertook to preserve those Countries for him. These Counts having with great advantage defeated those sent by the Emperor who went and unadvisedly Attacked them, did so importunately Solicite their Master to return thither and pursue the Victory, that he went to them immediately, having forced and burnt the City of *Chalons* upon the *Soane*.

Pepin was come to the assistance of his Father with considerable Forces: So that they were much Superiour to him in strength. Nevertheless he came and Encamped right over against him, not far from the City of *Blois*, promising himself to withdraw and get away his Men, as formerly. But finding that on the contrary he was in danger of being forsaken by his men, and that he could not make his retreat without a hazardous Battel, he resolved to come and beg pardon; which he could never have obtained, had he been taken with his Sword in Hand.

His Father received him Sitting on a Throne which was raised very high in the midst of his Tent, where he would see him prostrate on his knees, and confederated not to pardon him and his, but upon condition he should come no more into *France* without his leave, but should remain in *Italy*; all the passages from which place he shut up after him with strong Garrisons.

The Princes party being thus abandoned and without support, *Ebon* Arch-Bishop of *Reims*, who had most contributed to the degradation of the Emperor, being taken as he was flying away with the Churches Treasure, was brought before the Parliament of *Metz*. And there the Emperor accused him personally, after his own restauration had been signed by all the Grandees. The unhappy Creature did not endeavour to make any defence, but as a favour desired he might be judged in private by the Bishops, and owned his Crimes in writing, whereupon he was deposed, and subscribed his own degradation. After this Ignominy he retired into *Italy* to *Lotaire*, whither many others had already saved themselves.

It had been much better for the quiet of *France* that *Lotaire* had never repassed the Mountains. But the Empress *Judith* desiring to have a support for her Son *Charles* after the death of the old Emperor, who was very Sickly and Infirm, endeavoured to reconcile them, and caused word to be sent, that he should come to

Court.

Court. To which notwithstanding he durst not trust so soon; And besides he could not have come, being at that time fallen ill of an Epidemical distemper which brought him to extremity, and almost all the French Lords, who went thither with him, to their Graves. It carried off *Valde* esteemed the best Head-piece and the most powerful Genius of his Court, as it had been of *Charlemains*, and so many other of the most considerable Lords, that it was said it had left *France* naked both of Counsel and Strength.

In the year 836. the Emperor had a design to go and visit the Sepulchres of the Holy-Apostles in *Rome*: But the Rumour of the *Normands* falling upon *Frisia*, where they burnt *Dorstat* and *Antwerp*, detained him in *France*, where he called general Assemblies as was usual.

Towards Easter-day there appeared a Comet in the Heavens in the Sign *Virgo*, which having in 25 days passed through the Signs of *Leo*, *Cancer*, and *Gemini*, came and left its Train and Globe of Fire, right against the Head of *Taurus* under the Feet of the great Bear. The Emperor who was a great Astronomer, did first discover it. There had been another Visible the preceding year, on the 11th of April, in the Sign *Libra*, which shined its self but three days only.

The principal cause of the trouble and Rebellions of *Debonnaires* Children was the frequent alteration he made in the partitions and division of the Portions of his Sons. The Empress who feared *Lotaire*, and desired to gain him persuaded her Husband to send for him, and to propound to him the division of his whole Estate in two parts, *Aquitaine* and *Bevaria* not comprehended, whereof the Emperor should chuse one, or else that he should divide it, and *Lotaire* should take his choice. *Lotaire* refer'd the division to him; and that being done, he took the Eastern *France* from the *Meuse* upward, and left the Western to *Charles* his youngest Brother, obliging himself by Oath to defend him, and not to undertake any thing against the will of his Father.

The *Normands* ceased not from pillaging the Coasts of *Flanders*. They had gained a great Battel in the Island *Walcheren*, which makes part of *Zeland*, where the Count of that Country was slain; and having afterwards Fortified themselves in that Post, made great Ravage, till the French Army beat them from thence.

From the First of January a Comet appeared in the Sign *Scorpio* a little after the Sun-set. Some fancied it prefiged the Death of *Pepin* King of *Aquitaine*, which followed in the Month of November after. He was Aged some 35 years, and had Reigned Twenty one. They buried him at *Sainte Croix* of *Poitiers*. He left by his Wife *Engelrude*, Daughter of *Thibert* Earl of *Matvie*, two Sons, *Pepin* and *Charles*, whose adventures we shall relate in due place, and one Daughter named *Matilda* who Married *Giraud* Count of *Poitiers*.

To have done as *Charlemain*; when a King had allotted his Children their division and that one hapned to dye, if this left any Sons, it depended on the People to Elect one in his stead, or to let his share be given amongst the rest of the Brothers. After the decease of *Pepin* there were two Parties in *Aquitain*: One whereof a Lord named *Emonon* was Chief, would have the eldest Son *Pepin* to succeed him; the other, headed by *Ebroin* Bishop of *Poitiers*, refer'd it to the Emperor. *Ebroin* comes to him to know his Intentions, for which he was rewarded with the Abbey of *Saint Germain des Prez*. At the very time when the Emperor would have followed him into *Aquitain* with an Army, he was drawn towards the German side.

After the partition made with *Lotaire*, *Lewis* was forbidden to take upon him the Title of King of East-*France* any longer: his interest and resentment made him take up Arms to preserve it. Now before he could put himself into a posture of defence, his Father passed the *Rhine*, and stuck so close to him, that he was either advised or compelled to come and ask his Pardon.

At his return from this Voyage, the Emperor goes into *Aquitain*; and being entered as far as *Clermont* in *Auvergne*, he there met and gave reception to the Lords of the Country, whom *Ebroin* had disposed to obedience, and made them give their Oaths for his Son *Charles*. But young *Pepin* with his Friends, kept the Inheritance of his Father still by some corner or other, and held so fast and tugged so strongly against him, that he could not be disposse'd in many years.

Louis the Debonnaire,
Emperour and King
of France.

Lotaire,
Emperour
and King
of Italy,
aged 45.
years.

Louis King
of Bavaria,
aged 34
years.

Charles King
of Rhetia,
Burgundy,
Newstria &
Aquitain,
aged 17.
years.

Pepin dispu-
ting Aqu-
taine, aged
14. years.

840.

When the Emperor, after the Parliament of *Chalon*, was returned to *Aquitain*, being at *Poitiers* to take some course to secure that Kingdom to his Son *Charles*, he had notice that *Louis* had debauched the *Saxons* and *Thuringians*, that he had seized all the Country without the *Rhine*, and then being come to *Frankfort* had taken the Oaths of several Eastern-French. Never any business troubled him so greatly as this fame; Though he were indisposed by a defluxion upon his Stomach, and the Weather as yet very unreasonable, he went from *Aquitain* with the resolution of putting an end to that affair.

He left his Wife and his Son *Charles* at *Poitiers*, kept his *Easter* at *Aix*, passed from thence into *Thuringia*, and held a Parliament at *Vormes*. Then his Malady encreasing, he went down the *Meine* to *Ingelheim* near *Mems*, where lying in his Tents, his Heart pierced with grief, and his Stomach oppress'd with an Impotency, he gave up the Ghost the 20th of June, having every Morning for forty days together received the Sacrament of Body of our Lord *Jesus Christ*. He was in the beginning of the 64. Year of his Age, and the end of the 27th of his Empire and Monarchy, before which time he had been King of *Aquitain* 32 years.

His Brother *Dreux* convey'd his Corps to *Metz*, whereof he was Bishop, and interred him in the Abbey of *Saint Arnoul*; who was the Stock of the *Carlovinian* Family.

He was of a mild and sweet Nature, but too easy and too credulous, inasmuch that sometimes his Counsellors could persuade him to unjust things. From his youth he had plunged himself into a profound Devotion; And if we may not say, that he gave too much credit to the Church-men, we may at least own, that he could not discern the good from the bad, or that employing them in his affairs, and bestowing too much wealth upon them, he spoiled them. His Fathers method had been much better, who never suffer'd one man to have more than one employment, or more than one Benefice at the same time. For the rest of his character, he was Laborious, Sober, Vigilant, Liberal, very knowing and Learned, both Speaking and writing Latine as well as any man in his Kingdom, and who together with the perfect knowledge and understanding in the Laws, had ever a great care to see them put in execution.

His first Marriage was with *Hermengard* Daughter to Duke *Ingelram*, by whom he had three Sons, *Lotaire*, *Pepin*, and *Louis*; and three Daughters, *Adelaide* whose first Husband was *Conrad* Earl of *Paris*; her second *Robert le Fort*; *Gisela*, who married *Everard* Duke of *Friuli*, Father of that *Berenger* who was King of *Italy*; *Hildegard* married to Count *Theodorus*; and *Alpais* Wife of Count *Begon*. By his second marriage which was with *Judith* Daughter to *Uelpon* or *Gulfe* Earl of *Ravensperg*, he had *Charles*, whom they surnamed the *Bald*.

CHARLES

CHARLES II.

Surnamed

The Bald.

King XXV.

Aged xvii. Years.

PO P E S,

GREGORY IV. S. 3. Tears under this Reign.

SERGIUS II. Elected in Febr. 844. S. 3 years, one Month.

LEO IV. Elected in April 847. S. 8. Tears, 3 Months.

BENNET III. Elected in August 855. S. 4. Tears.

NICHOLAS I. Elected in April, 858. S. 9. Tears, 6 Months.

ADRIAN II. Elected in Decemb. 867. S. 5. Tears.

JOHN VIII. Elected in Decemb. 872. S. 10. years, whereof 5. under this Reign.

Lotaire Empe-
rour and King
of Italy.

Louis King of
Germany.

Charles King
of Burgundy
and Newstria.

Pepin Fighting
for the King-
dome of Aqu-
taine.

Some few days before his Death, the Debonnaire had sent his Scepter, his Crown and his Sword, the tokens of Empire, to *Lotaire* his eldest Son, recommending to him the protection of Prince *Charles*, and enjoying him to preserve that share for him which had been allotted with his own consent. But *Lotaire*, or *Lotharius* was possessed in his mind that his Birth-right and his Quality of Emperor ought to make him Sovereign over his younger Brothers.

With this design he parts from *Italy*, comes to the Kingdom of *Burgundy*, where he designed to *Rendezvous* and bring his Forces together with his Friends, dispatch-

es his Commissaries into all parts to sollicite the Lords to give their Oathes to him, passles from thence to Wormes, and draws the Saxons to his party. From thence Marches even to *Frankfort*. But *Louis* coming to encamp close by him, startled him: and as he made more use of craft then strength, he made Truce with him the 12th of November, at what time they were to meet in the very same place to decide their differences; in a friendly manner if possibly they could, if not, by Dint of Sword.

840.

Charles was then at *Bourges* where he waited for *Pepin* who failed at the *Rendezvous* promised. From thence he dispatched one to *Lobarius* to intreat him to remember his Oathes, which he had made in the presence of his Father, and withal to render him all respect and submissions to his eldest. *Lotaire* amuses him with fine words, and in the mean time adjusts all his Engines to turn him out of his Estates.

After *Charles* had by his presence confirmed those People betwixt the *Meuse* and the *Seine*, and had withal made a Journey into *Neustria*, he returned with diligence into *Aquitain*, to put a stop to *Pepin's* progress, whose courage was much augmented upon the approaching of *Lobarius*. He took off somewhat of the sharpness of his Mettle by gaining a Battel: but in the mean while, the *Neustrian* People joyned with *Lotaire*.

Those Lords that accompany'd *Charles* observing these Artifices believed the best way was to breake thorow them all with a brave resolution, and advised he would march directly to him. Thus the two Armies were found to be within Six Leagues of each other, the City of *Orleans* lying between them. Then the Lords on either part endeavoured to bring them to an accord as was the usual custom of the French. Those of *Charles's* party, finding themselves by much the weaker, yielded to an agreement very disadvantageous, whereby was left to him only by provision *Aquitain*, *Languedoc* and *Provence* with some Counties between the *Lore* and the *Seine*; and it was said, they should meet at the Parliament to be holden at *Atigny*, to compose all their differences: but they added this Clause, that in the interim *Lotaire* should attempt nothing upon *Charles* nor *Louis*, otherwise they should be quit of their Oathes and promises.

841.

This Treaty finished, *Charles* marched towards *Bretagne* to quell the motions of some Lords of that Country. From thence he returns on his way to be at the Parliament of *Atigny*. *Lobarius* had in the mean while endeavoured to shut up the passages against him, broken down all the Bridges over the *Seine*, and ordered Forces on either Shore, who coasted along incessantly. Which did him no good, because *Charles* having information that there were several Vessels at *Roien* Seized them with great diligence, and waisted over his Army with them. His enemies betook themselves to Flight upon the first appearance of his Standard.

At the same time *Lobarius* by the advice of *Albert* Earl of *Metz*, his chief incendiary, and *Othbert* Bishop of *Metz*, were dealing with the French *Austrasians*; and knowing that *Louis* of *Germany* was upon his march to joyn with *Charles*, caused some Troops to pass over the *Rhine* to meet him, and did entice away a part of his men, so that he was counsel'd, fearing he might lose the rest, to retreat into *Bevaria*: where it had been easy for *Lotaire* to have crush'd him, had he but pursued it.

841.

Charles marching up along the River *Seine*, makes his Prayers in the Church of *St. Denis*, joynes some Troops which two or three of his Counts brought him near *Montereau* on *Tonne*, beats two of the Counts that *Lotaire* had sent to oppose him in his March, goes on to *Troyes*, where he celebrated the Feast of *Easter*. From thence he went to *Atigny*, to let them know he would not neglect to meet at the conference appointed between him, and *Lotaire*. After his having remained there some days, he Marched towards *Chalons*, and there finds his Mother the Empress *Judith*, and those Forces she brought him out of *Aquitain*.

He had intelligence at the same time that his Brother *Louis* having gained a Battel against *Albert* Count of *Metz*, made all possible haste to joyn with him. Wherefore he goes that way to meet him. *Lotaire* gave out a report that he fled, and pursues him. Mean time *Louis* arrives, and thus the two young Brothers being united, were found to be the strongest. *Lotaire* therefore gains some days time by his feigned negotiations, till *Pepin* who was upon the March, could joyn with him. When he had this re-inforcement, he talked of nothing but bringing them to obedience, and having a Monarchical Sovereignty. All the tenders they could proffer, did but confirm his resolution of having all. So that they were constrained

to send him word they would give him Battel the next morning about the second hour of the day; which was the 15th of June.

The two Armies being encamped against one another, near the Burrough of *Fontenay* by *Luxerre*. The whole Power of *France*, all the bravest Officers, and most of the Grandees and Nobility were about the Four Kings, who were to be both the Witnesses and rewarders of their Actions. Since the Beginning of the French Monarchy, to the very day I write these Lines, there hath not been so much French Blood spilt in any Battel whatever. A Hundred Thousand men perished there; a horrible wound, and which weakened the *Carlovinian* House so greatly that it could never well recover it self again. The victory fell to the younger Brothers share. They used it with all humility, and would not give the Emperor chase, for fear of spilling more blood. They likewise caused his men to be buried, and took care to dress the wounded as their own, proclaiming a general pardon to all those that would accept thereof.

841.

The most part of those Officers that had been with these Princes, being gone away, they could not reap all the Fruits might have accrued upon so notable an advantage. *Louis* repulsed the *Rhine*, and *Charles* took his way towards *Aquitain* to drive *Pepin* entirely from thence. But some dissention hapning in his Councils, so that he acted not vigorously enough; *Pepin*, who had been brought very low, and would certainly have submitted, reassumed his courage.

842.

On the other hand *Lotaire* having gathered up his scatter'd men, and raised new ones appeared soon after in *Neustria*, where he had a great many abettors. His Army and *Charles's* drew near each other about *St. Denis*, the River betwixt them. *Charles's* being the weakest saved themselves in the Forests of *Perche*; *Lotaire* pursued them, but not able to compel them to a Battel, he sent back *Pepin* whom he had called thither with his Forces of *Aquitain*.

The two young Brothers at their parting had appointed to meet again at soonest. As soon as *Charles* found the way open and clear, he went to the banks of the *Rhine* to his Brother; and both of them being met the 22th of February in the City of *Strasbourg* made a new League, and Alliance of Friendship, promising by Solemn Oath never to forsake each other. This Treaty was fram'd and writt'n in two Languages, viz. * *Romance* (the Original of the present French) and the * *Tudesque*. It mentioned that if either of the two Brothers contravened, their Subjects should be no longer obliged to serve them. Which was in truth to leave a gap open for them to change their Sovereign when they pleased.

842.

This union having reassured their Subjects, brought back those whom *Lotaire* had invigiled, and encreased their Forces, they fought for him to give him battel: but he left the Country in so much haste that he made no stop till he was gotten to *Lyons*, and by his flight abandoned all *Austrasia* to them, and part of the Kingdom of *Burgundy*.

842.
Emps.
Michn list
and
Lobarius
* Romance
or Rustica
Latina
* German

When they were come back to *Aix*, the Bishops by them Asssembled pronounced a Solemn Judgment, whereby they deprived *Lobarius* of all his Portion of Lands on this side the Mountains; and yet they would not admit the two Brothers, till they first were assured by them, that they would govern according to the Commandments of God. To which having answered that they desired to, the Bishops told them: And we by the Divine Authority do pray you to receive and govern them according to the will of God. They then divided betwixt them that portion of *Austrasia* which had been possessed by *Lotaire*.

842.

Nevertheless this partition did not stand: for that Prince endeavouring an accommodation with them, the Friends on all hands brought it so to pass that the three Brothers had a parley together in an Island on the *Soane*, each accompanied and assisted with Forty Lords, in the presence of whom they agreed to divide the whole Succession of their Father (not including *Bavaria*, *Lombardy*, and *Aquitain*,) in three equal parts, whereof *Lotaire* should take his choice. That the same forty Deputies on the behalf of each of them, should meet together in November in the City of *Metz* to make that division, and that in the interim each of them should keep the same Portion he then enjoy'd, and remain therein.

842.

The Assembly of the Six-score Lords was not held at *Metz*; because *Lotaire* being at *Thionville* it would not have been secure for those on the behalf of the two younger Brothers: It was removed to *Coblence*; where for want of ample powers they could agree to nothing but a Truce till *St. John Baptist's* day, and another meeting at *Thionville* before that time.

In this Interval *Charles* Married in his own Palace of *Creey* upon *Oyse*, with *Heimene*

842.

* According to some Old, or Eadels, Earl of Orlean.

trude Daughter of Wodon *, Grand-child to Adalard who had governed *Louis the Debonnaire*, and had been a most horrible squanderer of the Treasures and Demences belonging to the Crown; which on the one hand had got him the hatred of those that loved the welfare of the State, and on the other the affection and esteem of Courtiers, and all such as were not able to maintain their expences but by the profusion of such Minstrels.

843. The French Lords assembled at *Thionville* succeeded so well about the partition between the three Brothers, that they completed it the 6th Day of *March*. To *Charles* fell the western Kingdom of *France*, which is near upon the same which we call at this very day *France*, that is from the *Brittish* Ocean to the *Meuse*: To *Louis* fell *Germany* unto the *Rhine*, with some Villages on this side which he would needs have included, because there were some Vine-yards; and to *Lotharius* with the Title of Emperor, the Kingdom of *Italy*, and *Provence*, and all that lay between the Kingdoms of his two other Brothers, which were the Lands between the *Scheld*, the *Meuse*, the *Rhine*, and the *Soane*. In the German Tongue this was called *Loterreich*, in Romance or Old-French *Lohier-regne*, and by contraction *Lorraine*, that is to say the Kingdom of *Lorraine* or *Lotharius*. The Country that bears this Title at present, is but a small part thereof.

843. As for *Pepin*, they allotted him no share: but having gained a great victory over those sent by his Uncle, who endeavoured to take away his Kingdom of *Aquitain*, he maintained himself for some years, even till his Vices, rather than the power of his Enemies, dethroned him.

This division of the Kingdom betwixt Brothers equally, divided the affections of the People of *Germany*, *Gaul* and *Italy*, who had begun to cleave, if I may say so, or joyn together in one Monarchick body, and made the Subjects become inconsistent, unfaithful, Factions, and take to themselves a liberty of chusing their Princes, believing they might do so, provided they were of Royal blood. But that which was worse, was that *France*, having lost the best of her Forces by that bloody Battel at *Fontenay*, was no longer able to keep those People under which had been subdued, especially the *Gafrons* and the *Bretons*, neither to defend themselves against the incursions of the *Normands*.

As for the *Gafrons*, *Azenar* who had Seized upon the County being dead in the year 836. his Brother *Sance* had also invaded it in despite of *Pepin*, and justified it by the assistance of the *Basques*, and the *Navarrois*. The Dutchy was then held by a Lord named *Torilus*; *Azenar* far from obeying him, did tyre him with his continual incursions, and whilst he held him in play, gave opportunity to the *Normands* to ravage the whole Province.

One cannot without horror recount the Ruines, Murthers and Destructions by Fire, which those Barbarians practised over all *France*. Necessity forced them out of their houses to seek for a subsistence elsewhere: for every fifth year they sent out Colonies or swarms of young People, to go and seek out their Fortunes in other Countries. The desire of plunder and honour, made them ever fall upon the richest Provinces; the false Zeal of their Brutish and Impious Religion made them cruel and bloody, especially towards Church-men; the French making use of their assistance in their publick quarrels, had brought them into their Country; and such rascally people as were but too much at liberty, and in too great numbers during the Civil-War, served them for guides, and not only so, but sometimes became their commanders and encouragers, assisting them in their pillaging and robberies, with so great destruction, that no times nor History can parallel. For from one Sea to the other, there was not one Monastery standing that had not felt their fury and devilish rage, not one Town that had not been ranfom'd, plundered or burnt two or three times. Which was demonstration sufficient that it was a terrible vengeance sent from God.

Towards 840.

And to make this yet more plain, there were every one of those years most visible fore-warnings to repentance, by some extraordinary Signs shewed from Heaven. A little before the death of *Louis the Debonnaire*, appeared a Comet; and another again in *An. 842*. From the year 840. to 850. there were frequently Batels in the Air to be seen: And the Earth-quaked often times with Terrible roarings.

During the Government of Duke *Torilus* in *Gascogne*, those Barbarians having failed in an attempt upon *Burdeaux*, ruined *Basas*, *Ayre*, *Laitore*, *Dags*, *Tarbo de Bigorre*, *Labour*, *Oleron* and *Lascar*; and beat that Duke Twice; But the Third time

time he had the advantage against them, and drove them quite out of all *Gascogne*.

He survived but a short while after his victory; that command was given to *Seguin*: and to strengthen him the better against *Sance*, and likewise against the *Normans*, the County of *Burdeaux* was joyned to his Dutchy, which before was *Aquitania Secunda*; and if I am not deceived, that of *Saintes*. Which hindred not the *Normans* upon a second descent *An. 843*. from defeating him in a bloody Battel between *Saintes* and *Burdeaux*, where his death Crowned their Victory.

843.

Duke *William* his Succellor could not stop this Torrent which overflowed *Aquitania Secunda*, and made them Masters sometimes of *Saintes*, another while of *Angoulesme*, then of *Limoges* or *Periguenx*. The confusion they brought into those Countries, and the revolt of *Bernard Duke of Septimania*, which hapned in the same years, gave so much confidence to the *Gafrons* of the Dutchy, that they joyned with those of the County, and together made Count *Sance Duke of Gascogne*. To whom some years after succeeded *Arnold Son of Emoron* or *Innon* Count of *Perigord*.

In the year 841. whilst the Kings were in the Field to destroy each other, *Hachery* or *Oyer*, one of the most Famous Commanders of the *Normands*, who commanded a Fleet of 150 Ships, Burnt the City of *Roxen* the 14th of *May*, and the Abbey of *Gemiege* some days afterwards, and for Fifteen or Sixteen years together continued his Barbarities upon *Neufria*, and more particularly upon *Bretagne* and *Aquitain*.

Frederick 18th.

They had also taken their course by *Bretagne* to make a descent. The revolt of that Province opening a gap for them. *Louis the Debonnaire* had given the Government to *Neomene* descended from the Ancient Kings of those Countries, and younger Brother of *Rivalon* Father of *Salomon*. Now *Neomene* having acquired some reputation for having made head against the *Normans* *An. 836*. began to think himself worthy of the Crowa belonging to his Ancestors: however his design did not appear till after the Battel of *Fontenay*, when being incited thereto by Count *Lambert*, he openly declared himself Sovereign, and drove all the French out of *Bretagne*, unless those in *Rennes* and in *Nantes*, who held out.

This *Lambert* enraged because King *Charles* had refused him the County of *Nantes* which he desired and demanded as a reward for having fought valiantly for him at the Battel of *Fontenay*, renounced his Service and Leagued himself with *Neomene*; with whose assistance having beaten and slain *Reynold* Count of *Poitiers*, to whom the King had given *Nantes*, he remained Master of the City. But being in a short time driven thence in a contest hapning between *Neomene* and himself, he mischievously went and fetched the *Normans*, and brought them up the River before *Nantes*, which they took by *Escalado* on *Saint Johns* Festival, cut the Throats of most of the Inhabitants who were gotten into *Saint Peter's* Church, and sacrificed the Bishop at the High-Altar while he was saying Mass; carried away all that were left alive, and from thence went and burnt the Monastery of the Islands, which was *Noir Moustier*. Thus *Lambert* became Count of a ruined City, and endeavoured to maintain himself there wavering betwixt the King and *Neomene*, unfaithful to both, and beloved by neither.

844.

After the division made by the Kings, *Bretagne* being a pretended Member of *West-France*, which fell to the lot of *Charles the Bald*, that Prince having now no enemies at home, turned his Sword that way, thinking to bring *Neomene* to obedience. But he confidently comes towards him, and meeting him on his March in the Road from *Chartres* to *Mans* charged him so smartly, that he put his Army to the Rout, and forced him to fly to *Chartres* on Horse-back.

This advantage redoubled the *Bretons* Forces, who made inroads upon *Maine*, *Anjou*, and *Poitou*. It seems nevertheless there was some Truce, since upon King *Charles's* intreaty, *Neomene* drove Count *Lambert* out of *Nantes* who went and Nestled himself in the Lower *Anjou*, and there Built the Castle of *Ondon*.

At the same time that *Charles* was defeated by *Neomene* a Civil-War infesting *Denmark*, the Lords of those Countries who found themselves strong at Sea, amongst others *Hasteng* and *Bier Iron-fides*, fell upon *West-France*, and having forced the Guards that defended the Mouth of the *Seine*, went up that River with their Barks. They Sacked all on the right and left Shore, and being unable to take *Paris*, they destroy'd all that lay without the Island, Plundered the Abbey of *Saint Germain des Prez*, and Ruined the City of *Melan*. When

845.

When they were pretty well laden with spoil, they were soon tempted with Presents made them by Charles to withdraw themselves, but as they returned they ravaged Picardy, Flanders and Friesland, and took the City of Hamburg: however observing all Germany was rising up, to expel them from thence, they quitted it.

The Priests and all Religious Orders fled before them from place to place, seeking out places of safety, or at least hiding places to conceal and keep the Churches Treasure in, as also their Holy-Relicks; towards which their devotion did so much increase, when that furious Storm was over, that it occasioned sometimes bloody contests between the Citizens and Nobility, when the one would have them restored and the other would detain them.

843. Whilst Lotaire had denuded Italy of all it's Forces to lead them into France, the Dukes Rudolph of Benevent, and Sigenuise of Capua, quarrelling with each other, without regarding young Louis his Son called the one the Saracens of Spain to his assistance, the other those of Sardinia (for those Barbarians had invaded that Island) and gave them entrance into Italy, where having Fortified themselves in many places they exerted their fury for twenty years together. And An. 847. pillaged the Burrough of Saint Peter, and the Church of that Prince of the Apostles. Which obliged Pope Leo the IV. to enclose it with a wall, and quarter the Corsicans there whom the Saracens had driven from their Island.

846. The Nobility respected their Kings so little, that Count Gisbert dared to Steal away the Daughter of the Emperor Lotharius, and convey'd her into the Dominions of Charles to marry her; which gave great cause of complaint to Lotaire, and much trouble to Louis of Germany to appease his resentment.

In Guyenne the great ones raised Forces for their private quarrels, and fought in despite of Pepin. In Italy in the year 844. the Clergy and Citizens of Rome had the confidence to elect Sergius II. Pope, without the Emperors permission, who nevertheless having sent Twenty Bishops, and with them some Soldiers forced the Pope to render his devoir, and to acknowledge him for his Sovereign.

It is a Fable, that this Pope first changed his Name, and that before his Election he was called Swine-snow, for it was Sergius IV. had that filthy Name, and he whom we here mention was called Sergius as was his Father. It is held by some that it was one Octavian introduced this mysterious change, who would needs be named John. He was the 12th of that name.

846. The French being entred into Bretagne, intangled themselves unadvisedly in Bogs and Fenny-grounds, where they received a second blow.

847. While Charles was preparing for a Third expedition against that Country, the terror of the Normans obliged him to agree to a peace with Neomene; which nevertheless did not hold long, for he began immediately again to make his inroads upon France. For which Charles taking revenge by Fire and Sword in Bretagne, Neomene did the like to all the adjacent Countries, and the Territory of Rennes, which did not then belong to his petty Kingdom.

848. And 849. Hitherto he had not taken the Title of King, or at least had not put on the Crown. The custom of those times were, that the People did not believe a Prince wore it Legally, if it were not put on by the hand of one Bishop, and the consent of all. Now those of Bretagne having for the most part been nominated by Louis the Debonnaire, would not give their Ministry nor their approbation to this Usurper. He contrived therefore an accusation of Simony against them, by the means of an Abbot named Connoyon esteemed as a Saint by the People. The Assembly sends them before the Pope to justify themselves, the Abbot follows them to Rome, and Neomene causes him to be accompanied with a stately Embassy with a Present of a Gold Crown for the Pope, and an order to desire of him the Restoration of the extinguished Royalty in Bretagne. The whole House of France opposed this so strongly, that he obtained nothing of the Holy-Father but some Relicks, and verbal Reprimands for the accusation against the Bishops. But at their return he frightened them so with the fear of Death as made them confess those crimes, and thereupon caused them to be deposed.

Presently after he put men of his own Faction in their rooms, made three more Bishops, that is of Dole, Treguier, and St. Briene, and Ordained the Bishop of Dole for Metropolitan. The Popes had bestowed the Pall on those Prelats, in the sixth Century. All this tended towards his Crowning and Anointing, after the

the Mode of the French Kings. Which was performed in the City of Dole, where he had assembled the Estates of his petty Kingdom. All his Bishops assisted except Alard of Nantes, who for that reason being turned out of his See, retired to the Arch-Bishop of Tours his true Metropolitan: who having called together the Bishops of his Province, and those adjoining, caused some Remonstrances to be made to Neomene, but to no purpose.

Two other Enemies, perhaps leagued together, young Pepin and the Normans, drew Charles's Army into Aquitaine. In the Month of March he took some of those Pirats Ships in the Dordogne, and compelled Pepin to leave the Field to him: But when he was gone from that Province, the Normans surprised Burdeaux by the treachery of the Jemes that were in it, and took William Duke of the Gascons Prisoner, and such others as their covetousness prompted them to spare alive, after their fury had been glutted with blood. The French were so feeble and weak, as to let them make that place, their Store-house and Armory for several years.

849. The two Kings Lotaire and Charles had an interview in the Palace of Peronne, and by Oaths renewed again their affection and league for mutual Security. Charles Brother to Pepin of Aquitaine, relying too much upon these seeming demonstrations, was so imprudent, when he returned from Lotaire's Court, of whose protection he made no doubt, as to pass by Well-France. Count Vioian observing his steps, stop'd him, and carried him to Charles the Bald, who at the Assembly of Chartres caused him to be shaved and sent him to the Monastery of Corbie. About four years afterwards Louis the Germanick his Uncle, made him Arch-Bishop of Metz.

King Pepin his Brother had many very ill qualities, he was a Drunkard, filthy, debauched, and violent, vexing and grieving his Subjects, and Authorizing the unjustice and robberies committed by his Officers. A good part of the Grantees of Aquitaine having conceived a kind of scorn and hatred for him, invited and called in Charles the Bald whom they received with great applause at Limoges, and attended him to the Siege of Tolouse, which surrendered on composition. But as soon as he had left Aquitaine, they reconciled themselves to Pepin.

850. The Voyage which Charles the Bald made into Bretagne, to put a reinforcement into Rennes, did not prevent Neomene from Besieging that Town, and taking Prisoners all the Chief Officers of that Garrison.

850. The same year the Traytor Lambert having turned his Coat, seized Count Amaury and divers other French Lords who were gotten into Nantes, without doubt to defend that place.

851. The following year Neomene attacking the French Territories by Anjou, and destroying their Churches with as much Barbarity almost as the Normans, was mistaken, as it is believed, by the hand of God, whereof he died in few hours space. His Son Herispaux succeeded him.

There was a general Assembly held of all the Kingdoms of the French Monarchy on the banks of the Meuse, where the three Brothers met, and swore Amity and mutual Assistance. At their departure from thence, Charles goes into Bretagne to attack Herispaux, whom he guessed to be as yet unfettered. Their Armies engaged on the Confines of Anjou. If we credit the Bretons, Charles's was but ill handled. However it were, he agreed to a Peace with the Breton, to take possession of Aquitaine, which was a thing of more importance, and also to oppose the Normans.

The same year the Pyrate Hachery coming out of Burdeaux with his Fleet destroyed the Abbey of Fontenille to the very Foundations, then going up the Seine with his small Boats, he plundered all the Country for a great way on either side, and burnt divers Cities, amongst others that of Beaurais.

852. Pepin's ill conduct had so highly offended the Lords of his Kingdom, that in fine they seized on his Person, and delivered him up to Charles, who caused him to be shorn and confined to the Monastery of Saint Mart. Whence making his escape he roved a while, and took part with the Normans, which made him more odious; So that being retaken, he was close shut up in the Castle of Senlis.

852. The same year Lotaire associated his eldest Son Louis in the Empire. He had three living, this Louis, Lotaire, and Charles.

Lotaire, and Louis
his Son, associate
in the Empire.

Louis King of
East-France &
Bavaria.

Charles of West-
France and Aqi-
taine.

852. And 853. There would be no end, if we should sit down all the exploits and ravages of the Normans. In An. 852 and 853. other multitudes went up the Seine again, and this latter year some went up the Loire, plundered the City of Tours, and set fire to the Churches, particularly to that of the Grand Saint Martin.

852. Ebon had settled himself again in the Arch-Bishoprick of Reims, when Lotaire invaded the Territories of Charles the Bald: Afterwards that King expelled him, and in his stead caused Hincmar to be Elected, who after many contentions, was this year confirmed in that Arch-Bishoprick by the Synod of Soissons.

852. Whether it were by necessity, or evil counsel, the Bald treated the Aquitains very rudely. He caused several of the principal Heads to fly, amongst others that of a Count named Gofbert, which begot so much aversion in them towards their new Sovereign, that under pretence that he took no care to defend them from the Normans they sent Deputies to Louis the Germanique to pray him to accept of the Kingdom, or send his Son to them.

853. Whatever union, or strictness of Amity there had been for ten years together between these two Brothers, the German King scruples not to break it, when it concerned the gaining of a Kingdom, and sent one of his Sons into Aquitain to observe the disposition of those People. He did not find it such as he desired, there being none that concerned themselves or espoused his Interest besides the Friends and Relations of Gofbert. But Charles having discovered his towards him, fought the Friendship of Lotaire, with whom he conferred in a Parliament holden at Valenciennes, a place so situated between both their Territories, that Lotaire possessed one half and Charles the other half of the City.

854. These two Brothers having brought themselves to a good understanding, called another Parliament at Liege, to which they invited Louis, to advise together in common touching the general Affairs of the French Monarchy, but he refused to be there.

Going from thence Charles passes into Aquitain, and was Crowned at Limoges. It is not true that he reduced it to a simple Duchy: for his Son of the same name, held it for some time with the Title of a Kingdom; and we find that it continued so under the first Kings of the Capetian Race.

855. In this year it was, that after the Death of Pope Leo IV. hapned that strange adventure of Pope Joan, as is said. It was esteemed a very great truth for Five Hundred years together; but in these latter ages, the Learned, nay even some of those that are separated from the Church of Rome, have held it to be a ridiculous Fable.

855. The Motions of the Grace of God, which when he pleases can mollify the most obdurate hearts, or perhaps the Melancholly and restless thoughts of the Emperor Lotaire, a Prince Fantastical and inconstant, gave him so much dissatisfaction and disgust of the Vanities and Pomp of the World, that he stript himself of his Sovereignty, and changed his Imperial Purple for a Frock, wherewith he clothed himself in the Abbey of Prom, where he Died some Months after, having ruled the Empire fifteen years, and the Kingdom of Lorrain twelve, reckoning from the time the partition was made amongst the Brothers.

He had for Wife Hermengard Daughter of Count Hughes the Coidard, who brought him four Children, Louis, Lotaire and Charles, and one Daughter named Hermengard who was stollen away by Gisaberr, Count of the Manjuarians.

Before his Abdication he shared his Lands between his three Sons, giving to Louis the eldest of them, Italy and the Empire, wherein he had associated him in the year 851. To Lotaire the Kingdom of Lorrain, and to Charles, Provence, and part of the Kingdom of Burgundy.

Louis

Louis the
Germanique
in Germany
and Bava-
ria.

Charles in
Nestria.
and Aqi-
taine.

Louis Empe-
rour and
King of
Italy.

Lotaire II.
King of
Lorrain.

Charles King of
Burgundy and
Provence.

856.
And
857.

Upon this change all these Princes framed new leagues and new designs. The young Lotaire much courted by his two Uncles, joyned at last with Charles: But the Emperor Louis made league with the German King, who fought all manner of ways to ruin him.

Charles was much hated by the Grandees of his Kingdom, so far as much as out of mistrust of their affection, or contempt of their small courage, he bestowed his military employments upon people of Fortune, rather than on them. Neither was he over-much in the esteem of the people, because he defended them but ill from the incursions of the Normans and Bretons, and also connived at the pilferings of his Officers. So that there being a grand Conspiracy contrived to set him beside the Throne, they deputed some to Louis the Germanique, offering to acknowledge him for their Sovereign, if he would govern them with Justice, and employ his Forces in their defence.

Therefore whilst Charles was gone to make Head against the Bretons, he crossed Alsatia with an Army, and comes into Burgundy, where in the Palace of Pontign he receives the Homage of a great many Neustrian Lords. After that he allies a Parliament at Atigny to receive it from all the rest, and is introduced into the City of Sens by the Arch-Bishop, named Wenilon or Guenilon; ungrateful and treacherous to Charles his King, who from a Clerk of his Chappel had made him Arch-Bishop, and would needs be anointed and Crowned by his hands at Sainte Croix of Orleans.

Charles who was then on the banks of the Loire with his Army to make head against the Normans, having information that his Brother invaded his Kingdom, left those Barbarians there, and advanced to Brie to fight him: but when he perceived that all went on that side that his Soldiers themselves began to forsake him, being afraid his own People might deliver him up, he abandons his Army, and quickly submitted to his Brothers commands.

This sudden revolution was as soon followed with one quite contrary. Those that had called in the German were the first that repented, and to repair one Treson by another, they conspired to make him fall into the hands of Charles; Which was very easy for them, since having been so credulous to follow their advice, he had sent away his own Forces. But he discover'd their intentions and evil design early enough to escape the snare; and upon the news he received of the incursion of the Venedes, took therefore the opportunity to return to Germany. As soon as his back was turned, Charles having gotten his Friends together regained the Kingdom with as much facility, as he had lost it.

859. The enterprize of the German gave some jealousy to young Lotaire, and induced him to league himself with his Uncle Charles for their common defence. In consequence of this union the Bishops of the Kingdom of Neustria and Lorraine being assembled at Metz the 26th of May, charged Hincmar Arch-Bishop of Reims to go and summon the German to repair the wrongs he had done his Brother, and meet at the approaching general Parliament, where he that should be found guilty, should make satisfaction, and adhere no longer to those Traytors. He reply'd that he was ready to appear there, but having done nothing but by the Counsel of the Bishops, he desired to consult with them.

About mid-June therefore was held a Council at Savonnieres, in the Suburbs of Toul, consisting of the Bishops of twelve Provinces, wherein they laboured for the reconciliation of the two Brothers and Lotaire their Nephew. It is not expressed upon what conditions.

The 16th of that Month Charles presents them a Libel of complaints against Wenilon de Sens. It mentioned amongst other things, That he was anointed King by consent of the Bishops; therefore, he could not be deprived of that consecration without their consent: And likewise added, that he would have appeared there to answer them, had he been called thereto. They allotted four Metropolitans to Judge Wenilon,

T 2

who

who affianed him to give his appearance, before them within Thirty days. We do not find they continued this proceeding, for he died peaceably in his Arch-Bishoprick in the year 865.

It is a mistake if we believe this man to be the Subject of those ancient Fables of Ganelon, so renowned for his Treacheries in the old Romances : Such as underhand the old French Tongue, know that Enganner signifies to deceive, and Ganelon a deceiver, a Traytor.

The Fathers of this Council, or perhaps of another held at the same place, wrote likewise to the Bishops of *Bretagne* to exhort them to acknowledge the Metropolitan of *Tours*, and sent them a Memorial to admonish King *Salomon* to obey *Charles* King of *France* his Sovereign ; which he took little notice of.

The two Brothers *Lewis* and *Charles*, and their Nephew *Lotaire* being reconciled by the mediation of honest men, had an enter-view at an Island on the *Rhine* near *Andernac*, attended by an equal number of Lords who staid upon either hand of the River. They shook hands, and agreed to meet the following Autumn at a general Assembly which was to be held at *Besle*. But they did not come there, having adjourned the enter-view till the next Spring at the Assembly of *Coblenz*.

At this place the Bishops who were then Masters of the Government through the weakness of the Princes, and the little Credit of the Grandees, who shewed no courage but in fighting one another and devouring the People, contrived the agreement between these three Princes, and drew up the Articles or Form to be observed in this Peace, which the *German* first swore to, and the two others after him.

This year 860. the Winter was so hard that the Adriatique Sea was Frozen, and the Merchants of the Neighbouring Countries carried their Goods to Venice by Waggon. In several places there was Snow observed to fall of the colour of Blood; which will not seem wonderful to those that consider how often it hath Rained the same colour.

The *Bretons* continually infested the Territories belonging to *Charles*, wherefore he gave the Dutchy, that is to say, the Government between the *Saone* and the *Loire* to *Robert* Surnamed the Strong or the Valiant, to keep those Marches or Frontiers. Which I was willing to observe, because he was certainly the Stock of that Glorious Race of the *Capetines*; the which I should we reckon their Original or Commencement but from this year () would have eight hundred and odd years of Antiquity, clearly made out from Male to Male, and of crowned Heads; an Honour which no Line on Earth besides can boast of.

This year the *Bald* made a Lord named *Thierry* Earl of *Holland*, from whom are defended those that have Hereditarily held that Earldom: but they have ever had a much limited Authority, and such a one as could undertake nothing against the Liberty of that Country.

Baldwin Earl of *Flanders* having the support of the *German*, took the confidence to come as far as *Sentis* and steal away *Judith* the Daughter of *Charles* his King, the young Widdow of *Earldufe* King of *England*. He retired into the Country belonging to *Lotaire*, whence he conducted her to his own, and fondly beat those Soldiers under *Charles's* pay, who would needs pursue them. The Pope having excommunicated him at that Kings complaint, the young Count was so flattered, that the following year he went to *Rome* and threw himself at his Feet: the Holy Father touched with his submission, and the Princesses tears interposed to obtain his Pardon. *Charles* was advised to confend; Nor indeed could the fault be any other ways repaired.

The passion of King *Lotaire* bred a greater scandal. He had married *Thietberge* Daughter of *Huebert* Duke of *our le Mont-Jou*, and allied to *Charles* the *Bald*: Now in the year 860. having some disgust against her, and love for *Valdrade* Niece to *Thietgaud*, and Daughter of *Gontier*, this being Arch-Bishop of *Colen*, the other of *Treves*: these two Prelates interested and Flatterers having Assembled their Suffragans at *Aix la Chapelle*, obliged them to dissolve the Marriage; and immediately *Lotaire* publicly marries *Valdrade*. The pretended Motives for this Sentence, were a supposed Incest of *Thietberges* with her own Brother; and the Bishop of *Metz* his assuring them, that Duke *Huebert* who could do all things in that Court, had forced the Prince to take *Thietberge* for Wife after the death

of

of the King his Father, who in his Life time, said he, had made him Marry *Valdrade*.

At this time *Nicholas I.* was Pope, a Prelate of great capacity, and one that carry'd it high: He wrote concerning this to *Charles*, who before fought to quarrel with *Lotaire*; and indeed would have expelled him, to break this Match, had not *Louis* the *German* King interpos'd and obliged them to meet at a general Assembly. *Lotaire* appearing there, promised to submit to the judgment of the Church; and to elude *Charles* his pursuit, appealed to the Pope, praying to let this cause be judged by a Council of *French* Bishops to be held at *Metz*, and whither his Helyneis might send his Legats.

The Holy Father grants his request; the Council was assembled in *June*. The two Bishops *Gontaire* and *Thietgaud* served the passion of the young Prince: his Prefents corrupted the Popes Legats; in a word, the Council pronounced in favour of the dissolution. The two Arch-Bishops had the confidence to carry this Sentence to *Rome* to have the Popes approbation. But far from that, he calls a Council in the *Lateral* Palace, by whom they were depose'd and both of them excommunicated, and it was declared that all the other Bishops who were assisting at this false judgment should incur the same punishment, unless they craved pardon by express Legats.

Thietgaud and *Gontaire* replied very smartly to the decree he published, and framed another whereby they declared him excommunicate himself, and contravening even, said they, the Holy Canons favouring the excommunicated, and separating through pride from the society of the other Bishops. Which did not a little encourage the revolt of *Photius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and the obstinate resistance of *Hincmar* Arch-Bishop of *Reims*. Nevertheless soon after *Thietgaud* submitted to the Sentence, but could not obtain his absolution during the life of *Nicholas*. But the Arch-Bishop of *Colen* regarded it not, still continuing in his obstinacy.

Charles the *Bald's* subjects, male-contented with his Government, had made several Leagues against him: he engages his Friends likewise to make one for his service, and to meet in all parts of the Country under his Standards, to be ready to March when ever he required it.

Valdrade had promised to go for absolution to *Rome*; she went twice into *Italy*. And twice repenting her having repeated, returned back. The Pope having therefore Assembled his Church declared her excommunicated, and wrote very harsh Letters to young *Lotaire*, threatening to deprive him of his Kingdom.

There is no craft nor submissions which this Prince did not put in practice to elude that Sentence. But the Pope not valuing all those Arts, sent a Legat into *France* named *Arsenius*: who addressing himself to the *German* *Louis* called a Synod, and taking upon him a Supreme Authority, declared to *Lotaire* that he must take his Wife again, or remain excommunicated with all his Adherents. The Kings his Uncles maintained this Sentence in such fort, that for the time he was forced to obey.

But so soon as the Legat was departed *France*, he began afresh to mis-use his Wife, to threaten to make process against her for Adultery, and prove that crime by combat. The accused retires to the protection of *Charles*, the Pope takes her business much to heart, and excommunicates *Valdrade*; and Duke *Huebert* Brother of this Queen rebelling against *Lotaire* plunders his Country, kills his people, and exercised all manner of cruelty, till he was slain himself, by Count *Conrad*, Father of that *Rodolph* who was the First King of *Burgundy* beyond the *Jour*, or *Trans-jurain*.

Salomon had fancied that the Kingdom of *Bretagne*, though *Neomene* had obtained it rather by conquest than succession, belonged to him, because he was the Son of *Rivallon* eldest Brother to that King. Thus having forgotten he was carefully and tenderly bred under his tuition, he contrives a conspiracy against *Herispon* his Son, assaults him in the Fields, then kills him in the Church to which he fled for safety, and so puts the Crown all bloody upon his own head.

Neomene and he intitled themselves Kings of *Bretagne*, and a great part of *Gaul*, because in effect they possessed the Countries of *Mayne* and *Normandy* the lower *Anjou*, which they had wrested from the French. For this cause was *Anjou* divided in two Counties; the one containing what is beyond the River *Mayne* and held by these Breton Kings, the other what lies on this side, and remained to the French.

As

863.

864.

865.

866.

866.

867.

Empp.

Basilus, Mac-

donus, who

flew Silbani

III. who Al-

ciated him.

And Louis II.

867.

867.

At the same time the Normans entering into *Nenfria* by the *Loire*, spread themselves all over *Namoi*, *Poitou*, *Anjou*, and *Touraine*. *Renulf* Duke of *Aquitain*, and Duke *Robert* the strong, who was so called because he guarded those Marches against these *Barbarians* and the *Bretons*, having attacked them in a Post which they had fortified near the River, were by misfortune both slain in the combat: So that their Army wanting a Head, though they got the advantage, let those robbers get away from them.

Robert had two Sons very young, *Endes* and *Robert* whom we shall find to have reigned hereafter.

The *Saracens* tormented *Italy* no less. *Lotaire* went thither with his Forces, not only to assist the Emperor *Louis* his Brother, but moreover by this means to deserve and gain the Favour of the Pope, which was *Adrian* successor to *Nicholas*; hoping in time to obtain the dissolution of his Marriage with *Thietberge*. The Holy-Father received him very well, because he assured him he had punctually obeyed all that was enjoined him: but when both he and his came to receive the Holy Communion from his hands, he obliged them all to swear it was true that he had quitted *Valdrade*.

Now it happened shortly after that the most part of these Lords died of sickness or otherwise, in such numbers and so suddenly as if they had been cut down by the Sword of an exterminating Angel; and *Lotaire* himself was Seized with a Fever at *Luca*, which he drag'd along to *Piacenza* where he gave up the Ghost the 6th of August. Which some interpreted a divine Vengeance, for the false and Sacrilegious Oath he and his Courtiers had made. The Body of *Jesus Christ* in the Sacrament being a destroying Sword to the wicked and unworthy Communicant.

His youngest Brother *Charles* King of *Provence*, endeavoured to reap his succession, and was Crowned at *Metz* by the Bishop *Adventius*. But he survived not long after, and died without Issue. He was Interred in the Church of St. *Peter's* at *Lyons*.

LOUIS in
Bavaria and
Germany.

CHARLES in
West-France, Bur-
gundy and Lorrain.

LOUIS II.
Emperour in
Italy.

Charles who then held a Parliament at *Poissy*, informed of the death of *Lotaire*, went and Seized on the Kingdom of *Lorraine*, neither minding the Emperor *Louis* Brother of the two last Kings, to whom it should have belonged, nor the Mediation of the Pope who desired him by an express Legation, to do his Nephew Justice. The Bishops of that Kingdom being Assembled at *Metz*, gave him the Crown; And *Hincmar* the Arch-Bishop, chief promoter of that Decree, put it on his Head with the usual Ceremonies.

Lotaire had one Son and two Daughters by *Valdrade*. The two Daughters were *Berte* and *Gisèle*; *Berte* was first wife to Count *Thibault* Father of *Hugh* Count and Marquis of *Provence*, and by her second Marriage to *Adelbert* Marquis of *Tuscany*, Father of *Guy* and *Lambert*. *Gisèle* was Married to *Godfrey* the Dane, who Reigned in *Friseland*, the Son was named *Hugh* who when he came to Age contended for the Kingdom of *Lorrain*.

Hermetrude Wife to *Charles* the Bald, dying at St. *Denis* the 16th of October, he married for the second time *Richende* or *Richilda* his Mistress, Daughter of *Earl Brevin* or *Bover*, and the Sister to *Thietberge* Widdow of King *Lotaire* III.

It was with some justice, but without legal power, that the Pope should take any cognizance of the difference about *Lotaire*. He dispatched a second Embassy to *Charles* the Bald, to exhort him to surrender it to the Emperor *Louis*, otherwise he would Excommunicate him; And he wrote to the Bishops that they should forbear all Communion with that King, unless they would be cut off from the Church of *Rome*. *Charles* reply'd modestly enough to the Legats; but the French Bishops went a higher Note, and the Arch-Bishop *Hincmar* wrote very smart Letters to *Adrian*.

His Nephew, of the same name, Bishop of *Laon*, was of an other opinion, and

and with much heat maintained all those Orders brought from the Pope. He had Excommunicated a Norman Lord, because he detained some Lands belonging to his Church whereof the King had given him the Benefice. His proceedings were blamed and condemned by the Bishops at the Synod of *Verberie*: he appealed to the Pope: for which cause his Uncle having cited him before the Council of *Arisey*, which consisted of the Bishops of twelve Provinces, he caused his Equipage to be Plundered by the way, and when he came to the Assembly forced him to renounce his Appeal. The Pope made grievous complaint of it, and would have brought the Process and the two *Hincmars* to *Rome*: but the Arch-Bishop reply'd with force, and hindred him.

This dispute went so far that the Bishop of *Laon* was deposed and clapt in Prison, whereafter two years Persecution his Eyes were put out.

The two Brothers *Louis* and *Charles*, after many perussions used by the latter, and by the mediation of the Bishops and Lords, met in a place agreed upon on this side the *Meuse*, each with a certain number of People, and there divided the Kingdom of *Lorrain* in two, without having any regard to their Nephew the Emperor *Louis*.

Whose cause the Pope still supporting, sent a famous Legation to the two Brothers. *Louis* sent them back to *Charles*, and he taking time to delay, advanced as far as *Lyons*, as it were to confer with the Pope: but it was in effect for a quite contrary design. For very far from doing his Nephew justice, he likewise seized on the Kingdom of *Burgundy*, where he met with no opposition but from *Berthe* the Wife of Count *Gerard*, who sustained a Siege in *Vienne* and surrendered it upon composition. *Charles* the Bald gave this County in charge to *Boson* Brother to the Queen *Richilda* his Wife, whom he also made Duke of *Aquitain* and Grand-Master of the Porters *, and raised him in such sort, that he was shortly after one of those that dismembred the Monarchy.

During this Voyage he had left the Lieutenancy of his Kingdom to the Arch-Bishop *Hincmar*, who by his Genius no less powerful then daring, had rendered himself very necessary. He had no small ado to hinder the designs and enterprizes of *Carloman* eldest Son of his King. This Prince had some years before conspired against his Father who had made him a Deacon in despite of him; and having rebelled another time, he put him in Prison. The Prayers of the Popes Legates, who came the year before into *France*, had got him out again: but abusing this mercy, he fell again to his old Practices. Now being fallen the third time into his Fathers hands, he caused him to be condemned to Death, and then chang'd that Sentence to a deprivation of his sight, that he might have time to repent. Some time afterwards a couple of Monks craftily got him out of Prison, and convey'd him to his Uncle the German King, who gave him an Abbey for his maintenance. But Death did not leave him long in the enjoyment of it.

This cursed Custome of putting out Eyes, and other ways of dismembering, was the invention of the Greek Princes; and it hath been long practised in the West, so that Vassals in their Oaths of Fidelity, swore they would defend the persons of their Lords, and never consent they should be maimed in any part of their Bodies.

About these times the *Ga* considering to collect their Forces under a Duke of their own Nation, and of the Race of their ancient Dukes to secure themselves against the fury of the Normans, and the revenge of *Charles* the Bald, went into Spain to the Son of *Loup Centulle*, whom the King of the *Assurias* had made an Earl in old *Castile*, to desire and get one of his Sons. The youngest after the refusal of all his Brothers, accepted the Honour: his name was *Sanche*, his surname *Mitara*, the *Saracens* * had bestowed it on him because he was their Ruin, and their Scourge. From him are proceeded the Hereditary Dukes of *Gascogne* who lasted near 200 years. He had a Successor of the same name and surname as himself. This Son was Father of *Garcia Sanchez*, the Crooked, who had three, *Garcia Sanchez*, Duke of *Gascogne*, *William* Count of *Fezenzac*, and *Arnold* Count of *Affarack*. This last not Born the natural way, but by an incision they made in his Mothers Flank, was surnamed *Non-nat*. Not Born.

The Princes of the *Carlovinian* Line, were for the most part, of weak Spirits, Fools, or Sottish. *Louis* Emperor of *Italy*, though Pious and Valiant, was so slighted by his Subjects, that they would part him from his Wife, because he had

870.

* Princes &
Maritims.
871.

872.

had no Male-Children. And even *Adelgise* Duke of *Benevent* made him Prisoner, and extorted from him very unjust things.

873. The Children of *Louis the German* gave their Father a great deal of trouble; and seemed to punish him for the disquiet he had given to his. The eldest named *Charles*, and afterwards surnamed the *Gros*, troubled without doubt with horror for the conspiracies he had made against him, had violent fits of Madness, believing he had seen the Devil and was possessed by him. He was cured of that Frenzy for some time, after many Devotions, and Vows over the Graves of Saints: but his Brain having been once so disturbed, he felt it all his life afterwards.

875. The *Normans* had seized on the City of *Angers* about four years since, and settled themselves there with their Families, from whence, when they had a mind to it they ran about the *Loire*, and all those other Rivers which fall into it, loading their Barks, with the Plunder and Pillage of all the Country. *Charles* assisted by *Salomon* King of the *Bretons*, besieged them in that City. The Siege was long: the *Bretons* by great labour bring it to an end; they turned the stream of the *Maine*, and by this means their Vessels lay all on dry ground, and gave them opportunity to approach to the foot of their Wall. The *Pyrats* could no way have escaped, if they would have forced them: however the *Bald*, so terrible had they made themselves, fearing the revenge such other Parties they had abroad in divers parts of the Kingdom might take, not only did them no hurt; but likewise gave them the liberty to depart with all their plunder. They only made a promise never to return any more into *France*: but at their departure from thence, they went and settled themselves in an Island within the *Loire*, from whence they continued their old Trade.

Towards the Month of August, an unknown cause brought towards the Coast, or Borders of Germany, a prodigious quantity of Locusts, which were about the bigness of an inch, having six wings, and teeth as hard as a bone. In less than an hour they had eaten up all the Herbs and Greens growing in a Country of seven or eight Leagues in length, and two in breadth, to the very Branches and Rinds of young Trees. After they had done incredible mischief, a strong Wind hurried them into the British Sea, where they were drowned: But dead they did no less hurt then when living: the great heaps thrown by the Waves upon the Shore, infecting the Country with the Plague.

874. While King *Salomon*, who was become a good Man and devout to the doing of Miracles, was thinking to retire into a Monastery, and leave his Crown to his Son *Guegon*: two of his Cousin Germans *Pasfeten* or *Pasquian* Son of *Neomene*, and *Orsfand*, fluted by *Wigen* Son of Duke *Redolph*, and some French Inhabitants of *Bretagne*, whom he had treated ill, conspired against him, and besieged him in his Castle of *Plelan*; where surrendering himself and his Son, upon some false promises the French put out his eyes, and a few days after put him to death.

The two Cousins having shared the Sovereignty, soon quarrell'd each other, and came to blows near *Remes*; *Orsfand* with a Thousand men only, charged *Pasquian* who had Twelve times as many, and got the advantage.

875. The other Lords of the Country, after the example of these two, set up likewise for Sovereigns, amongst others *Alain* Earl of *Bresee*, that is to say, the Territory of *Penner*; and that of *Porboet*, and *Salomon* Count of *Remes*, Son of the Sister to a King of the same name; On the other hand the *Normans* waited all the Country, to that *Bretagne* thus torn, lost the name of a Kingdom. And took that of a County, and then a Duchy. In those days, these two Titles were confounded.

Soon after *Orsfand* fell sick to extremity; *Pasquian* having notice of it gets his Forces together. *Orsfand* whose courage could not fail, but with his Life, was carried in a Litter to the head of his men: his presence gave them the victory, but hastened his death a little. A great deal of honour which cost him but a Moments Breath.

875. His Rival did not long survive him, sickness deprived him of that which death had bestowed on him. His Succession remained in dispute between *Alain* his Brother, and *Judicael* Son of the Daughter to *Herispoux*. They found it better to share it by agreement than by the Sword, and at length it fell all to *Alain* by the Death of *Judicael*, who was slain in a * fight against the *Normans*.

Louis Emperor of *Italy* Dies without Male Children in the Month of August An. 875. the 20th of his Empire, who had been mightily disturbed by factions of the Grandees

* mentioned hereafter.

his State, and incursions of the *Saracens*. His Tomb is to be seen at *Milan* in St. *Ambrose* Church.

His Wife was named *Engelberge*, according to some the Daughter of *Ethico* who was Son of another *Ethico* Duke of *Suevia* or *Germany*, by whom he had but one Daughter only, named *Hermongarde*, who An. 876. was Ravished by *Boson* Brother to the Queen *Richilde*, and with the consent of *Everard* Brenger Son of the Duke of *Friuli*; who had her in keeping.

Louis the Germanick.

Charles the Bald.

It was now betwixt the *Germanick* and the *Bald* who should first Seize upon *Italy*. The *Bald* making great diligence got thither before *Charles* and *Carloman* two of the *Germanick* Sons, who went two several ways, whilst their Brother *Louis* fell upon *France* to make a diversion. For the two first the *Bald* amused them with very fair words, and sent them back handsomely; and as for the third, the *Prelats* made such pathetic remonstrances to him, that he took pity of the poor people, and returned without committing many acts of Hostility.

The *Popes* interest was to have an Emperor of a great name, one that could lend him powerful assistance, as *Pepin* and *Charlemaine* had done, but yet not abide in *Italy*, where he must have lain too heavy upon his shoulders: wherefore he would have no *Italian* Lord, because they were both weak and resided upon the place; and besides being to chuse out of the *Carlovingian* Line, he could not so well comply with the roughness of those that Governed in *Germany*. He therefore pitched upon *Charles the Bald*, and incited him by a sumptuous Embassy to come to *Rome* to receive the Imperial Diadem, as if it had been absolutely in his disposal.

He set it on his Head upon *Christmas* Day with great Solemnity. After which the new Emperor bestowed the Duchy of *Spoleto* upon *Gay* the Son of *Lambert*, and that of *Friuli* on *Brenger* the Son of *Everard*.

At his return he received also the Crown of *Lombardy* at *Pavia*, and a Confirmation of the Imperial one at an Assembly of Counts and Prelats in the said City, the Pope assisting in Person.

And the following year, there being yet several Lords in *Italy* who refused to acknowledge him, the Pope held another Council in *Rome* to Confirm him a second time adding Excommunications against the refractory.

The Western Empire could be but a vain or empty Title, and at most had nothing belonging to it but the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, and the *Pentapolis*; for his power was not absolute in the City of *Rome*, and the Kingdom of *Lombardy* belonged, nor held any wife of it.

Nevertheless the *Bald* esteeming himself wholly obliged to the Pope, and of his Sovereign being become his Subject; even so far condescending as to take it for an honour to bear the Title of his Counsellor of State: endeavoured in recompence with all his might to extend his Authority over the liberties of the *Gallian* Church. In a Council held at *Pontigon* he supported as much as he could the *Popes* Legats, who brought Letters of Primacy to *Anségise* Arch-Bishop of *Sens*, saying the Pope had Commissioned him to assist at that Council, and to cause his Orders to be put in execution, and in effect he made him take his Seat immediately next the Legats. But the French *Prelats* encourag'd by *Hincmar*, who thought he better deserved that honour than *Anségise*, could never be induced neither by Prayers nor threatnings to give consent to that Novelty. At the eighth Session the *Bald* brought in the Empress his wife (so fond was he of her) with the Crown upon her Head, to preside there with him; of which the Bishops were so ahamed that they did not much as rise up to receive her.

Though the *Germanick* were Seventy years old, and much discomposed in his Family by the discord amongst his Sons, he had nevertheless so great a resentment, for that *Charles the Bald* did him no justice in the matter of the Empire and Territories of *Italy*, that he gathered all his Forces to make a powerful irruption upon *Neufria*. Being come to *Francfort*, Death broke the third of his life and his undertakings the 28th of August, the Seventieth of his Age, and the 59, since his first Coronation

875.

875.

Empp.
Napline and
Charles II. cal-
led the Bald at
Christmas.
875.

875.

876.

877.

D

This Prince was well read in the Learning of those times. He was all his life long Active, Warlike and Liberal, one that cared not for money but to bestow it, and had a greater esteem for Steel than Gold; a great Zealot in Justice and Religion, an equitable distributor of commands and employments, in Fine approaching more than any Prince of his Line, to the noble virtues and qualities of *Charlemagne*: By *Emme* his sole wife, a *Spaniard* by Nation, much applauded by the Authors of those days for her Wisdom and Piety, he had three Sons, *Carloman*, *Charles*, and *Louis*.

876. Upon the News of his death, the *Bald*, of a defender which he was just before, became an aggressor, and resolved to strip those young Princes his Nephews before they could be aware. *Louis* nearest Neighbour to this dangerous Ambassadors to him, to put him in mind of the Treaty made with his Father, and offered him to prove by thirty witnesses, whereof ten should undergo the trial of cold water, ten more of hot water, and other ten that of burning Irons, that they had on their part never infringed it in the least.

The *Bald* pretended to give ear to these justifications, and agreed to a Cessation, during which he made Oath he would not molest them. Yet he pursued his march by narrow and unfrequented ways through the Mountains, intending to surprize him near *Andernack* where he lay encamped, and to put out his Eyes. But the Bishop of *Colez* who was with him, having in vain used all his endeavours to dissuade him from this treachery, gave secret notice to *Louis*, who put himself into so good a posture as he defeated his great Army, and might have cut them all off would he but have pursued them.

877. The three Brothers confirmed by this victory in the Succession of their Father, divided it betwixt them. *Carloman* the eldest had the Kingdom of *Bavaria* to which belonged *Pannonia*, *Carinthia*, *Bohemia* and *Moravia*. *Louis* the second had *East-France* or *Germany*, and with that part of the Kingdom of *Lorraine*. *Charles* had the Country of the *Grisons*, *Switzerland*, *Souabe*, *Alsace*, and the other part of *Lorraine* bordering on them.

CHARLES
the Bald, Empe-
rour, King of
Neustria, Aquitain,
Burgundy &
Provence.

Carloman, King
of Bavaria, and
the Title of
King of Italy.

Louis II. Charles of Ger-
many, properly
of East-France, so called.
Lorraine between both.

During all these dissensions the *Normans* had fair play. The *Bald* put no stop to them but with Presents of Gold and the like, which rather invited them soon after to come again, then persuaded them to stay away; So that while he lost himself with the imaginations of vain conquests, they imposed * Tribute upon the reason perhaps why they were called *Truands*.

The *Saracens* on the other hand tormented *Italy* no less: they had Fortified themselves at *Tarente*, and having made a League with the Duke of *Naples*, sacked all to the very gates of *Rome*. Pope *John* cries out and calls upon the *Bald* for help, and as a great favour sends him the confirmation of his Election to the Empire. He goes therefore into *Italy* with *Richilda* his wife whom he led about every where. The Pope comes to meet him as far as *Veset*, Crowned the Emperors at *Tortona*, and from thence they went down to *Pavia*, to consult with the Lords of *Italy* about the means to drive out the *Saracens*.

While they were there they heard that *Carloman* King of *Bavaria* approached with a great Army to resume the Kingdom of *Italy* and the Empire. Upon the bruit of his march the Assembly dissolves, the Pope flies to *Rome*, and *Charles* makes hast into *France*: But at the same time *Carloman* Seized with a Panick fear, turns back again to *Germany*.

Whilst the *Bald* was absent from his Kingdom, the *French* Lords formed a conspiracy against him, *Boson* himself his Favourite and Brother in Law to his Wife, was of the Knot. They hated him mortally, and the occasion or pretence was, that he raised people of mean Birth, and seemed to despise the *French* Nation, in affect-

* Tw in old
French signi-
fies Tribute.

ing to wear his Cloaths after the *Greek* Mode who were their mortal Enemies. It happened therefore by the wicked contrivances of these Factionous persons combining, that upon his return, passing by *Mount Cenis*, he was poisoned by *Sedecias* his Physician, a *Jew* by Birth, and reputed a Magician. Accidents not uncommon to Great ones who make use of such-like People. His body was interred at *Veset*, and seven years after brought thence to the Abbey of *St. Denis*. He died at the Age of 55 years, the second of his Empire, and the 38th of his Reign, accounting from the Decease of his Father.

At he loved Pride and vain Pomp more than Solidity, so Fortune in conformity to his humour, made him happy in appearance but unhappy in effect, he bestowed many great Lordships and but little good success upon him. The best of his qualities was that he acquired great learning, and gratified good Scholars with Honour and rewards, seeking and sending into *Greece* and *Asia* for them to enrich *France* by their knowledge; worthy of praise for so doing, had he but taken care to provide for the necessity and security of his Country, before he brought in those Ornaments.

His Father was blamed for raising people of a servile condition to Ecclesiastical dignities: And he going farther yet advanced very mean persons to Military Employments, and to such dignities as were due only to the greatest in his Kingdom: This turned the whole State, as it were upside-down, the greatest Families sunk to nothing, and the meanest were raised to the highest pitch, to whom the obscurity and ignorance of those times was very favourable in concealing and preventing all knowledge of the baseness or Poverty of their Original.

The City and Abbey of *St. Denis* are obliged to this King for the Faire at *Landy*.

He had no Children by *Richilda* his second wife; but by *Hermenetrude* his first he had many: there was but one now alive, which was *Louis* whom they surnamed the *Stammering*, because in truth he was so.

The hatred they bare to the Father was transferred to the Son: he endeavoured to take it away by force of gratifications, bestowing Abbeys upon some, to others Lands and Employments were given: but by pleasing and pacifying a few, he created a world of discontents; and the Princes (so the great Lords were called) took offence, that he should grant of himself, what he could not well do without their consent, and in the general Assembly.

Whilst they were making divers Cabals, grounding all, as I believe, upon this pretence, that it did not appear to them that his Father had * ordained he should succeed him; his Mother in Law *Richilda* comes with all speed and brings him his Father *Charles* the *Bald*'s Will, by which it was manifest he had given him his Kingdom, and did invest him in it by the Sword of *St. Peter*, and the Royal ornaments which he sent to him.

Louis being a little better Authorised by this means, the Lords agreed with him, but certainly not till it had cost him a great deal: And the Arch-Bishop *Hincmar* Crowned him in the City of *Reims* the 8th day of December.

877.

877.
The Father
Will, was a
necessary con-
dition.

U 2

Louis

LOUIS II.

Surnamed

The Stammerer.

King XXVI.

Aged about xxx, or xxxii. Years.

POPES,

JOHN VIII. *During all this Reign, and in the following.*

<i>Louis, called the Stammerer, Emperor, King of *</i>	<i>Carloman, King of Bavaria.</i>	<i>Louis of East-France.</i>	<i>Charles of Germany.</i>
<i>* Neustria and West-France are the same.</i>	<i>Neustria, Aquitain, Burgundy & Provence.</i>	<i>Lorraine to both.</i>	

878.

IN the meantime *Lambert* Count of *Spoleta* and *Albert* Marquiss of *Tuscany*, partisans of King *Carloman* who pretended to the Empire, being entred into *Rome* kept Pope *John VIII.* a prisoner. But soon after, having made his escape out of their hands, he takes Shipping and Lands in *Provence*, whence he was conducted to *Lyons*. From that place, always defrayed in his expences by the Bishops of *France*, he came to *Troyes*, where he held a Council: the King came likewise thither, and by his hands was Crowned Emperor, the seventh of September.

Empp. Basilus and Louis the Siammerer.

878.

In this Council the Pope Excommunicated *Hugh* Bastard Son to King *Lotaire II.* and *Valdrade*, who pretended to be Legitimate, and had collected together some herds of Robbers to regain the Kingdom of *Lorraine*. He likewise restored *Hincmar* Bishop of *Laon*, permitted him to say Mass, though he were blind, and bestowed one half of the revenue of the Bishoprick upon him.

879.

After the Popes departure, the *Stammerer* going towards *Lorraine*, conferred about *Marfenne* upon the *Meuse*, with *Louis* King of *Germany*. They made a Treaty by which they divided *Lorraine* betwixt them, as it had been betwixt their Fathers, and the *Stammerer* promised him part in *Italy*.

Neither the obedience nor affection of the Lords was firm towards him, they gave little heed to his Orders: and it hapned that having taken up Arms to suppress *Bernard* Marquiss of *Gothia*, whose Government he had given to *Bernard* Earl

Earl of *Auvergne*, he fell sick in his passage by *Aulun* in *Burgundy*, not without suspicion he was poysoned, wherefore he sent for his Son *Louis* whom he put into the hands and keeping of *Bernard* Earl of *Auvergne*, *Thierry* his great Chamberlain, the Abbot *Hugh*, and some other Lords. This *Hugh* or *Hugues* was very powerful towards the latter part of the Reign of *Charles the Bald*, under *Louis the Stammerer*, and likewise under his Children.

The *Stammerer* being with much difficulty brought to *Compeigne*, gave up his Soul upon Holy-Friday the 19th of April: He was buried at the same place in the Abbey-Church of *St. Cornille*, his Age was 30 or 35 years, of which he had Reigned only one and seven Months. Before his death he sent the Crown and other Regal ornaments to his Son *Louis*, by the Bishop of *Beauvais* and an Earl, with order to have him anointed King as soon as possible.

He was in his youth married to *Ingelger*, by whom he had two Sons, this *Louis* of whom we speak and *Carloman*: but as the *King* of mean extraction, the King his Father without whose consent he married her, obliged him to put her away. For this reason it is that some Historians say that these two Princes are Bastards. After this divorce he took another named *Adelaid*, or *Alice* Daughter of some English Prince, and Sister to *Wilfrid* Abbot of *Flavigny* in the Dutchy of *Burgundy*. She was with child when he died, and brought a Posthumous Son into the World, Born the 17th of September following. He was named *Charles the Simple*.

The Western Empire remained vacant two whole years, and *Italy* in an extreme confusion, thorough the discords of the Lords, and the spoil and ravages of the *Saracens*, to whom the Pope was fain to pay Tribute.

We may in this Reign, place the Original of the Earls of *Anjou*, from a Lord named *Ingelger*, the Son of a Breton named *Torquat* or *Tortulfe*, on whom *Charles the Bald* had bestowed some Lands in *Gallinois*, and *Perretta* Daughter of *Hugo Laboe* in marriage. This *Ingelger* was the Father of *Fulke le Roux*, who being made Earl of *Anjou* by *Charles the Simple*, valiantly defended that Country against the *Normans*.

Louis

LOUIS III. AND CARLOMAN, King XXVII.

At the Age of Adolescence.

POPES,

JOHN VIII. 3 Tears and half in this Reign. ADRIAN III. Elected in January 884. S. One Year, 3. Months, whereof Six Months in this Reign.

MARTIN, Elected in January 883. S. one Year, and 20 days.

LOUIS III. And Carloman, his Brother, Kings of West-France, Burgundy and Aquitain.

CARLOMAN King of Bavaria.

Louis the Young, King of Germany or East-France.

Charles the Fatt, of Germany, properly so called.

Lorraine to both.

879.

TO the very end of this Race we shall find nothing but factions, the Kings being but their May-games, and even their Creatures. *Thierry* and the rest to whom the *Stammerer* had recommended his Son, sent to the other Lords to meet at the general Assembly at *Meaux*: And they reconciled the quarrels between *Thierry* and *Boson*. *Gauzelin* one of the Princes or great Lords of *Neustria*, Abbot of *St. German des Prez*, forgot not the injuries he had received by the preceding Government, and having made his Party with some Bishops and Lords, proposed that to heal the distempers of *France*, they ought to bring it all under one head, and for that purpose call in *Louis of Germany* (with whom he had contrived and held intelligence, as having formerly been taken Prisoner by him at the Battel of *Andernac*) promising to bring him in and make the *French* accept and own his Title to the prejudice of the Bastard Sons of *Louis the Stammerer*; For thus he called them.

The

Louis III. And Carloman, King XXVII. 151

The greatest Friends to these two Princes could no other way divert this Storm, but by yielding up to the *German* King that part of *Lorraine* which the *Bald* and the *Stammerer* had possessed. And ever since, that Kingdom, though disputed and divers times relumed by the Kings of West-France, yet remained at last with the *Germans* or Kings of East-France.

Louis would not have been satisfied with less than the whole Monarchy, had not his affairs pressed him to return home in haste; For being informed at *Mets* of the sickness of *Carloman* his eldest Brother who was Seized with the Palfie, he posted to *Bavaria* to prevent him from giving the Kingdom to *Arnold* his Bastard Son. Now *Carloman* died soon after, and was interred at *Oettingen* in *Bavaria* in *St. Maximilian's* Monastery founded by him. He had no Legitimate Children, but two natural ones, *Arnold* to whom he could leave only the Dutchy of *Carinthia*, *King Louis* having even in his life time received the Oaths of his Subjects; and *Gisela*, who An. 890. married *Zuendipold* King of *Moravia*, whom for that reason some have called *Carloman's* Son.

880.

Louis III. and Carloman as before said.

Louis and Charles the Fatt as above said.

In the mean while *Gauzelin* and *Conrad* fearing to be oppressed by the other *Neustrian* Lords, applied themselves to *Lewigarde* the wife of *Lewis of Germany*, a very ambitious Princess who solicited her Husband so earnestly, that she overpersuaded him to return once more into *France* with much greater strength than he at first carried.

880.

Upon the rumour of this second Irruption, the Lords caused not only *Louis* eldest Son of the *Stammerer*, but also *Carloman* his Brother to be both Crowned in the Abbey of *Ferrières* in *Castinois*.

880.

Some while after these two Brothers being at *Auxois*, divided their Fathers Kingdom betwixt them; *Lewis* had *Neustria*, and *Carloman* the Kingdoms of *Aquitain* and *Burgundy*.

880.

At their first accession they meet with the displeasure of seeing two Kingdoms, belonging to their Father dismembered from the Succession, which were *Lorraine*, as we have observed, and *Burgundy*. As for this last it was lopp'd off by *Boson*. That Lord had been in such high favour with *Charles the Bald*, that he had given him *Provence*, if not in Sovereignty, at least to perpetuity, and his Niece *Hermengarde* to Wife. Having these advantages he was encouraged by that ambitious Princess to make himself King; So that having gained the Lords and Prelats of those Countries he was Crowned King of *Burgundy* in the Royal Castle of *Mantale* in *Dauphine* by the hands of the Arch-Bishop of *Lyons*.

This attempt went near the hearts of the two Brother Kings: but besides him they had two Enemies more to deal withal, their Cousin *Louis* and the *Normans*. They gained a Battel against the last night the River of *Vienne* the first day of *November*. After which leaving their victory imperfect, they turned head against *Louis*, who by the instigation of the Abbot *Gauzelin* was advanced even to their Frontiers. Having intelligence they were coming towards him, he durst not march forward, but demanded to parley with them at *Gondorville* where they saw each other.

In his retreat he defeated in *Hanaule* a crew of eight or ten thousand *Normans*, but lost his Bastard Son in that Bufile. Those Pyrats had burnt *Saint Omers*, *Téroenne*, *Arras*, *Tournay*, *Saint Riquier*, *Saint Valery*, and all the Countries of *Hainault*, *Flanders* and *Boulonois*. Four Burghers of *Tournay*, who fled to *Noyon*, rebuilt the City, and let houses at easy Rents. *Arras* was deserted thirty years, the Inhabitants having forsaken it for *Beauvais*.

The four Kings to compose their content, had assigned a general Assembly at * *Gondoul* a Town near *Mets*. *Louis of Germany* sent to excuse himself because he was fallen into a fit of sickness: but *Charles* his Brother came there and conferr'd with *Louis* and *Carloman* touching their common interest and affairs. They found it necessary to enter into a league together for the destruction of their Enemies. *Louis the Germanick*, with *Louis* and *Carloman* against *Hugh* the Son of *Valdrade*, who sacked all the open Countries of *Lorraine*: And *Charles the Fatt* to with his two Brothers to pull down *Boson's* pride.

881.

As for the first, the Forces of *Louis* the *German* and the two Brothers having encountered

encountred the Army belonging to *Hugh*, commanded by *Tybaute* his Brother in Law, they put it to the rout and made a great laughter.

Then *Charles the Fatt* and his two Brothers marching joyntly against *Boson*, defeated him in Battel, and afterwards besieged *Vienne*, where that Rebel had left his wife, retreating himself to the Mountains. We shall not find this Siege at an end till about two years hence.

Charles was comethither upon the request of his Cousins, and had left the affairs of *Italy*, whither had he made one Voyage already, and in some Months time had secured to himself all *Lombardy*, whereot he was Crowned King by the Arch-Bishop of *Milan*. And being impatient to return again, he took leave of them, and having repassed the Mountains, went directly to *Rome*; accompanied by the Patriarch of *Aquila*.

At this time the Pope, who hesitated on whom he should bestow the Imperial Crown, could not deny a Prince so powerfully Armed, and therefore set it on his Head upon *Christmas* Day, in the year 881.

In the mean while a Fleet of *Normans* entering by the *Vaal* or *Waal*, fortified themselves at leisure in the Palace of *Nimeghen*. So that *Louis* not being able to force them, only obliged them to quit the Kingdom. They went away indeed with all their men, but took all their Plunder with them likewise.

Another very strong Fleet going up the *Somme*, forced the rich Abbey of *Corbie* and the City of *Amiens*, then spread themselves at large over the neighbouring Countries. The mischief was very great: therefore *Louis* leaving his Brother *Carloman* at the siege of *Vienne*, hastned into *Picardy*, fell upon the *Normans* near *Amiens*, and laid ninthousand of them dead on the place. Nevertheless whether it were that he expected some other greater Body of them was marching towards him, or was Seized with a Panique fear, he returned home, and the remainder of those *Barbarians* fell a plundering as before.

A third Body of them came to the place called *Hasslon* nigh the *Meuse*, and having fortified themselves there, set the City of *Liege* on Fire, and likewise burned *Tongres*, which had otherwise been ruined by the *Vandals*, then set fire to *Colen*, *Benne*, *Nuis*, the Palace of *Aix la Chapelle*, and *Triers*, and *Miss*; and having gained a victory over the Bishops of those two Cities where the Bishop of *Metz* was slain, made a horrible slaughter amongst the poor Peasants who were in Arms for them.

Whilst *Louis* the German was getting his Forces together to oppose them, he died at *Francfort* the 20th of January in the strength of his Age, having Reigned but six years. His Corps was conveyed to *St. Nazaire* the Abbey-Church of *Lorestein*, where his Fathers lay.

He was the only Brother of three that married: his wife was called *Luidgarde*, daughter of *Ludolf* Duke of *Saxony*, and Sister to *Otho* Father of *Henry I.* *Oiseleur*, or *Bird-catcher*. He had but one Son, who in *An.* 880. playing in a Window, fell down and bruised himself so that he died.

Charles the Fatt Emperour,
King of *Italy*, *Germany* or
East-France, *Barvaria* and
Lorraine.

Louis and *Carloman*
of *East-France*, *Aquitain*
and part of *Burgundy*.

The Succession of the German Kingdom and likewise the necessity of affairs called *Charles the Fatt* into *France*, where the *Normans* posted at *Hasslon* plaid the Devils, assisting and being reciprocally assisted by *Hugh* the Bastard of *Valdrade*: who invited and animated those *Barbarians*, and kindled factions amongst the Lords, to revenge himself at least, if he could not settle himself.

Charles therefore comes over the Mountains, confirmed the donation of *Carinthia* to *Arnold* his Bastard Nephew, and gave him the command of his Army, and after he had held a Parliament at *Wormes*, *Arnold* having joyined him, he marched towards *Hasslon*.

His Van-guard at first made the *Normans* retreat; And had it not been for the intelligence and correspondence between some of his Chief Officers (in favour without doubt of *Hugh*) and those *Barbarians*, he might have forced them upon this first disorder:

disorder. The Emperour afterwards blocked them up with his whole Army: But a most dreadful Tempest and furious Plague infesting his Army, were once more favourable to them: So that after ten days Siege, they were quit upon condition to leave the Kingdom, whence they carried infinite riches.

They had two Kings or Generals, *Sigefroy* and *Godfrey*. The first Embarked with above 40000 men. The other, whether for Interest or Devotion, received Holy Baptism, and had the Emperour for his God-Father, who gave him a natural Daughter of King *Lothaire II.* in Marriage, named *Gisla*, and two thousand and fourscore Livers in Gold, with the Duchy of *Frisia*.

About the same time *Louis* King of *West-France*, going to meet some Breton Princes, who were bringing him an Army to march against the *Normans*, fell sick at *Tours*, whence being brought back in a Litter, he died at *Saint Denis* in *France*, the 1st of *August*, having Reigned somewhat more than three years. *Paul Emilius* says that spurring his Horse to run after a pretty Maiden that fled from him into a House, he broke his back riding in at the door which was too low, and thereof died.

Carolus *Craesus*,
or
Charles the Fatt,
Emperour & King
of *Germany*.

Carloman King
of *West-France*,
Aquitaine and
Burgundy.

His Brother *Carloman* immediately went from the Siege of *Vienne*, leaving the prosecution thereof to Earl *Richard*, to secure his Succession and head that Army, which was marching against the *Normans*. Upon his arrival at *Autun* he had information that those Robbers being afraid were fled out of the River *Loire*, and a few days after, he sees *Richard* come to him, who having taken *Vienne*, brought thither both the wife and daughter of *Boson* Prisoners.

From thence he marches against another Body of *Normans*, who having gotten in by the Mouth of the *Somme*, ran up as far as *Laon* and *Reims*: he charged them vigorously, and one part of them were defeated, the rest made their escape in their Barks by the River *Aisne*.

At this time the grand *Hincmar* Arch-Bishop of *Reims* worn out with age, and pierced with grief to see his Country thus Plundered and wasted, himself being forced to fly from his City, threatened by those *Barbarians*, as they were conveying him in his Litter, he died at *Elpernay*, leaving the *Gallican* Church almost quite destitute of any Prelate, that understood her Rights or took care of her discipline.

After the example of the Emperour *Charles the Fatt*, *Carloman* his Cousin treated with the *Normans* to go out of his Countries, compounding with them for twelve thousand Marks of Silver to do so.

Shortly after being a-hunting in the Forrest of *Uxelle* near *Montfort* a days journey from *Paris*, he was mortally wounded by a wild Boar, or as others say, by a Gentleman of his Train, who thought to dart the Boar. He lieth buried at *Saint Denis*. In all he Reigned five years, that is, three joyntly with his Brother, and two alone.

His Father had contracted him to *Boson's* daughter *An.* 878. But it is most likely he never did marry her: Nor do we find that he had any Children. For that *Louis le Faincant*, or *Do-nothing*, which some would bestow upon him, is a pure Chimera.

As soon as the *Normans* had the news that he was dead, they entered upon the Kingdom again, subtly interpreting, according to their Genius, and their own interest, that the Treaty expired with his life. *Hugh* the Abbot fought them, and made so terrible a slaughter, that they left *France* in quiet for some time.

CHARLES III.

Surnamed

Crassus, or, The Fatt.

King XXVIII.

Aged about L. Years.

POPES.

ADRIAN III. Nine Months under this Reign.

STEPHEN IV. Elect. in May

885. S. five Years, and some Months, whereof 2 Years. 8 Months under this Reign.

Charles the Fatt
Emperor in Italy,
and Germany.

Charles the Simple
aged 7 years, a Minor
under the Tutelage of Hugues
the Abbot, in France.

884. I need not be thought strange if the Western-French standing in need of a King in his Majority to command their Armies, did not confer the Crown upon Charles the Posthumous Son of Lewis the Stammerer, who was but seven years of Age, but gave their Oaths of Fidelity to Charles the Fatt, who was very potent, and was not as yet observed to be weak Spirited and inclining to be distracted.

884. How-ever it cannot be said that they excluded the Pupil, since they entrusted the Abbot Hugh the Great with his Guardianship and Education; who held in Fief, the Earldom of Paris and the Duchy of France, that is to say, all that lies within the Seine, the Loire and the Sea, excepting only the Bishopricks.

885. Valdrade's Bastard had not quitted his pretention to Lorraine: And Godfrey the Norman Duke of Frisia, his Brother in Law, were creating some quarrel that they might have an opportunity to restore him to the possession of that Kingdom. The Emperor Charles ridd himself both of the one and the other, but by unhand-some means, according to the contrivance of Henry Duke of Saxony. For this Henry and Gwillbert, or Gilbert, Arch-Bishop of Colon, had drawn Godfrey to a Conference at an Island in the Rhine, there massacred him, and all the Normans that attended: And at the same time Hugh, who came upon his promise of Faith and security to Joinville, was Seized and his Eyes put out, then confined to the Abbey of St. Gal.

The

Charles III. surnamed the Fatt, King XXVIII.

155

The fury of the Normans which began to be allayed, burst out again upon this bloody Treachery, and made most horrible work under the conduct of Siegfroy. They entered the River Seine with 700 Barks, and so great a number of other Vessels that the stream was cover'd with them for above two Leagues in length: the City of Paris seated on an Island, and having Bridges on either branch of the River, put a stop to this formidable Fleet. The Barbarians who would needs have the passage through this River free, held it besieged three years.

886.

During all that time they tried their utmost endeavours to accomplish their ends. But the Bishop named Goflin, the Abbot Ebon his Nephew, the Earl Eudes, whom we shall hereafter find to be King, with a great many valiant Knights and the Parisians, whose courage was then greater than their City, defended it better then it was attacked.

886, 87, and 88.

The besiegers did from time to time make attempts, and assaulted the Towers of the two Gates, from whence being repulsed would make incursions upon the adjacent Provinces, still keeping the City block'd up with Forts which they had built very nigh the place.

Twice did the Emperor Charles send thither Henry Duke of Saxony upon the earnest intreaties of the French, who deputed Count Eudes to go and implore assistance from him. The first time he forced the Danish Camp, and put some relief into the City, which done he returned: but the second riding headlong imprudently into a ditch cover'd with straw and some small branches (a Stratagem often used in those times) he fell into the snare, and was instantly slain and stripp'd. His Army finding themselves a Body without a Head returned into Germany.

At last the Emperor came in person with numerous Forces, and encamped at Montmarre. Yet through some discontent which hapned between him and the French Lords, or some other cause, he chose rather to make use of Gold then Steel to drive out those Robbers, and came to composition with them: importing that for seven hundred pounds weight of Silver, they should go out of France in the Month of March, that in the mean while they might winter about Sens in the Duchy of Burgundy, where those troublesome Guests staid six Months. And this concluded he returned much troubled with a grievous Head-ach, for which they were fain to make divers Incisions.

887.

When they were assured of the State of his indisposition and affairs, they came and planted themselves again in the Fields of St. Germans, pretending however to keep their agreement; but indeed to surprize the City, as they thought to have done one day about dinner time (for it was the custom then for all the Inhabitants to dine at the same hour) if they had not been observed to come up slowly in their Boats, which they had made proof against their darts, and very well mann'd.

West-France was without any Head, and all the Lords of almost equal Authority, unless it were somewhat they shewed of more then ordinary respect to Hugh who was Tutor to Charles the Simple; but this eminent Lord died in the great disturbance and trouble of the Kingdom, An. 887.

Count Eudes, as I believe, succeeded him in the most part of his Governments, more for his virtue, then because he was his own Brother by the Mother. For the Genealogists assure us that their Mother was Adeleis Daughter of Louis the Debonnaire, who had been first married to Count Conrad, by whom she had this Hugh the Abbot and another Conrad Father to Rodolph Duke of Burgundy, and in her second Marriage to Robert the Strong, he had Eudes and Robert.

887.

Charles the Fatt had ever had a weak Brain, since he fancied he saw the Devil, which grew weaker after they made Incisions in his Head. He became suspicious of his Empress, which gave confidence to Berenger Marquis of Friuli to plunder the equipage belonging to Luigard Bishop of Persil accused of Governing that Princess at his pleasure. Nevertheless Charles shewing some resentment the Marquis came and made him satisfaction at the Parliament of Oberlinghen. But yet that very same year, he put her away in the open Assembly, swearing that he had never touched her, though they had lived ten years together. She was named Richarde.

887.

His frenzie appearing more notorious in the general Assembly at Tribur, all his Subjects both of the Kingdoms of Germany and Bavaria, forsook him even by the Brothers advice of his own Sister Hildegard, to Elect and own in his stead Arnold his Bastard

Bastard Son: And when he thought to Arm himself against him, he was likewise forsaken by the *Lorrainers*, then by the *Almans* or *Suabes*, his ancient Subjects. In so much, that he had not a man left to serve him, nor a single penny to help himself. There was none took any pity, or gave him Food but *Luizperd* Bishop of *Mentz*, till *Arnold* (to whom he sent a natural Son of his to beg Bread) allowed him the revenue of two or three Villages for his Subsistence.

Thus was this Prince, who in those days had been the most potent of the whole world, having no apparent Vice, but on the contrary was very good, very just, and Devout to excess, reduced to this extremity because he had not strength of judgment, and wanted lawful Children, two things very necessary for a Sovereign.

This deplorable condition lasted perhaps a shorter time than he would yet have had it: He died a little while after, either with grief or strangled by his Enemies the 8th of January An. 888. His Corps was buried in the Monastery of *Richenoué*, situate on an Island in the Lake of *Constance*.

Of all the *Carlovinian* Race there was but two Princes left, *Arnold* and *Charles*, one a Bastard, the other but a Child. According to the humour of the *French* in those days, all should have been governed by *Arnold*: But there were so many of the Nobility equally Powerful and Ambitious, who thought themselves as worthy as a Bastard, being of the *Carlovinian* blood by their Mothers-side, that he could get no Authority amongst them neither in *West-France*, nor in *Italy*.

There were two others in *Italy*, that is *Berenger* Duke of *Friuli*, and *Guy de Spalitta*, Lands wherewith *Charles* the Bald had invested them. Each of these descended of the Blood Royal, though only by the Female side, who believed that for want of Males, capable to Govern, they ought to take their shares of the Succession of *Charlemaine*. They therefore agreed together, that *Guy* should have the Title of Emperor and *Gallic France*, and *Berenger* should enjoy *Italy*. Now the first having spent time in getting himself to be Crowned Emperor at *Rome*, stayed a little too long ere he came into *France*, so that finding their humours changed he went back into *Italy*, where he overthrew *Berenger* in two bloody Battles and forced him to take Sanctuary with *Arnold*.

Arnold likewise not making that diligence he ought, and besides the *Neustrians*, or *Westerns* not agreeing well with the *Eastern* or *Germans*: was much amazed that the Lords of *Neustria*, which henceforward we shall name simply *France*, sent word to him when he was coming, that in the Assembly at *Compiègne* they had elected *Eudes* Earl of *Paris* and Duke of *France*.

And indeed, though some made a noise in favour of *Charles* the Simple, yet he was Crowned by *Gautier* Arch-Bishop of *Sens*.

On the other hand *Rodolph* the Son of *Conrad*, and Nephew of *Hugh* the Abbot, occupied the Lands between the *Mount-Jon* and the *Alpes Penines*, that is, *Savoy* and the *Swiss*-Country, and was Crowned King of *Burgundy*, *Trans-jurane*, or beyond the *Jour*, at *St Maurice's* in *Valais*.

As likewise *Louis* the Son of *Bojon*, whose Father the Usurper of the Kingdom of *Burgundy Cif-jurane*, having been drove from thence by the Kings *Louis* and *Carloman*, retired on the Country which lies between *Lyons* and the Sea, betwixt the *Rhône* and the *Alpes*, under the Title of King of *Arles* or *Provence*, and caused that Kingdom to be confirmed to him by a Council held purposely at *Valence* An. 890. He claimed and founded it upon this, that he was the Son of a Daughter of the Royal blood, and that *Charles* the Fatt, had Adopted him, in the Assembly of *Charlvington*. You may observe that all those Princes that thus dismembered the Monarchy, were sprung from the Daughters of the blood Royal, and believed themselves fitter and more capable to Succeed than *Arnold* or *Charles* the Simple, whom they looked upon as both of them Bastards,

Eudes,

E U D E S,

King XXIX.

Aged xxvi. Years.

Arnold Em- perour and King of Ger- many.	Eudes King of West- France & Aquitain.	Louis of the Kingdom of Arles.	Rodolph of Burgundy Trans- jurane.	Guy Emperour, and Berenger dispu- ting for Italy, betwixt them.
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Thus the Succession of the *Carlovinian* House was divided into five Dominions (without counting the Lords who set up almost for Sovereigns) 1. *Italy* which was joyned with the Title of the Empire. 2. *Germany*, which then also comprehended the Kingdom of *Bavaria*. 3. *France*, which had the Kingdoms of *Neustria*, *Aquitain*, and part of *Burgundy*. 4. *Burgundy Cif-jurane*, named ordinarily the Kingdom of *Arles* or *Provence*, under which were likewise the *Lyonnais* and *Dauphine*. 5. and *Burgundy Trans-jurane*, or beyond the *Jour*, as the other on the contrary.

We need not doubt but these new Kings gave part of the Quarry to the Lords of their Party, and consented to every thing to get only their Oaths and Homage; nor can we imagine but these Lords did the like towards their Vassals, and these again to the lesser Nobility. From hence arose so many Lordships both small and great, of which the Bishops themselves such as were of good Families and had but courage enough, did not forget to take their shares.

Now *Eudes* to show himself worthy the choice they had made of him, went out against the *Normans* who ravaged *Burgundy*. He set upon them on St. *John Baptists* Day, nigh *Mountsaucen*, slew nineteen thousand, and purified the remainder to the very Frontiers, shewing himself personally brave on all occasions.

Another party of them who were in *Champagne*, defended by the *Marne* as far as *Paris*, and there loading the Barks upon *Waggons*, carried and put them into the River again below the City, then falling down to the Sea and so running along the Coasts plund'ered the Country of *Conflantine*.

Alain and *Judicel*, who were contending for their shares in *Bretagne*, agreed together to fight the *Normans* their common Enemy. *Judicel* alone rally presents them Battle, and so doing lost both his Life and honour: But *Alain* having gotten all his Forces together, fought them so fortunately that of fifteen thousand hardly did four hundred escape. The *Bretons* attribute this success to a vow he made to bestow the Tythe of the Spoil he should gain upon St. *Peter's* at *Rome*.

Such Devotion towards the Holy-Chair was very ordinary in those Ages. Divers Princes devoted their Estates, and became Tributaries to St. *Peter*. Which did not a little contribute to imprint that persuasion the Popes then had in their minds, that they had a right both to give and to take away Crowns.

After these losses the *Normans* having but few men left in *France*, two of their Chiefs*, *Godfrey* and *Sigefroy* went and shipped a new levy of a hundred thousand men, and

land men raised in *Denmark, Sweden and Norway*, that their reputation might not be wholly blatted. They entered the *Meuse* with fourcore and ten thousand, leaving the remainder to guard their Vessels. King *Arnold's* Lieutenants assailing them indirectly, were defeated with the loss of an infinite number of the Nobility.

890. But *Arnold* himself, piequed at so bloody an affront, passes the *Rhine* with the whole Force of *Germany*, seeks them in their very Camp which was close by the *Meuse*, and forced them with so much fury that he left not so much as one of them alive. The dead Bodies made a Bridge quite cross the River, and the Flood was swoln with the Blood of those *Barbarians*.

If any wonder whence there could come such vast numbers, we must know, First, that all the rascally and pifering French, and the kke of other *Countries* joined with them: That besides those *Countries* were then extremely populous: and all those Inhabitants greedy of Plunder lifted and embarked themselves to come and rob such rich and fertile Nations. In fine, there came so many, who were either destroyed, or else Inhabited in France, that those Large Territories of the North are unpeopled to this very day. Thus in these last Ages, Spain which once swarmed with men, has made her self become a Desert, through the covetous humour in her Subjects, who all transport themselves into that new World where are the Mines of Gold and Silver they so long for.

891. All the *Neustrian* Lords did not own *Eudes* for their King. *Aymar* Earl of *Poitiers*, whom he would have dispossessed of his Estate to give it to his Brother *Robert*, *Ranise* II. Duke of *Aquitain* and some others in those parts, had taken up Arms against him.

892. Now whilst he was employed in the War, a confederacy was contrived between * *Herbert* and *Pepin* Brothers sprung from *Bernard* King of *Italy*, the one Earl of *Ferrandois*, the other of *Senlis*, and *Baudouin*, or *Baldwin*, Earl of *Flanders*, *Fulk* Arch-Bishop of *Reims*, and many others, who having been to fetch *Charles* the Simple out of *England*, whither his Mother had carried him, caused him to be Crowned at *Rheims* the 27th of January in the year 893. It was by the assistance of *Fulk*, that he immediately wrote *Apologetical* Letters to *Arnold*, *Guy* and *Rodolph*, exhorting them to help the Pupil against the Usurper. Which at first made some impression upon *Arnold*, in favour of *Charles*; but soon after, either in tereit or inconstancy, turned him on *Eudes* side.

Some have said that that *Guy* of *Spoleta* whom we have mentioned, had likewise been Crowned at *Langres* three years before. So that there were three Kings chosen and Crowned in *West-France*: But *Guy* had absolutely quitted it for *Italy*, and seemed to pretend no more to it.

Charles,

CHARLES,

Called

The SIMPLE,

King XXX.

POPES,

STEPHEN VII. Near Three years.

THEODORE II. Eleit 901. S. 20 days.

JOHN IX. also Eleit in 901. S. 3. Years, 15 days.

BENNEDICT IV. Eleit 905. S. about 2. Years.

LEO V. Eleit in 907. S. 40 days, after which Christopher dethroned him, & S. 7 Months.

SERGIUS III. an. 908. having dethroned Christopher. S. about 3 years.

ANASTASIUS III. Eleit an. 910. S. 2 years, 2 Months.

JOHN X. Eleit in 912. S. 15 years, whereof 12 under this Reign.

Arnold King of *Germany*, *Bavaria*, and *Lorraine*.

Eudes and *Charles* Competitors for *West-France*.

Guy Emperour and King of *Italy*.

Rodolph in *Burgundy*, and *LOUIS* in *Arles*.

For two whole years the parties for *Charles* and *Eudes* made War with various success. *Eudes* being returned from *Guyenne* drove *Charles* out of *Neustria*, but shortly after he got in again by the assistance of the Lords of his party.

Eudes made him work enough, and had no less to do himself, being forced to guard himself as well from his own party, as from his Enemies. Count *Gautier*, Son of *Adelme* his paternal Uncle and Count of *Laon*, drew his Sword upon him in open Parliament; and had afterwards the confidence to take shelter in the City of *Laon*: but *Eudes* followed him so close, that not giving him time

893.

to put himself into a posture of defence, he took the Town, and caufed his Head to be cut off.

Arnold was sometimes on his fide, sometimes for his Rival.

892.
and 3.

The well meaning *French* tired with these difcords, during which the *Normans* took their opportunity to return, contrived I know not what kind of Truce, between the two Kings. It seems *Burgundy* and *Aquitain*, *Champagne* and *Picardy* were to belong to *Eudes*, all the rest was *Charles's*.

It troubled *Arnold* very much that contrary to the custom of *France*, such Princes who were of *Charlemain's* Blood but only by the Female fide, should difmember the best Portions of his Succellion. He goes down therefore into *Italy*, drives *Guy de Spoleta* out of all *Lombardy*, and forces him to retire to *Spoleta*. But he fastidied himself with that advantage only and went back into *Germany*. Now this *Guy* labouring to gather an Army about *Spoleta*, died of a bloody Flux, say some, though others make him to live a great while longer. However it were, *Arnold* gained nothing by his Death, for as he was at distance, the Lords conferred the Kingdom upon *Lambert* his Son, before *Beverger* his Competitor, who thought to restore his own Title, had time to take his measures. This *Lambert* was Crowned Emperor, and bare the Title as long as he lived.

Empp.
Leo and
Lambert.
895.
895.

In the mean time *Arnold* attacked *Rodolph* in *Burgundy* beyond the *Jour* or *Trans-jourane*, and put him to a great deal of trouble: however he could not force him quite out of those Mountains.

The year following he held a Council at the Palace of *Tribur*, which is betwixt *Ottentbin* and *Mems* on the other side of the *Rhine*, and after that a Parliament at *Wormes*, where King *Eudes* was present, and upon his return Plundered the Baggage belonging to the Ambassadors whom *Charles* the Simple was sending to *Arnold*.

In this Assembly *Arnold*, with the consent of the Lords, which he had very much ado to obtain, got *Zuendibold* his Bastard Son to be accepted for King of *Lorraine*. This young Prince embracing *Charles's* Party, besieged the City of *Laon*, then esteemed very important because of its advantageous situation upon a Hill: But when he found *Eudes* returned out of *Aquitain* with his Army, he raised the Siege and turned his back to him.

The *Normans* began again their Incursions on that unhappy Kingdom with fo much the more assurance and facility, as they found *Eudes* backward and careless to suppress them, who indeed was only able to do it, but left them to go on to revenge the inconstancy of the *French*, who having made him King, would not obey him as he expected and required.

This year *Rollo*, or *Rel* one of the most considerable Leaders of those Pyrats after he found he could do nothing in *England*, where he had tried to Land, being also advertised by a Dream or divine Vision, steered his course towards *France*, and puts in at the Mouth of the *Seine*. Perhaps he might be called in by *Charles*, who turned every Stone to ruin his Rival.

As for the Empire of *Italy*, *Arnold* being invited by Pope *Fornosus*, who would revenge himself for the outrages received from the *Romans*, forced the City of *Rome*, and having chastised them, was Crowned Emperor: But soon after as he was besieging the Widdow of *Guy* in the Castle of *Fermo*, one of his *Valets de chambre*, whom that subtil woman had corrupted, gave him a Drink which laid him asleep for three whole days, and brought him to be Paralytick for a while.

897.

There hapned this year a horrible scandal in the *Roman* Church, *Fornosus* Bishop of *Porto*, otherwise degraded and condemned by Pope *Nicholas*, was elected Pope after *Stephanus* VI. This was the first example in the Church, and of most pernicious consequence, as we find it now every day, that without any necessity a Bishop is transferred to another See, and as one may say, does quit and forsake his first wife, to marry another. But after his death, Pope *Stephen* VII. his Succellor, caused him to be taken out of his Grave, and having placed him in the Papal Chair dressed up in his Pontifical Ornaments, reproved and told him that thorough his ambition he had violated the orders of the Church, then condemned him as if he had been living, disrobed him of his Ornaments, cut off those three fingers with which he gave his Benediction, and caused him to be thrown into the River *Tiber* with a stone about his neck.

897.

898.

The enterprizes, surprisals and ren-counters, between *Charles* and *Eudes*, ended by the death of the latter, which hapned the 3d. of January An. 898. about the end of the 36th of his Age, and the 8th. of his Reign. At his death he very earnestly

earnestly desired and enjoyed his Brother *Robert* and the other Lords to own and acknowledge King *Charles*, whom he hoped they should find a Prince as much deserving for his Vertues, as his Birth to Rule over them. He left but one Son by his Queen *Theodrada*, named *Arnold*, who took the Title of King of *Aquitain*: But death soon snatched the Crown from him before he was married, or, as I believe, of Age enough to be so.

<i>Arnold</i>	<i>Charles</i>	<i>Zuendibold</i> — <i>Louis</i> in	<i>Rodolph</i> in	<i>Lambert</i>
Emperor	alone in	<i>Lorraine</i> .	<i>Provence</i> .	in <i>Italy</i> .
in <i>Germany</i> .	<i>France</i> .		<i>Burgundy</i> .	

The loss of the Kingdom of *Lorraine* did much displease the *French*; wherefore *Charles* to gain their esteem endeavoured to recover it. The rebellion of Duke *Reinier* who had been the Favourite of *Zuendibold*, and whom that Prince had driven out of his Country, did facilitate the means, he therefore passed the *Meuse*, with a great deal of company. *Zuendibold* betakes himself to flight, but soon after all his Lords coming to him, he pursues him in his turn; and there had been a Battle if the Lords on either Part had not procured a Truce between them.

898.

Soon after an Assembly was held in the Abbey of *Gorze* near *Metz*, which confirmed a Peace between *Charles*, *Arnold* and *Zuendibold*.

Towards the end of the year *Arnold* died, having Reigned twelve years since the Death of his Father *Charles* the Fair; And held the Empire only two years and a half.

899.

He had divers Children by three several women; amongst others *Zuendibold*, and *Arnold* the Bad, by two Concubines, and *Louis* by a lawful Wife. This last was but eight years old when his Father died.

<i>Charles</i>	<i>Zuendibold</i> — <i>Louis</i> in	* <i>Rodolph</i> II.	<i>Lambert</i> and
the Simple,	in <i>Lorraine</i> .	<i>Germany</i> .	<i>Berenger</i>
in <i>France</i> .		in <i>Burgundy</i>	in <i>Italy</i> .
		* <i>Louis</i> in	
		<i>Transjurane</i> .	
		<i>Provence</i> .	

The German Princes immediately Crowned *Louis*, and committed his person to the care and Guardian-ship of *Otho* Duke of *Saxony* who was married to his Sister, and Arch-Bishop *Haton*, as they did the conduct of his Army to *Lutpold* or *Leopold*, Duke of the Eastern Frontiers of *Bevaria*. From whom some make the House of *Bevaria* to be derived.

900.

The Dominions of *Louis* were soon enlarged by the death of *Zuendibold* who behaving himself with much irregularity and little justice, and making his chief exercise the divertissement with women, and taking counsel only of the lowest and meanest People, gave the Lords of *Lorraine* just cause to forsake him to submit themselves to *Louis*. Those that had the Government of this young Prince brought him purposely to *Thionville* where they put the Crown upon his Head: and *Zuendibold* endeavouring to revenge it, was slain in a Battle fought between them, the 3d. day of *August* in this year 900. He Reigned five years.

900.

<i>Charles</i> in	<i>Louis</i> in	<i>Rodolph</i> I.	<i>Louis</i> in	<i>Lambert</i> and
<i>Neustria</i> , or	<i>Germany</i> &	in <i>Burgundy</i> .	<i>Provence</i> .	<i>Berenger</i> in
<i>West-France</i> .	<i>Lorraine</i> .			<i>Italy</i> .

In the War which *Arnold* Earl of *Flanders* made against *Hebert* Earl of *Fernandois*, *Eudes* had favoured *Hebert*, and King *Charles* took part with *Arnold* to whom he was in some sort obliged for what he enjoy'd. Now *Eudes* being dead, *Hebert* who was subtil and insinuating, found means to make friends with *Charles*, and got into so much credit with him, that this simple and un-knowing King, took the City of *Arras* from *Baldwin*, and gave it to Count *Altmar*, that he might restore *Peronne* to *Hebert*.

Y

Baldwin

Baldwin or Baudouin coming to the King, to beseech him to let him have his Town again was denied with rough language. Now *Fulk* Arch-Bishop of Reims, great both by birth and merit, was then chief Counsellor to Charles, and holding the Abbey of *Saint Vast*, had excommunicated Baldwin, for invading the Lands thereof: Wherefore *Winnoc* Lord of the Island, Vassal to the Count, imputing the affront his Lord had received to the Counsel of this Arch-Bishop, way-laid him in a Wood and murdered him; for which being pursued and excommunicated by all the Bishops, made his escape into England, where he was eaten up with Lice.

It seems this was an Epidemical distemper in those days; For we find divers persons in History that died thereof, amongst others *Arnold* the Emperor the preceding year, and King *Rodolph* of whom we shall hereafter make mention.

The Hungarians began to make themselves known about the latter end of the Reign of Charles the Fatt. They then seated themselves in Pannonia, having chased out the Huns; and from thence became a Scourge to all the Provinces beyond the Rhine and the Danube, as the Normans were to all on this side. They were Originally a People of Scythia, British and Barbarous beyond all imagination. Their Mothers trained them in inhumanity from their Birth, gashing and mangling their Faces that they might have nothing of humane; and by swallowing down blood mixed with their own tears before they sucked their first Milk, they might grow Blood-thirsty, and pity-less to all mankind. They caroused in blood, and fed upon raw flesh, cut the hearts of those they took Prisoners in quarters, and swallowed the goblets reeking warm, had no faith, nor truth, nor honour, no wit but to defraud and contrive mischief, always a turbulent and furious courage either against an Enemy or against one another. The women were yet worse than the men. They had scarcely any other weapons besides Arrows, but were so dextrous in the use of them, that every one they shot did some execution, and every wound almost was Mortal. They were all Horsemen, very serviceable in flat and open Countries, who would notably harass an Army within their Bow-shot, but useless in Mountainous or Woody places, or for Sieges; Nor indeed would they ever adventure to come to handy-blows, but ever made a running Fight.

King *Arnold* had brought them in to fall upon the back of *Zuentibold* * a Sclavonian Prince, who would have usurped *Moravia* and make himself King. He being dead, they were not afraid to fall upon the Countries belonging to *Louis* his Son; And this year they gained a great victory against his Forces near the City of *Augsburgh*, and afterwards Plundered *Barbaria*, *Swaben*, *Franconia* and *Saxony*.

The year following having good information of the Civil War betwixt *Berenger* and *Louis* the Son of *Boson* they marched into Italy. The *Italians* *An. 899.* tired with the Government of *Berenger*, and above all with *Adebert* Marquiss of *Troee* Father of another *Berenger* who was likewise King of Italy, had called in *Louis*: But *Berenger* I. had made himself so strong with the assistance of *Adebert* Marquiss of *Troee*, that he hemm'd him in and forced him to a promise he would renounce the Kingdom, upon condition he would give him free liberty to march home again without farther lett or molestation.

The oaths of ambitious Princes are as frail and short liv'd as the vows and promises of Lovers: the same *Adelbert* who had supported *Berenger*'s cause, turning Coat, and soliciting *Louis* to return thither again, that un-advised Prince confides in Faithless men. But he had time to repent at leisure. For they delivered him up to *Berenger*, who deprived him both of his Empire and his sight. That done he forces the Pope (it was *John IX.*) to Crown him Emperor, but so soon as he was gone from *Rome*, the Pope sent for *Lambert*, who was then private in some corner of Italy, and Crowned him. Which was confirmed by a great Council held at *Ravenna*.

Berenger Governed 22 years, we might say happily enough, had it not been for the incursions of the *Bulgarians*. In the Month of *August* this same year, they again entered Italy with a numerous Army, and having ransack'd the Territory of *Aquila*, *Verona*, *Coma* and *Bergamo*, came at last towards *Pavia*, *Berenger* mean while had got his Forces together: When they saw his numbers three times more than they expected, they endeavoured to make a retreat; and when he followed and pursued them so close that they could not get off without fighting, they pro-

* You must mistake this Zuentibold, for the Son of Arnold.

901.

902.

Emp. Lo VI. and Lambert.

902.

ferd him all their Plunder and their own Baggage. The *Italians* would bear of nothing less than to have them all upon discretion. Necessity converted their fear into fury and despair; the *Hungarians* now attacke their pursuers, and cut their Army all in pieces. And *Lombardy* did afterwards become their prey: Nor did they attempt to drive them thence but with their money: a Bait so sweet that it allured them to return again often.

In the year 903, a Star appeared near the Pole-Attick, which darted from the North-North-East, towards the South-West, a long Train resembling a Lance, which passing between the Signs of the Lyon and the Twinns, crossed the Zodiac. It was seen for three and twenty days.

For seven or eight years together there was nothing so remarkable as the cruel incursions of the *Normans*. *An. 903.* *Heric* and *Haric* two of their Captains burnt the Castle of *Tours*, and *Saint Martin's* Church.

An. 905. *Rodolph* and *Gerlon* two other Commanders of the same Nation took the City of *Rouen* upon composition, and there settled their Habitation, fortifying the Castles that were near them.

From thence for five years space they made Incursions into all the neighbouring Provinces, conquered *Consetine*, and Inhabited it, sacked all *Picardy*, *Artois*, *Champaigne*, and the Country of *Messin*, often frighted *Paris*, covered the *Seine*, the *Marne* and the *Loire* with the Ashes of those Cities they consumed by Fire near those Streams, and beat the *French* every where; excepting at *Chartres* from whence they were repulsed by the protection of the Holy Virgin, and the courage of Bishop *Gosseumes*, and at *Tunnere*, where one of their Parties was defeated by *Richard Duke of Burgundy*.

The foregoing year *Lambert* was killed by treachery, as he was taking his pleasure in hunting, by *Hugo* Earl of *Milan*. The Western Empire remained vacant till the year 915. When *Berenger* was again Crowned by Pope *John X.*

We may here place the Birth of the Kingdom of *Arragon*, because about this time *Sancho Abacca I.* having extended his Kingdom of *Navarre*, or Territory of *Pampeluna*, towards *Huesca*, and conquered all the rest of the Province of *Arragon*, besides the Earldom of the same name which held already of him, took the Title of King of *Pampelune* and *Arragon*.

In *An. 911.* hapned the Death of two Kings, *Rodolph* of *Burgundy* beyond the *Rhone*, and *Louis* King of *Germany*. The first left *Rodolph* II. his Son for Successor. The second being only 19 or 20 years of age, had only two Daughters *Placidia* or *Plesance*, and *Matilda*, who for Husbonds had *Conrad Duke of Franconia*, and *Henry the Bird-Catcher Duke of Saxony* and Son of Duke *Otho*. The Lords of *Lewis*'s Kingdom intending to bestow the Crown upon this *Otho*, he excused himself upon the Score of his great Age, and generously advised them to Elect *Conrad* Duke of *Franconia*, though he had been his Enemy.

Charles the Simple	Conrad	Louis	Rodolph II.	Berenger
in France.	in Germany.	in Provence.	Trans-jurane.	Italy.

Rollo the great Captain did by little and little make himself familiar and friendly with *Franco* Arch-Bishop of *Rouen*. Upon his intreaties he had twice or thrice granted a Truce. The design of that virtuous Prelat was to convert him, *Rollo* was to attain the Sovereignty, and of the head of those Pirates become a Legal Prince. The *French* Lords had much ado to suffer such a Stranger to be settled thus in the best Country of the Kingdom: But the People so long and often tormented by their plundrings and continued disturbance, cried out to them to put a period to their miseries. Besides *Robert* Earl of *Paris*, who aspired to the Monarchy, desired he might remain in that Station, to have his assistance in time of need. For these reasons, Charles made a Truce with him, during which he proposed to him, to give him in propriety, and with the Title of a Dutchy, that part of *Neustria* between the Sea, the River of *Seine* and the *Epte* which falls in-

911.

Emp. Lo VI. and Lambert.

902.

to the Seine; with his Daughter *Gisla* in marriage, if he would be converted and embrace Christianity.

Upon these conditions *Rollo* was Catechized, and received holy Baptism upon Easter-Eve An. 912. Earl *Robert* was his God-Father and named him. After this he went and did homage to the King for the Lands he gave him, and then wedded the Princess his Daughter, but she lived only a short time with him, and brought him no Children.

Thus this Province which the *Romans* called *Lugdunensis Secunda*, was dismembered from the propriety of the Kings of France; But not from their Sovereignty: and according to the name of it's new Inhabitants took that of *Normandy*.

As this was granted to them, because they knew not how to drive them out, so for the same reason they were released of the Homage and dependance of *Bretagne*, because they were indeed Masters of it, and pillag'd it when ever they pleased: And withal by this means it was reduced to the Sovereignty of the Crown, by subjecting it under a Duke that held it of the King.

913. The year following *Rollo* failed not to demand Homage of the *Bretons* with his Sword in hand. Duke *Alain** *Rebre* or the Great had been dead six years and left his Children very young. Those that govern'd them, rather than let them degenerate from their Sovereignty, carried them out of the Country with some of the greatest Nobility. And since that we find no mention of them in History*.

* Perhaps some Genealogist may find them out again, for his advantage.

Count *Porbouchet*, named *Mabuch*, who had married a Daughter of *Alain's* the Grand, went into England with his Wife. *Berenger* Earl of *Renne* and *Alain* de *Dol* having defended themselves the best they could, were at last constrained to bow the Knee before the *Normans* and shake hands with them.

There were besides in divers other parts of France, especially in *Bretagne*, *Anjou* and the Country of *Maine*, and the Islands in the River *Loire* numbers of these people; but in time, following the example of *Rollo*, they took Habitations, and Naturalized themselves *French*, but not without first doing a vast deal of mischief; and for a long while after, the settlement of these drew in fresh swarms from *Denmark* and *Sweden*, who were no less ravenous and cruel, though not so formidable as the first.

913. All the Grantees of Germany were not satisfied with the Election of *Conrad*. and 14. *Arnold* Duke of *Bavaria* Proud for having vanquished the *Hungarians* in his Dutchy, rose up against him with design to make himself King: and not being able to compass it, pretended to stickle that *Charles* might have it.

915. That King had it ever in his thoughts to seize again upon the Kingdom of *Lorraine*. Now meeting this fit juncture, and the assistance of *Reiner* Count of *Ardenne*, who was very potent in those Countries, he enters into *Lorraine* and makes himself Master of part of that Kingdom, whereof he made him Governor with the Quality of a Duke.

916. Duke *Rollo* had repudiated *Pope* Daughter of the Earl of *Bayeux* to marry the Daughter of *Charles the Bald*; that Princess being dead, he takes his former wife again, by whom he had two Children *William* and *Gerlote* or *Gerloc*.

916. Henry Duke of *Saxony* rebels against *Conrad*, gains a Battle over *Everard* his Lieutenant, and gives chafe to *Conrad* himself; whilst on the other side, the *Hungarians* over-run even to *Alsace*, burning the City of *Basle*, and can have no stop put to them but by Sums of Money, which *Conrad* is forced to give them.

917. An. 917. Died *Rollo* first Duke of *Normandy*, for ever renowned for that severe justice and exact policy he established within his Dominions; Where the very mention of his name is able to this day to stop the Progress of Villains, and bring those that are such before the judgement Seat. Some put off his death to the year 924. his Son *William*, afterwards surnamed *Long-Sword*, Succeeded him; And because he was but yet a Minor, *Robert* Earl of *Paris*, God-Father to his Father, undertook his Tuition.

919. The following year hapned the Death of *Baldwin* the Bald Earl of *Flanders*. His Eldest Son, *Arnold* the Fat Inherited his Earldom; *Adolph* the Second Son, the Cities of *Tervuennie*, *Boulogne* and *Saint Omers*, but some few years after he died without Children.

Fulk le Roux Earl of *Anjou*, Son of *Ingelger*, quickly followed *Baldwin*, *Fulk* the Good his Son Succeeded him.

Conrad

Conrad King of Germany went off likewise the same year by a Wound he received in the *Bavarian* War. Dying he commanded with a more than Royal generosity, *Everard* his Brother, to carry the Regal Ornaments to *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*, though he had always made war against him. Thus he returned the kindness that *Otto* his Father had shewed in giving him the Crown, and laid down all thoughts of revenge to promote the happiness and safety of his Country which stood in need of a Prince able to defend it against the Incursions of the *Hungarians*. This *Henry* was called the *Bird-Catcher*, because he was found catching of Birds, when they brought him the news of his Election.

918.

Charles the Simple in France.	Henry the Bird Catcher in Germany.	Rodolph II. in Burgundy Transjurane.	LOUIS in Provence.	Berenger in Italy.
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Before *Henry* was well settled, *Charles* falls into *Lorraine*, conquer'd it all as far as *Wormes*, and compels him to become his Subject for the remainder of that Kingdom.

But the *French* Lords, who apprehended that if *Charles* grew too potent and too peaceable, he might take away their Estates which they intended to make Hereditary, stirred up new troubles. Amongst others in *Lorraine* *Gisilbert* and *Otho* Son of Duke *Regnier*, the first of these had wedded a Daughter of King *Henry's*, and in France *Robert* Brother of King *Endes* who held Intelligence with the Son of *Regnier*.

These Male-contents being joyned with divers others, during the time the two Kings *Henry* and *Charles* were thruffing each other out of *Lorraine*, did in the end make their Cabal so strong that all *Charles's* Subjects abandoned him, as had done otherwise those of *Charles the Fat*. The pretence for this general revolt was, that he had a Favorite by name *Aganon*, who disposed of every thing, wasted the Royal Treasure, and treated the Grantees of the Kingdom insolently.

921. However *Herve* Arch-Bishop of *Rheims* getting him into his house, found a means to make up the Breach between him and his Subjects, so that they restored his Crown to him, but not his Authority.

922. For a new broil being started up, because *Charles* refused the Abbey of *Chelles* to *Hugh* called the *Blanc* Son of *Robert* who pretended to it, for that his Aunt and Mother in Law had enjoy'd it, to bestow it upon *Aganon* his Favourite: the troubles not only began again, but which was worse, *Robert* at the Instigation of *Gisilbert*, having gained a great Party amongst the *French* Lords, got to be Elected and Crowned King at *Rheims* by the Arch-Bishop *Herve* the 20th of June in the year 922.

Charles the Simple in France.	Robert his rival in France.	Henry the Bird-Catcher in Germany.	Rodolph II. in Burgundy Transjurane.	LOUIS in Provence.	Berenger in Emperor in Italy.
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922. Upon this news *Charles* raises his Siege from before the Castle of *Capremont*, where he held *Gisilbert* one of his greatest Enemies cooped up. This *Gisilbert* had once before been stripp'd of all his Estate by this King, and being restored again by *Henry* his Father in Law, had revolted this second time. Then *Charles*, who had had the advantage over *Henry*, changed condition, and became a suppliant to him. Both heard his rival *Aganon* to get him first; and by that means confirmed him in the possession of the Kingdom of *Lorraine*.

However these two competitors had each of them still some share. *Charles* having raised considerable Forces in that part which he held, came resolutely to find out *Robert* encamped with his men near *Soissons*, on this side of the River *Aisne*, and having passed over unawares, charged him furiously whilst his men were feeding and refreshing themselves. *Robert* fighting at the head of his Army, was slain with the stroke of a Lance, which honourable deed some Authors bestow upon *Charles*. Nevertheless *Hugh* his Son, Earl *Hebert* of *Vermendois* and the others Chief Officers of his Party, not only made head against *Charles*, but gained so upon him, that they had utterly defeated him, had they but followed their pursuit.

This

* Blanc, is white.

923.

This combat hapned the 15th of June, so that Robert Reigned not one whole year. He had married *Beatrice* daughter of *Hebert II.* Earl of *Vermandois*, by whom he had a Son *Hugh*, whom they surnamed the 'Blanc', the Grand, and the Abbot, and one Daughter *Emma* wedded to *Rodolph Duke of Burgundy*, Son of Duke *Richard* who died the year preceding.

The string or knot of *Roberts* Party was not broken thorough the loss of their Head, but held the firmer united because their danger appeared the greater. Therefore the Lords by the persuasions of *Hugh* his Son, who found himself not potent enough to be a King, but to make one, Elected *Rodolph Duke of Burgundy* his Brother in Law, a Noble-man of a brave presence, and a much better judgment, and Crowned him at *Saint Medard in Seiffons* the 13th Day of July.

The French Historians place this *Rodolph* and *Eudes* before mentioned in the rank of their Kings, and yet they do not put in *Robert* Brother of *Eudes*, for which there can be no reason assigned but the shortness of his Reign.

Rodolph,

RODOLPH,

King XXXI.

Charles — Rodolph Henry the Rodolph II. LOUIS Berenger,
the Simple his rival. Bird-catcher, in Burgundy in Emperor.
in West-France. in Germany. Trans-jurane. Provence.

After the Election of *Rodolph*, all the world forsook *Charles*: the *Norman* assistance which should have come to him, not being able to pass, because his enemies lay betwixt them, rendered him more odious. Having therefore no other refuge, he wrote in a doleful manner to *Henry King of Germany*, and gave him up *Lorraine*, upon condition he would help him against these Rebels. The reward was great, and the Act of restoring a King very glorious, *Henry* did therefore promise he would undertake it with all the power of *Germany*.

Robert's Party was greatly astonished at this News, they did not know how to ward so dangerous a blow, *Hebert Earl of Vermandois* draws them out of this difficulty. King *Charles* believed he had quite taken him off from their interest: But this Traitor, whose Sister *Robert* had married, having decoyed his King into the Castle of *Peronne*, whither he was so simple as to let them lead him, detained him Prisoner, and confined him to *Chasteau-Thierry*, where he was strongly guarded.

Queen *Ogiva* having heard of this detention of her Husband fled to *England* her own Country, and carried with her the only Son she had by him, named *Louis*, to wait a better opportunity out of the reach of those who could no way secure their Royalty but by his Death. *Seuse Arch-Bishop of Rheims*, having had some contest with the Kindred of *Hetto* his Predecessor, for having taken some *Fiefs* from them which they held of the Church, was joyined with *Hebert's* Party to gain their protection, and had made him a promise never to assent to any Election whatsoever but whom he pleased.

During the Reign of *Rodolph*, of *Leves Transmarine* and *Lotaire III.* there was almost a continual War betwixt the French and the Germans, for the Kingdom of *Lorraine*; We shall mention only the great events. It is certain that *Rodolph* reduced a great part thereof to his obedience.

They were fain this year 924. to make a Collection for the Normans, as *Charles the Bald* had done several times, partly by voluntary contribution, the rest by way of a Tax.

The Duke of *Aquitain*, *William I.* of that name the Son of *Ebles*, did not submit himself so much as he ought to *Rodolph*, he was obliged to turn his Sword that way. *William* knowing his resolution, advanced to the River of *Loire*, which made the bounds of his Duchy: where after some negotiations he passed the same, and alighting came to *Rodolph*, who embraced and kissed him fitting on Horse-back, and the next day granted him a Truce for eight: Which being expired the Duke did him Hommage, and in requital had the City of *Bourges* and *Berry* restored which *Rodolph* had taken from him.

The Italians grown weary of *Berenger*, bestowed the Sovereignty upon *Rodolph II.* King of *Burgundy Trans-jurane*. *Berenger* taking no other counsel but from revenge, was so unhappy as to make a league with the Hungarians, and drew them into Italy. Those Barbarians having sacked *Mantova*, *Brescia* and *Bergamo*, reduced the celebrated and rich City of *Pavia* Capital of the Kingdom of *Lombardy* to a heap

925.

924.

924.

a heap of alhes. Two hundred of the Citizens escaping the Fire and Captivity redeemed the Walls thereof from the hands of those destroyers for eight Buñels of Silver, which they had raked together out of the Alhes and Rubbish of its ruins.

924. This money being received the *Bulgarians* passed the Mountains, and penetrated even into *Languedoc*. The same *Rodolph*, and *Hugh* Count of *Vienne* followed them and pressed to close upon them, that those *Barbarians* partly cut off by the Sword, and the rest perishing by the Flux or Dysentery, and want of Food, enriched greatly those Countries with their Spoil which they came to plunder.

925. The year following *Berenger* struggling to regain the Kingdom of *Italy*, was slain by his own People at *Verona*. After his death the Title of Emperor in the West was not conferr'd upon any, at least by the Pope or *Italians*, till *Orto* I. An. 962.

By his death the Kingdom remained entirely *Rodolph's*: but the inconstancy of the *Italians*, who were ever hunting out one Lord and Master by another, made them resign themselves to *Hugh* Count of *Arles* the Son of *Brabe*, to rid themselves of *Rodolph*. Who being informed that they had Treacherously killed *Burchar* Duke of *Saxonia*, his father in Law, withdrew himself into his own Kingdom of *Burgundy*, not daring to attempt any thing amongst such wickedly disposed people.

Rodolph King of France. Henry of Germany. Hugh of Italy. Rodolph II. of Burgundy.

926. Every year almost the *Normans* made Incursions: Besides those that were in *Neustria*, there were others in *Burgundy*, and towards *Artois*; and at all times they were forced to be making head against them, or be in pursuit of them; but they had such sure friends amongst the *Grandeës*, who would not suffer the Kingdoms grievances to be scant'd, that they ever got away foot-free.

This year *Rodolph* King of *France*, having surrounded them in a Wood in the Country of *Artois*, they made a Furious Salley unawares, in which he was wounded, and had been taken without the timely assistance Count *Hebert* gave him. Those that held the Islands in the *Loire*, having been a long time besieged by *Hugh* and *Hebert*, defended themselves so stoutly that they gave them the City of *Nantes* for their habitation.

927. Notwithstanding the strict alliance which seemed to be between King *Rodolph* and *Hebert*, the City of *Leun*, became an occasion of discord between them. *Hebert* would have it for *Orto* his Son, and the King desired to keep it to himself. *Hebert* not able to get it by friendship, had thoughts of gaining it by force. He therefore draws *Charles* the Simple out of Prison, and carries him to parley with the *Normans*, who suffer'd his confinement with great impatience, because he had bestow'd upon them the richest Province of *France*. This menace having effected nothing, for as much as *Emma* the Wife of *Rodolph* was obstinately bent to preserve *Leun*, and had put her self in there, he conducts him to *Reims* as if desirous to reestablish him.

927. Then was the Queen forced to let go her hold, and surrender up the place to *Hebert*: who being by this means appeased, returned *Charles* to the Castle of *Peronne*, and made a new Oath to *Rodolph*.

928. In the year 928. *Hugh* King of *Italy* came into *France* (we do not find for what reason) King *Rodolph* went towards *Lyonnois* to receive him and conferr'd with him.

* A Trench or Moat. A crew of *Normans* gotten into *Boulensis* made a double Foss or Water-graft round about *Guiset*. Afterwards *Arnold* Earl of *Flanders* gave it in *Fief* to *Sigbert* Commander of their Fleet: who some time after stole away his daughter *Elrude*; but finding he came to besiege him, was in so much dread of his wrath that he hanged himself, and left that Woman great with child of a Son named *Adolph*, who was since Earl of *Guiset*.

929. Sometimes *Rodolph*, otherwise *Hebert* gave hopes of setting the unfortunate *Charles* the Simple at Liberty, and paid him all the respects due to a Sovereign. Yet only death took him out of their custody, putting a period to his Captivity and unhappiness in the City of *Peronne*, the 7th Day of October in the Year 929. He was Interred at *St. Fowff's* in the same City. His Reign if we reckon from his

Coronation

Coronation day to that of his imprisonment was 37 years, his life 50. He left but one Son named *Louis* by his Queen * *Ogina*, Daughter of *Edward* King of *Ogiva*. *England*.

Rodolph King of France. Henry of Germany. Hugh of Italy. Rodolph II. of Burgundy.

While King *Rodolph* was gone into *Aquitain*, he had news that the *Normans* of the Islands in the *Loire* had adventured to run as far as *Limousin*: He went and set upon them in the place called *Dextricio*, we cannot well tell where that was, and he hemm'd them in that not one of them returned. This seasonable victory gained him great esteem amongst the *Aquitains*, and induced them to acknowledge him with a little more submission.

930.

The Regal Authority was in an extreme low Ebbe and feeble condition, the Lords made War upon one another for their under Vassals, and such places as they usurped from each other, and often times attacked their Kings when they refused them certain Lands or Abby's.

930.

G. I.

Hebert could not agree with *Rodolph*, because he was his Sovereign, he held a correspondence with all his Enemies, and fought all means to weaken him. The pretence for this quarrel was that *Hugh* Brother in Law to the King had allured some of his Vassals from him, amongst others *Herlain* Earl of *Monfrueil*.

There was a rude War betwixt them for five years together, divers places taken, and much Country laid waste. *Hebert* made use of the assistance of the *Lorrainers* against him, and had given his Oath to Henry King of *Germany*. But *Rodolph* being helped by *Hugh* the Great, took the City of *Rheims* which *Hebert* enjoy'd, because he had caused them to Elect his Son Arch-Bishop, though a Minor deified *Benow* Bishop of *Chalons*, who had followed *Hebert*, and besieged him in *Laon* himself, which he gained upon composition.

931.

Hebert's Insolence being a little abated, *Rodolph* made a journey into *Aquitain* and *Languedoc*, where he received homage of *Raymond* and *Ermenegard* *Gothian* Princes (for so was named that part of *Languedoc*, nearest to the *Pyrenean* Hills) and of *Lois* *Azaur* Duke of *Castogoy*, whom, if we credit *Flodoard*, was mounted upon a Horse one hundred years old, and yet vigorous and lusty.

William Duke of *Normandy* did likewise pay him homage, and in retribution he gave him those Lands the *Bretons* held on the Sea-side; I believe those were the *Bessin* and the *Costentin*.

932.

In *Italy* King *Hugh* from the year 929. had obtained the Seignory of the City of *Rome*, by wedding the lustful *Merosa* Widdow of *Guy* Marquis of *Tuscany*, who then Governed the City and the Holy Chair: but he was soon driven thence by *Alberic* the Son of that Woman, to whom he had given a Box on the Ear, and retired into *Lombardy*. *Lambert* who Succeeded in the Marquisat of *Tuscany* to *Guy* his Brother, was likewise Brother by the Mothers-side to King *Hugh*, for he was Son to *Berte* his Mother, who in her widow-hood married the second time to *Adelbert* Father of *Guy* and *Lambert*. *Hugh* notwithstanding put him to death, and bestowed *Tuscany* upon *Boson* his Brother both by Father and mother, who proved as little faithful to him as *Lambert*.

931.

The People were soon distast'd with his Government, and recalled King *Rodolph*. These two Princes being ready to embroil all *Italy*, their friends contrived an agreement between them, which was such that *Rodolph* should renounce the Kingdom of *Italy*, and also should assist *Hugh* with a certain number of men to preserve it, on condition *Hugh* should give him *la Bresse*, *Vienne*, and all that he held in *Provence*, with the Title of King of *Arles*; which by this means was united to the Kingdom of *Burgundy* Trans-jurane.

The name of the Kingdom of *Arles*, was not given it because those Kings that enjoy'd it, did ever reside there, nor were ever Crowned there, but because that was so renowned a City as to deserve the Title, having been in the Roman Emperors days, the Capital of seven Provinces of the Gauls, and her Metropolitans Vicars of the Holy Chair.

Notwithstanding this agreement, the *Italians* persisting in their resolution to set aside *Hugh*, invited *Arnold* Duke of *Bavaria* to come and take the Crown. He made way as far as *Verona* and was well received; but *Hugh* got good footing

933.

there

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there, and chafed him back again into *Bavaria*. After which to maintain his ground the better, he associated his Son *Lothaire* to the Crown.

The Acts we find of *Louis the Blind King of Provence*, makes it appear he was yet alive *An. 933*. So that there is no colour to mention his death till *An. 934*. He was then 55 years of Age, and had but one Son named *Charles Confiantine*, who not being at that time out of his Childhood, the *Provençals* who then stood in need of a King able to Govern, Elected *Hugh* Son of Count * *Thibault* and *Berthe*, who was Marquis of *Provence*.

In the mean time the two most potent Lords in *France*, *Hugh le Eleme* and *Hobert de Vermandois*, not being able to agree together made a rough War upon each other, the King favouring *Hugh*, whose Sister he had married. *Henry* King of *Germany* having interposed to make up this Breach, *Saint Quintin* was restored to *Hobert*, and likewise *Peronne*, by a Cession which ended in a final Peace.

Anno 935. The three Kings of *Germany*, *France*, and *Burgundy* had an interview near the *Meuse*, to give joint orders for repressing the cruel incursions of the *Bulgarians*, who invaded the Dominions of all the Princes. This very year having the King of *France* was marching that way, he returned speedily into *Italy*.

In this march the same King besieged and took *Dijon*, which *Esofon* his own Brother had got in his possession. Which I mention only to shew the universal disorders of those Reigns, even amongst the nearest Kindred.

In the year 936 died *Eldel* Earl of *Auvergne* and *Poitou*, and Duke of *Aquitain*, the Son of *Ranulf* and Successor to *William*, leaving his Estates to *William* surnamed *Teste d'Espeu*, or *Flaxen-head*, his Son.

As likewise *Rodolph* the King of *France* left this World the 14th of his Reign and the 15th of January in the City of *Auxerre*, where he fell sick in the former Autumn of a *Phtisick*. His Monument is at *St. Columbes of Sens*. He was a Prince most Liberal, Valiant, Religious, just, and worthy of better times. His wife died a Twelvemonth before him, and his Brother *Esofon* about a quarter of a year: both Childless. But they had another Brother called *Hugh le Noir*, i. e. the Black, who bare the Title of Duke of *Burgundy* and the surname of *Capet*.

The same year *Henry* the Bird-Catcher also ended his days, and in his place the *German* set up *Orbo* his eldest Son, afterwards surnamed the *Great*.

Never Prince employ'd so much care, and so much Time in regulating all that concerned the advantage and administration of the Church, the Discipline of the Clergy, and Christian manners, as *Louis* the *Debonnaire*. In all the Assemblies, hardly any other thing was ever treated of: He and the Grantees of his Kingdom were present in the Councils to approve and subscribe what was ordained; which afterwards he confirmed by his Letters Patents.

At the Council of *Aix-la-Chapelle* in the year 816. were digested in writing the Form and Method of the Institution of the Ecclesiasticks in CXLV. Articles, and those of Religious Orders in XXVIII. both taken out of the Ancient Councils, and Holy Fathers. After this Council, and in the same place, he made XXIX. Capitularies, as was the Custom upon the like occasions.

The year following 817. he assembled the Abbots and their Monks in the same place, who made XC. Chapters or Rules for Monastick Discipline: After which *Bennet* Abbot of *Aniane*, laboured in the reformation of the Order of *St. Bennet*, which was much unsettled and flattered.

The Laity were much given to abuse and often murder the Clergy: And for this reason he called a Council at *Thionville* *An. 821*. where the Bishops ordained long and tedious penances for such as should commit those crimes. The next year he convoked another at *Atigny*, and there in imitation of the Example of the Great *Theodosius*, he would needs voluntarily undergo publick Penance for the Death of *Bernard*, and those violences he had committed against some or other of his Kindred. He also made several Capitularies for the Government of Church and State.

To the same end, and to find out some way to appease the wrath of God, which appeared visibly in the frequent incursions of the *Normans*, he gave order *An. 828*. for the Assembling of four Councils the year following, in four several parts of the Kingdom, at *Metz*, *Paris*, *Lyons* and *Thionville*, and framed Articles of what they were to consult about. He confirmed the Decrees of all those four in one at *Wormes*, which was held the same year in presence of some Legats sent by Pope

Gregory

Gregory IV. We have the Acts of that held at *Paris*, which is the VI. of that name. They are very judicious, and divided into three Books.

He called another Assembly *An. 832*. in the Abbey of *St. Denis*, to re-establish the Monastick Orders, and Authorized this Reformation by a Declaration.

We must not amongst these Holy Assemblies place that of *Compiègne*, where this good Prince was degraded and condemned to wear the Habit of a Penitent. That of *St. Denis* in the year 834. reconciled him to the Church, and restored him to the Communion. The Council of *Thionville* did the same thing, and besides that, degraded *Ebbon* Arch-Bishop of *Reims*, who had been the Principal Author of that attempt.

To shew his thankfulness to God as well by his works, as his Prayers and Devotion, he caused one to be held at *Aix An. 836*. where some excellent Decrees were made, which the Fathers sent to *Pepin of Aquitain*, thereby to admonish him of his Duty towards God, and refrain him from treating the Churches so ill for the future, as he had done. These Decrees were Commented as one may say, and corroborated with Reasons and Arguments extracted from the Fathers, which was frequently practised by the Councils of those Ages.

It would be too tedious to mention all those that were held during the Reign of *Charles the Bald*, with all those Capitularies which were framed for the same purpose of Reformation. We have the Council of *Lauriac* in *Anjou An. 843*. that of *Thionville* and another at *Vernon An. 844*. those of *Beauvais* and *Meaux An. 845*. that of *Paris* the year following, to compleat the Regulations which could not be finished in that of *Meaux*; One at *Soissons An. 853*. and another at *Verberie*, to digest all that had been Ordained at *Soissons*; One at *Touzac* * in the Bishoprick of *Toul An. 860*. composed of the Bishops of fourteen Provinces. One at *Soissons An. 866*. One at *Troyes* the year after, as it were for a supplement to that of *Soissons*, all these being for the Reformation of Discipline, and Manners. Most of the others were for particular affairs, and yet did often make Canons. That of *Metz* in the year 848. where *Rabanus Maurus* the Arch-Bishop presided, sent back *Godefrid* the Monk * to *Hincmar* of *Reims* his Metropolitan; who at the Council of *Crete* on the *Oise*, the same year, caused him to be condemned. This Monk was accused for preaching errors concerning the Doctrines of Predestination, Free-will, and the Redemption by the Blood of Jesus Christ; These questions were debated again *An. 853*. in the third Council of *Valence*, which met to prosecute the Bishop of that City for certain Crimes.

The Council of *Paris* of the year 847. was called for the business of *Ebbon* of *Reims*, that of *Tours* met *An. 849*. about the enterprise of *Neumeis*, who had given the Bishops of *Bretagne* a Metropolitan, and had thereby subverted them from the Arch-Bishoprick of *Tours*. In that of *Crete* *An. 853*. the Bishops deputed two of their Assembly to go and make remonstrances to *Louis* the *Germanick*, upon his invading the Kingdom of his Brother *Charles*. There was one at *Savonieres*, the Suburbs of *Toul An. 859*. to make up that Breach. *Lothaire* the Young convened two at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, in the year 860. about the business of the Marriage of *Thierberge* and *Lothaire II.* and there was likewise a third at *Metz* for the same Subject.

In that of *Sens An. 863*. *Hincmar* caused *Rouald* Bishop of *Soissons* to be degraded, upon the accusation of a Priest whom *Rouald* had deposed, for being furnished with a Woman, and Mutilated in those Parts or Members, which are unprofitful to a good Ecclesiastick. *Rouald* appealed to *Rome*; Pope *Nicholas* sent word to *Hincmar* and the Bishops that they should order the Party accused to come to him that he might review his Process; and upon the second Summons he interdicted their saying Mass, till they did obey. But *Hincmar* who had great Credit in the *Gallican* Church, stood it out, and caused Guards to be set upon *Rouald* lest he should slip out of the Kingdom. Nevertheless two years after he went to *Rome*, and was restored to his Bishoprick by Pope *Nicholas*.

The same Holy Father ordered *Herard* Arch-Bishop of *Tours* to call a Council at *Soissons An. 866*. (which was the III) to restore *Wilfride* * and his Companions * to their places of Clerks in the Church of *Reims*, in case *Hincmar* who had displaced them, refused to do so: That of *Troyes* in 867. laboured in the same business. There was a Council *Verberie* in 869. One at *Atigny An. 870*. and another at *Douzy* in 871. concerning the affair of the unfortunate *Hincmar* of *Laon*. In that of *Atigny*, was likewise debated the division of the Kingdom of *Lothaire I.*

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and

* It is believed to be Troye high Picoultiers, Diocese of Toul.

* Of this see hereafter.

* He was afterwards Arch-Bishop of Bourges.

936. Church of the 9th Century, or Ago.

934. * See before in An. 829.

933. 34. 35. 36.

* Perhaps it is
Tully upon the
River of *Pyle*,
Diocess of
Rims.

* Thought to
be *Pont-jon*,
two Leagues
above *Verzy*.

* The Palace
of the *Burgun-
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bout four
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The Council of *Donzy* * *II.* *An.* 874. was against incestuous marriages, and such as invaded any thing belonging to the Church. That of *Pontion* * in 876 confirmed the Regulations framed in that of *Paris*. Pope *John VIII.* having escaped out of the Captivity of *Lambert* Count of *Spoleto*, and *Albert* Marquis of *Tuscany*, while he was in *France*, called that of *Troyes* in 878. where he caused the Excommunication he had at *Rome* thrown upon those persecutors to be approved, as also the Condemnation of *Fornosio* Bishop of *Porto*, and his Adherents. The Bishops of *Burgundy* in that of *Chamaille* * gave the Kingdom to *Boson* *An.* 879.

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Of those that appeared with most Splendor, some were such as were noted for Intrigues and Factions; and of them were a great number, *Ebbon* of *Reims*, *Agobard* of *Lyons*, and *Bernard* de *Vienne* active in the degrading of *Louis* the *Debonnaire*. *Eboin* of *Poitiers* for disposing *Aquitain* to surrender themselves into the hands of that Emperor, who would bestow it upon *Charles* his beloved Son. *Thier*, and de *Colen* and *Gontier* de *Metz* touching the marriage of *Valdrade*. And *Hincmar* of *Reims* for his resisting the Pope, and intermeddling with all affairs both of Church and State, wherein he acted with as much heat as judgment during the Reign of *Charles* the *Bald*.

The others were illustrious for their Learning, as the same *Agobard*, *Theodulf*, and *Jonas* his Successor, *Rabanus Maurus* of *St. Bennets* Order and Arch-Bishop of *Metz*, *Hincmar* of *Reims* who had been Abbot of *St. Denis*, and the other *Hincmar* his Nephew, *Remy* de *Lyons*, *Aidon* de *Vienne*, *Hiluin* Abbot of *St. Denis*, *Loup* Abbot of *Ferrieres* in *Gastinois*, *Hemy* Monk of *St. Germain d'Auxerre*, *Valfride* *Strabon* Abbot of *Richenone*, *Florus* Master of the Church of *Lyons*, that is a Divine, and *John Scot*, or *Scotus*, surnamed *Erigena*. This last was a great Philosopher, and for the Beauty and Delicacy of his wit, highly cherished by *Charles* the *Bald*, even to the lying in his Chamber: But in Theology he passed for one of a raving Brain, whose sentiments were not right and sound.

As for *Hincmar de Reims*, we have his works whereof every one may judge. The other *Hincmar* his nephew very zealous for the Popes authority collected their Decretal Letters, and was the first that durst put down the names of some Ancient Popes, who till that time had none, but which *Isidore Mercator* had already gathered together. Other Canonists followed his error, till at length the more judicious found they were but fictitious. *Adon de Vienne* composed a Martyrology which is yet in being: *Hilduin* wrote the life of St. *Denis* the *Areopagite* by command of *Louis* the *Debonnaire*, from the Memoires of *Methodius*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*; who to flatter the *French* endeavour'd to have two things believed, which the Criticks pretend to condemn of false-hood; The one, that this *Saint Denis* had been Bishop of *Paris*; the other, that those Writings which go under his name, were his own.

We have the Epistles of *Loup de Ferrieres* which give a great light in the affairs of those times; And the Monk *Henry* wrote the Life of *Saint Germain de Auxerre* in more Elegant Verse than the roughness of that Age could promise.

I shall observe en passant that *Latin* Poetry began to rouse its self under *Charles the Bald*, and amongst other Poets that flatter'd him, there was one that made a Piece containing three hundred *Hexameters* in praise of the *Bald*, where every word began with the Letter C.

Some for their good lives deferred to be placed in the Catalogue of Saints; as *Ancher* taken out of the Order of St. *Benedict* by *Louis* the *Debonnaire*, to be the first Arch-Bishop of *Hamburg* Established by that Emperor, and to Preach to the *Danes* and *Swedes*; the same *Rabanus* whom we have mentioned: Two *Audri*, one of *Sens*, the other of *Mans*; *Ayos* * de *Bowget*, *Prudence* de *Troyes*, *Hildeman* de *Beauvais*, *Foulquin* and *Hunfroy* de *Tervuamne*, *Amant* de *Rodez*, and *Bernard* de *Vienne*. This last had *Adon* above-named for Successor both in his Sanctity and his See: But he had very few in that good Christian Maxim, so often in his Mouth, and ever in his Soul: That the Riches and Goods of the Church, are the Patrimony of the Poor; and that a Clergy-man hath no right to them but for his necessities. Nor did he keep any more Domestic Servants but one Priest and one Lay-man; Proclaiming to all Prelats by this noble example; That he who is great in himself, hath no need of other Equipage, or Train of Servants to make him appear so.

Saints.

* Aigulfai.

Louis

LOUIS IV.

Surnamed

TRANSMARINE,

King XXXII.

Aged XIX, or XX Years.

POPES.

LEO VII. in 936. S. 3 years, 6 Months.	MARTIN II. Eleit. 943. S. 3 years, 6 Months and one half.
STEPHEN IX. Eleit. in 939. S. 3 years, 4 Months.	AGAPET II. Eleit. 946. S. 9 years, 7 Months.

Louis IV.
surnam'd
Transmarine,
in France.

Otho I. in
Germany.

Rodolph II.
in Burgundy
Transjurane.

HUGH
and
Lothaire his
Son in
Italy.

Of all the *French* Lords *Hugh le Blanc* Earl of *Paris* and *Orleans* Duke of *France*, and Brother in Law to the late King, had the greatest Authority in the Kingdom: He durst not however take the Crown, because *Hebert* Earl of *Vermandois* and *Giselbert* Duke of *Lorraine*, two very potent Enemies would have broke his Measures. He found it therefore more safe to make a King of the Blood of *Charlemaine*, who should be wholly obliged to him for his Crown.

To this purpose he dispatched a Famous Deputation of Prelats and Lords, whereof *William* Arch-Bishop of *Sens* was the Chief, into *England*, to beseech *Ogiva* the Widdow of *Charles the Simple*, to bring back her Son *Louis*, whom the *French* desired to own for their King. She granted their request; but not without great opposition of King *Aldefian* her Brother: He apprehended his Nephew might be destroy'd by some treachery as his Father had been; and therefore would

936.

That good and virtuous Prince had just designed, before he was murdered to take upon him the Habit of *St. Bennet* in the Monastery of *Juniger*, which he had begun to rebuild. He left but one Son named *Richard*, *Baron of Sparta* his wife who was Daughter of *Hebert Count of Sens*; he Succeeded him in his Dukedom.

A great part of the *Normans* were yet Idolaters, and there came every day new flocks of them from the North, who encouraged them in their Superstitions. After the Death of *William* they rebelled against his Son, and would force him to renounce his Baptism. *Hugh the Grand* allied to his Father assisted him against those impious revoltors, beat them in several encounters, and help'd him to destroy their Leaders: their names were *Setric* and *Rodard*.

The King knowing that while the *Normans* were divided, their little Duke *Richard* might easily be stript, and that it would be a Noble act to recover for *Richard* and good a Country, went to *Rouen* about *Autumne*, and Sliced upon *Richard's* person, under pretence of breeding him in his own Court. The *Burgund's* at first took the Alarm, and stood in his defence, so that he was faine to fliew him to the people and confirm the Dutchy to him: but their first heat being spent, he fo managed the buiness that perswading them he would have a great care of his Education, they suffer'd him to be carry'd away to *Laon*.

When he had gotten him absolutely in his power, *Arnold Earl of Flanders* whose interest it was to exterminate all the *Normans*, by his Prefects and Counsel, finally inclined him to the resolution of incapacitating him for ever, and returning the Dukedom. Before they came to the Execution of this, *Richard's* wife Governor, by name *Ofmond*, craftily drew him out of the Danger ; He stole him out of Court, trussed up in a Faggot of Herbs, and conveyed him into *Senlis*. That City one of the strongest in those days, was then held by Count *Bernard* Uncle to *Richard* by his Mother ; who kept that Pupil and would not surrender him either to the King, nor to the *Normans*, till he could fee a little more clearly what was like to be the event of that War then threatened.

During these stirrs *Hebert* of *Vermandois* died at *Peronne*, tormented with the gnawing remorse of his treacheries, crying perpetually in his Agonies, *We were twelve of us that betrayed King Charles!* He had three Sons, *Hebert* and *Robert* who were both *Arch-Bishops* of *Reims*.

King *Lewis*, who had that fault that he c^d not dissemble, adventures rashly too early to ruin them. His precipitate revenge drew great troubles upon him; the other *Grandes* apprehending the like usage, joyned all to defend them. Even *Hugh* agreed with the *Normans*, and King *Ordo* made one, and openly declared against *Louis*: who for that reason reconciled him to *Hugh*.

against *Louis* : who for that reason reconciled himself to *Richard* : but the King promising he should share the Duchy of *Normandy* with him, and likewise have the Territory's belonging to the Bishopsricks of *Evreux*, *Lyseaux* and *Bayeux*, he not only abandoned the Pupil, but also joyned with the King by the way of *Queen*, entered the Country therefore at the same time, the King by the way of *Queen*, and *Hugh* towards *Evreux*. *Bernard* Count of *Flou*, who had saved his Nephew, did likewise preserve his Country by his wonderful Sagacity. He advised the *Normans* to pretend a submission to the King, to avoid the defolations of a War; and afterwards easily persuaded him to reserve all that rich Province to himself, and take away from *Hugh* those places which he had conquered; so that by this Method he caused a new rupture between those Princes.

He afterwards omitted not to make those advantages he had designed : for he engaged the discontented *Hugh* to undertake once more the protection of *Richard*, and to promise him his Daughter ** Emine*, who was not however married till the Sixteen years after. And more-over this little Prince being still dispossessed, he so craftily contrived his affairs that he restored him. And thus it was. There was a *Chieftaine* or *Norman* King named *Aigrold*, who being come some years beforefrom *Denmark*, had taken his Habitation in *Confeantin* : This Prince having consulted with *Bernard*, revolts against *Lemvi*, and sends to summon him to set the little *Richard* at Liberty. Upon this news *Bernard* counterfeiting great zeal, assures the King that all *Normandy* was united for his service, and by these plausible pretences obliges the King to go thither in person to suppress that Pirat. His Army and *Aigrold's* being near each other, *Aigrold* seems to be afraid, and demands a Conference ; the King agrees to it, and to that end goes to the Village of *Crescen-villa* in the mid-way between *Caen* and *Lisieux*. The train was so well laid that

the Norman finding himself the stronger, cuts off all that came with him, Seizes upon his person, and sends him Prisoner to Rouen.

In this encounter *Herluin* Earl of *Montfrevil*, the principal subject of the quarrel between the deceased *William* and *Arnold*, was slain by *Agrold* in revenge for that although he had always been protected by *William*, nevertheless he had ingratiate himself with *Arnold* to oppress *Normandy* and its little Duke.

In vain did Queen Gerberge implore the assistance of King Otto, her Brother for the deliverance of her Husband. He refused to apply any other means but only his mediation. By virtue of a plenarie power Signed by the Bishops at his desire and by all the French Lords, he decreed with them at a Conference held at *St. Clair sur Epte*, that *Loth* should restore *Richard* to his Dutchy and receive homage, and from that time he should be set at Liberty, and give his second Son and two Bishops for security. But *Loth* getting out of the hands of the *Normans*, remained still under the power of *Hugh*, who upon I know not what pretences detained him at least a year under the guard of *Thibault Earl of Blois* his Confiner German, and would not let him go till he had gotten the City of *Laon* of him.

In the mean time King *Othow* who had conquer'd the County of *Burgundy*, whether he feared an absolute re-union between the King and his Subjects, or whether the Tears of his Daughter *Gerberge* and compassion to behold a King to ill treat *his* Daughter, by his means moved his heart, he roughly refused *Hugh* who sought his amity, and sent *Louis* his affluence to revenge himself.

Lewis accepted it, and soon after he was out of his imprisonment, went to *Orkney* at *Cambresis*, where *Arnold Earl of Flanders* had joyed Forces with him : So that they had together above thirty Legions : And which is remarkable, all these combatants, except the *Abbot of Corbie* in *Saxony*, had all Straw-hats, without doubt to defend their heads from blows, or from the cold.

One would imagine such a prodigious Army must overwhelm Hugh and all his Allies : but after they had tried Leon, driven away Arch-Bishop Hugh from Reims, and restored Arnold to his See, having shewed themselves before the Gates of Sens, and the Suburbs of Paris, they ran themselves on ground and Shipwreck against it; The death of Otho's Nephew and a great number of Saxons who were slain there, the autumnal Rains, the approaching Winter, Arnolds desertion who flain there, the autumnal Rains, the approaching Winter, Arnolds desertion who flain there, the autumnal Rains, the approaching Winter, Arnolds desertion who

withdrew in the night time with his Forces, apprehending to be delivered up to the Normans, contrained Otho to raise his Siege and retire.

The blessed Reims, and King Lewis Mostrevill, held by Rotzgar

the *Normans*, constrained *Ordo* to raise his arms. Afterwards *Hugh* besieged *Reims*, and King *Lewis Monfréuil*, held by *Kotger* Son of Count *Herlain*: but both without success.

In *August* the two Kings *Louis*, and *Ordo* conferred together on the *Kar*, of the *Cher*, concerning their affairs. This River which coming from the Country of *Luxemburg* falls into the *Meuse* between *Sedan* and *Abonin*, hath ever since made the bounds or separation of the Kingdoms of *France* and *Lorraine* as it did heretofore of *Neufria* and *Avstria*.

New phrase. *Aufcar* and *Berenger*, one Brother,

Anno 947, Italy suffered a New change. *Aufscare* and *Berenger*, one Brother, and the other Son of *Aidelbert* Marquiss of *Verona*, having ingratifully conspired against King *Hugh*, that Prince put *Aufscare* to Death, and *Berenger* escaped to Ren-
nand Duke of *Sudbia*. Now this man having good information that *Hugh* had re-
dred himself very odious to the *Italians*, having founded their affections, repass'd
himself into *Verona* and in *Milan*, and seem'd welcom to most
the *Alper*. He was received in *Verona* and in *Milan*, and seem'd welcom to most
part of the Nobility. Nevertheless the People moved with pity towards *Loisire*
the Son of *Hugh*, a handsome young Prince not above 14 or 15 years old, would
have the Title of King to be preserved for him : And *Berenger* consented for
that time the more willingly, because all the Authority was in him. The agree-
ment made, *Hugh* returned into *Provence* with his Treasure, where he died the
same year.

Lewis in France.	Conrad in Transjane and Arles.	Otho in Germany & Lorraine.	LOTAIRE and Berenger in Italy.
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The dispute for the Arch-Bishoprick of Reims between Hugh of Vermandois and Arnold was a mighty business. It was first treated of at Donzy by some Prelats, who

Off five Sons which he had by *Gerberge*, there were but two remaining, *Lotaire* and *Charles*, whereof *Lotaire* the eldest was about 14 or 15 years old, and *Charles* but 15 or 16 Months.

The small Age of this last, the poverty of the Kings who had scarce any other Towns in propriety but *Reims* and *Laon*, and perhaps the interest of *Hugh le Blanc*; were the reasons why he did not share the Kingdom with his elder, as had been ever almost the Custom in the first and second Race, or Line. Since this time it was never equally divided amongst the Brothers: the eldest alone hath had the Title of King, and the cadets, or younger have only had some Lands in appennage and under an entire Subjection. And even of these the Kingly power being increased hath taken the Reversion for want of Heirs-males; which hath not a little contributed to restore the Grandeur of the Monarchy.

Lotaire,

LOTAIRE, King XXXIII:

POPES,

AGAPET II. above a year in this Reign.	Empp: Otho in 964. S. almost 7 years.
JOHN XII. who was the first that changed his name, introduced An. 955. S. 9 years within some Months: is deposed.	DOMNUS Elef. in 972. S. 3 Months. BENEDICT VI. in 972. S. one year 3 Months:
BENEDICT V. put in by the Romans An. 964. S. some Months.	BENEDICTUS VII. in 974. S. 9 years, and some Months.
JOHN XIII. nominated by the	JOHN XIV. Elef. in July 849: S. one year, one Month.

Lotaire in France.	Otho in Germany & Lorrain.	Conrad in Burgundy & Arles.	Berenger and Adelbert his Son in Italy.
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THE greatest part of the power being in the hands of *Hugh*, he might have taken the Crown, had he not feared the Forces of King *Otho*, maternal Uncle to the Sons of the deceased King, and the jealousy of the other French Lords. For these reasons, Queen *Gerberge* his wives Sister, being come to him to take his Counsel, he chose rather to preserve his Authority by protecting a Widdow and a Minor, then by oppressing them. Having therefore carried *Lotaire* to *Reims*, he caused him to be Crowned the 12th of November by the Arch-Bishop *Artold*.

Upon this occasion the young King gave the Dukedoms of *Burgundy* and *Aquitain* to *Hugh le Blanc* and to *Hugh Capet* his eldest Son: who being satisfied and the Duke of *Normandy* likewise for their sakes, it was not difficult to calm the other Lords who were less considerable.

These Dukes in my opinion, were of two sorts in those times; the one held the Cities and Lands, and were become Hereditary; the other were general commands over a whole Kingdom, as well for the Militia as to do Justice, which the Kings could bestow, or take away. So there was a Duke for Lorrain which was Bruno Arch-Bishop of Colen, King Otho's Brother, One for France, one for Aquitaine, and one for Burgundy; and Hugh

was such in all those three Kingdoms, by consequence he was as the Kings Lieutenant General, and in that quality might be set aside, if his great alliance and the Cities in his possession had not rendered him indispensible.

953.

France was quiet enough three years together, only Hugh An. 953, led the King into Poitou to make William Earl of that Country and Duke of Aquitaine become obedient, and laid Siege to Poitiers. Scarcity of provisions and the terror of a Thunder-clap which tore his Tent in two, forced him to raise it; and yet the Count presuming to pursue the French upon their retreat, they turned head and put him to the rout with great slaughter of his Nobility.

Et Blanc.

The following year Hugh, who without a Scepter, had Reigned more than 20 years, being the Son of a King, Father of a King, Uncle to a King, and Brother in Law to three Kings, died in his City of Paris full of years, glory, and riches. He was surnamed the White * from his skin, the Great from his power, or perhaps his bulk; and the Abbot, because he held the Abbies of St. Denis, St. Germain des Prez, and St. Martin's of Tours. At his death he intrusted Richard Duke of Normandy his Son in Law, to be the Protector of his Children and Vassals. He had three wives, Rosilda Sister of Lewis the Stammerer, Ethild Daughter of Edward King of England, whose two Sisters were married to Charles the Simple and Otho, and Avida*, or Avoys Sister of the same Otho and Queen Gerberge, and Otho, and Avida*, or Avoys Sister of the same Otho and Queen Gerberge. There came no Children by the first two, but by the third he had Hugues, or Hugh, surnamed Capet, who was Earl of Paris and Orleans, then also Duke of France; Otho who was Duke of Burgundy after the Death of Gilbert his Father in Law; Eudes or Odo who succeeded him; and Henry who likewise enjoyed, it after them.

* Hucvida and Haderida.

956. 57. and 58.

These four Sons not being yet in a capacity to make any noise, the eldest not above 16 years of Age, Gerberge governed peaceably enough, excepting some petty quarrels about the Castles belonging to the Arch-Bishoprick of Reims and some private contests.

The work of it was, that it seemed most of the affairs were managed according to the pleasure and will of King Otho and Bruno his Brother Arch-Bishop of Colen, and Duke or Governor of Lorraine, so that they became as it were the Moderators and Arbitrators of France.

959.

The Queen being at difference with the Children of Hugh and the Widdow Avoys her Sister, for some Castles which King Lotaire had taken from them in Burgundy, Bruno came into France and brought them to an agreement in a Parliament held at Compiègne. After which the Queen and her Son Lotaire went to ment held at Compiègne. After which the Queen and her Son Lotaire went to keep Easter at Colen with Bruno who entertained them splendidly, and sent them back furnished with very brave Presents.

A while after being called to their assistance against Robert Earl of Troyes, and Count of Chablonis by his wife, who had surprized Dijon, he returned into France with his Lorrainers and regained that place. At the same time he sent some Saxon Forces to Troyes to restore the Bishop whom that Robert had thrust out thence: But Rognard Earl of Sens and Rimbaud Arch-Bishop of the same City, friends to Robert gave them Battel and defeated them.

* Charles heard or Twiss or Twiss heard.

959.

The same year died Alain surnamed Barbe-vorte * Duke of Bretagne and Son of Earl Matueda, who left two Bastards, Hoel and Querec, and one Legitimate Child named Drogon then in his Cradle, whom he declared Heir. This Child the Mother of Chantres Grand-Father by the Mother to this Child had the Tutorship and the Modest care of his person. Now marrying again with Fulk Earl of Anjou, this wicked woman unhappily killed him, by causing scalding water to be thrown down upon the Infants head.

The Succession begot a bloody debate in Bretagne which lasted 34 years. The two Bastards of Alain disputed it with one Conan, who was defended by a Daughter from King Salomon: he made them both perish. Hoel by the hands of a Souldier who assassinated him, and Querec, by a poisoned Lance wherewith a Chyrurgeon let him bleed. But himself perished at length in a Battel he lost An. 992. against Fulk Earl of Anjou a Capital Enemy of the Bretons. Geoffrey the eldest of the four Sons he left succeeded him.

The Children of the Defunct Hugh the White, thorough the persuasion of Arch-Bishop Bruno, tendered homage for their Lands to King Lotaire, who in retribution declared the Eldest, Duke of France, as his Father had been, and bestowed Poitou upon him; you must understand if he could conquer it, for it was

was possessed by another very potent Earl. This is a conjecture that the Kings had not yet given entirely away their power, of bestowing Dutchy's and Earldoms, and that if they were Hereditary, it was only by Usurpation, not as yet by Concession.

All the new Principalities and Seigniories or Lordships which were started up in the Kingdom did not trouble the King so much as that of the Normans, who being strangers and the issue of those Fathers that had plagued and plundered France 80 years together, should yet enjoy so rich a Province. Wherefore Bruno who governed the affairs of the Kingdom, being excited by the persecutions of Arnold Earl of Flanders, Baldwin his Son, Thibault Earl of Chartres, and Geoffrey Earl of Anjou; combined to ruin Duke Richard. For this purpose he sent for him to come to the Royal Parliament, or General Assembly of Estates at Amiens, putting him in hopes, if he came thither, they would give him the Administration of the Kingdom: But it was with design to Sieze and send him Prisoner into Germany. Richard who was on his journey, being informed of this Combination by two unknown Cavaliers, returned whence he came and stood more upon his Guard.

He avoided likewise another Snare the King had laid for him near the River of Epte, to which place sending for him to come and do him homage, he meant to lay hold on him. The Duke had already passed the Epte, when the Scouts he had sent forth to discover what the King was doing, brought him word that all his Enemies were about the King, and were making ready to set upon him. By this he understood the meaning of the French, and withdrew in time. Since Berenger and Adolbert had been restored to the Kingdom of Italy by Otho, they never ceased to conspire against him, and withal cruelly vexing their Subjects, so that he had sent his Son Luitolf to chastise them. This young Prince had almost hunted them quite out of the Kingdom, when he was surprized by Death An. 958. not without suspicion of poison, and thus left his Conquest imperfect.

Now the complaints of the Lords and Prelats, and the earnest entreaty of the Pope pressing King Otho, he resolved to go himself, after he had Crowned his Son Otho II. at Aix la Chapelle, though he were but seven years of Age.

Upon his Arrival in Italy, Berenger, his Son, and his Wife abandoned the Cities and Country, and retired each of them into a strong Fort. Otho was there received with universal applause, recovered Pavia, was Crowned King of Lombardy at Milan by the Arch-Bishop, and thence marched to Rome, where he received the Imperial Crown upon Christmas-day by the hands of John XII. who had been put into the Holy Chair by the Credit and Money of his Father Alberic before the Age of 18 years.

This Alberic was the Son of Marosia, who had chased King Hugh from Rome; after which he had changed the Government there, and made himself Consul that he might command in Chief with a Prefect and some Tribunes.

Now the young Pope who had earnestly desired Otho to come, quickly changed his mind, and recalled Berenger to Rome as soon as Otho was gone from thence to reduce the rest of those places which that Tyrant still held. Otho being informed of this odd fantastical news did not give over his Conquests, then when he thought it seasonable to return to Rome he led his Army thither.

The young Pope being fled with Berenger and the Treasure of the Church, he caused his Process to be made, not for his Intrusion, but for Murder, Sacrilege, Adultery, Incest, Simony, and other enormous crimes. For this end he assembled a Council, John was cited before them in due form, and not appearing they deposed him, and in his place put Leo, who was the VIII. of that name.

This Pope to avoid the trouble the Cabals caused in Elections, gave the Emperor Otho the power thenceforward to Elect the Popes and Bishops, and to give him Investiture. The Ecclesiastical History does likewise observe that this John XII. was called Osavian before his Election, and that he was the first Pope that changed his name.

Whilst Otho was passing the Christmas Holy-days at Rome with the new Pope, he having quartered his Army out of the City: the Faction and money of John the deposed Pope, made the Romans rise to Attack him Treacherously, he had notice of it time enough to prevent surprise, put himself in the head of his Army and came boldly to them. They were afraid and coming to a compulsion with him gave several Hostages.

959.

957.

958.

Empp. Porphyrogenitus having poison'd Constantine the VIII. his Father, in November and the Empire vacant in the West.

960.

961.

962.

963.

Empp. Nicophorus in March, Basil, the Sons of Romanus being Minor, and Otho I. 963.

963.

He delivered them up again some few days after upon the entreaties of *Leo*; but no sooner was he gone to besiege *Cambrin*, but they revolted, drove out *Leo*, and received *John* in their City: where he exercised most revengeful cruelty upon *Leo's* Friends. He had continued it to the end, had he not been killed in the very act of enjoying a Woman. After his death the *Romans* persisting in their Rebellion elected the Arch-Deacon *Bennet*. Immediately *Orto* returns again, reduces *Rome* to a Famine, compels *Bennet* to ask pardon in the Synod of Bishops, and causing him to be degraded of his Priest-hood, sent him Prisoner into *Germany*, where about a year after he died at *Hamburg*.

Some months thence believing *Italy* might remain in Peace, because he had taken *Berenger* and confined him to *Bamberg* in *Germany*, he returned home and marched his Army with him. After his departure some *Lombard* Counts revolted having *Adelbert* and *Guy* the Sons of *Berenger* at their head: But Duke *Burghard* whom he sent back overthrew them in a great Battel, which was fought on the Banks of the *Po*. *Guy* the most mischievous of them all was left dead upon the place, and *Adelbert* escaped with much ado.

This last having gathered some Forces together, hazards another Battel *An* 968 which loosing he died with grief. And thus with him ended the second Kingdom of *Italy*, or if you will it passed over the *German* Princes who let it moulder away and come to nothing.

After Pope *Leo VIII.* was dead, and that *John XIII.* had been set in the Chair with the consent of *Orto*, on whom *Leo* had bestowed the power of Confirming the Election of Popes: the Prefect, Consuls, Tribuns and other Magistrates of the City of *Rome*, displeased that *Orto* had before limited their power, which before led all *Italy* as they pleased, they put this Pope in Prison, then turned him out of *Rome*, calling to their aid *Rafroy* Count of *Campania*.

The Pope retires to *Pandolfus* Prince of *Capua* who restored him, and *John* his Brother slew *Rafroy*. In recompence the Pope erects an Arch-Bishoprick at *Capua*, and bestowed it on the murderer of his Enemy.

But *Orto* desisting to remedy things once for all by suppressing these Rebellions, returns to *Italy*, where he settled his Authority by severe punishments, by reward- ing of friends, by creating new Counts, by good and wholesome Laws, and in fine by the conquest of *Calabria* and *Puglia*, which he wrested from the *Grecian* Empire, who had kept them hitherto.

And to compleat all he Crowned his Son *Orto* at *Milan* by the hands of the Pope, and joynd him in the Empire. This young Prince three years after, that is to say in *An* 971. Married *Teophania* or *Tisaine* Daughter of the Emperor *Nicophorus* who was then dead.

Thus *Orto* but little inferior to *Charlemaine*, raised the Western Empire, the Title thereof ever since that time remaining as it were annexed to *Germany*, with pretences much more great and extensive than their Forces. We shall henceforth speak no more of the affairs of *Italy*, and little of *Germany*, unless where things do jointly relate to the *French*.

During these Transactions, in *Italy*, divers quarrels were troublesome to *France*, the two greatest were that about the Arch-Bishoprick of *Rims*, and the hatred of the Counts *Thibaud* de *Chartres* and *Arnold* of *Flanders* against the *Normans*. The first might have been ended by restoring *Hugh* of *Vermandois* to his Dignity in *Rims*, *Arnold* the Arch-Bishop being dead *An* 962. if the Queen could have suffered it: But far from giving her assent, she so brought it about, that the Council of *Soissons* refer'd it to the Pope who declared him Excommunicated.

The Brethren of this *Hugh* furiously Animated against *Guibain* Bishop of *Chalons*, who in that Assembly had proved the chief obstacle against his restoration, Burnt the City.

The Earl of *Chartres* was supported by the King against the *Normans*, because he was joynd both by alliance and affection to the Interest of the Sons of *Hugh* the Great. He lost a Battel in *Normandy*, for which he received satisfaction by the conquest of *Evreux* which the King put into his hands, having obtained it by the conquest of *Richard* followed him close at the heels, and getting into the Count- try almost as soon as himself made terrible havoc. The Earl of *Chartres* had his revenge the very same year, carrying Fire and Sword to the very Gates of *Rouen*: but was rudely repulsed, and lost his Son in the Retreat.

Arnold surnamed the Old, the Fair and the Great, Earl of *Flanders* died in the year

year 965. The Son of *Baldwin* his Son, named *Arnold* the Young Succeeded him under the Guardianship of *Matilda* of *Saxony* his Mother. This was that *Arnold* who being come to Age, began to Fortify the Port of *Perreffe* or *Sealus*, which then belonged to the Abbey of *St. Berthin*. It is now named *Calais* Neighbour to *Portus Ictius*; in these days, as it is believed, called *Blanc Nec*, and very Famous in the *Romans* times, who from thence passed over into *Great Britain*. He thought to make good use of it against the *Normand* Pyrats, and because he could not always be on those Coasts, he gave the County of *Guines* to *Adolph* Son of *Siffroy*, who had married the Daughter of *Hernicelle* Earl of *Boulogne*.

King *Lotaire* having heard of the Death of *Arnold* the Old, went immediately into the Country to receive Hommage of the Lords, and took *Arras* and *Doway*. As on the other side *William* Earl of *Pontieu*, took from that Minor *Boulogne* and *Terouenne*, and two of his Sons were Earls, each of one, of those Cities.

The same year Arch-Bishop *Bruno* being come into *France* to determine some difference between his Sister *Gerberge* and King *Lotaire* with the Children and Widow of *Hugh*, was Seized with a Fever at *Compiègne*, which he carried to *Reims* with him and there Died.

Some Authors give him the Title of Arch-Duke of *Lorraine*, because he commanded all the Dukes and Earls of that Kingdom. And this is the first time that I find that Title in any Authors.

There was before this time a Marquis and Duke of the higher or *Mosellanick* *Lorrain*; which was *Gerard*, from whom it is held the *Lorrain* Princes of our days are descended. Some Genealogists derive it from *Erchinoald* Mayre of the Palace, and from the same stock they make the *Austrian* *Habsburgh*-House to spring, with that of *Zerighen*, from whence is issued the Princes of *Baden*.

The King marry's *Emme* or *Emina* Daughter of that *Lotaire* King of *Italy* Poys- oned by *Berenger* II. and the Queen *Adelaide* whom the Emperor *Orto* made his Second Wife; which strengthened the good correspondence between the two Monarchs of *France* and *Germany*.

There hapned nothing very observable during these two years, unless it were that in *An* 967. King *Lotaire* gave his Sister *Matilda* in marriage to *Conrad* King of *Burgundy*, and for her Dowre bestowed the City and County of *Lyons*.

The Earl *Thibaud* supported by the King, went and encamped before *Rouen*, from the whence he could not be forced but by the help of the Infidel *Normans*, which the King of *Denmark* of Kin to *Richard* sent thither, who having made him retreat, ran to the very Gates of *Paris*.

The ignorance of those times was extream; which is the reason that for want of His- tory, we scarcely find any thing, and must sometimes slip over whole years without men- tion of any occurrences.

In the year 973. Died the Emperor *Orto*, very justly surnamed the Great, found- er of the *German* Empire, Subduer of the *Hungarians* and *Slavonians*, and who found out the Method to Quell the *Italians* Pride, and Chain up their perfidious mutability.

LOTAIRE
in France.

OTHO II.
Emperor of Italy
and Germany, Aged
21 or 22 years.

CONRAD
in Burgundy.

The Reign of his Son *Orto* II. was neither so steady nor so happy as his own. *Gi- selbert* the Husband of *Gerberge*, afterwards Queen, had a Brother named *Regnier* Long-neck Earl of *Mons* in *Haynault*, and *Valenciennois*, who having been taken in that City by Arch-Bishop *Bruno*, had been confined to the Country of the *Vendeis*; and some time after two Counts named *Garnier*, and *Raginald* or *Renold*, who were in my opinion of his Kindred, were invested in his Lands. But his Son *Regnier* II. after the Death of *Orto*, Armed themselves with the Aid of the *French* and *Lambers* to be restored.

Empp.
*John Zimis-
chis*, who were in
years and 6
Months.
973.

This

Then Basilus
and
Constance R.
50 years. In
Dietrich.
975.

This begot a Bloody and most obstinate War. The two Brothers defeated and slew in a Battle, fought at a Village of *Peronne* near *Bims*, the Counts *Garnier* and *Rgnold*: But *Otho* II. immediately substituted *Renald* and *Godfrey* two *Lorrain* Lords, whom he invested with the Earldoms of *Hainault* and *Valenciennes*. Now after various events the two Brothers assisted by *Charles* Brother to King *Lotaire* and *Hugh Capet*, whose Daughters they afterwards Married, got possession again of those Counties: But it was at soonest not till *An.* 983.

977.

The Emperor was highly displeased that these two Sons of a Rebel should possess such large and great Feods in his Kingdom of *Lorraine* in despite of time; however he dissembled it, having other affairs which would not allow him time to break with King *Lotaire*.

977.

Which is more whether out of design to oblige him, or rather to put a Barr in his way, he Created *Charles* his Brother Duke of *Lorraine*, a young Prince about the Age of 23 or 24 years.

The *French* had not forgot the remembrance of their Ancient right to *Lorraine*; And the King, as Son of *Gerberge*, who of her own held very many great possessions in *Caprie*, expected that *Otho* his Cousin German would restore some part to him, especially seeing he had given such sweet Morfels to the Bishops of *Liege* and *Colen*.

But not doing so, *Lotaire* undertakes to compel him. He gets unexpectedly into the Country with an Army, takes the Oaths of the *Lorrainers* in the City of *Metz*, and from thence marches directly to *Aix-la-Chapelle*. *Otho* was diverting himself there very securely with his Family, it wanted not above half an hours time to have surpris'd him: He could do no other, but only just get on Horseback and fly for his safety, leaving his Dinner at the Table, and all his precious Household Furniture in the Palace, which *Lotaire* plunder'd, and then scowred thorough all the whole Country.

978.

In revenge of this Exploit, the very same year *Otho* made a great irruption in *France* with Three-score Thousand men, sack'd all *Champagne*, and that which is called the Isle of *France* even to *Paris*, sending word to *Hugh Capet*, who being Count of that City had put himself in there, that he would have an *Alleluia* sung upon *Mommartre* by so many Clerks it should be heard at *Nofre-Dame*.

* History does
not mention
his name.

Those *Rodemontado's* were not justified by the effects. His *Nephew going in a Bravado to plant his Lance in one of the Gates of *Paris*, was slain by *Geffrey Grisegonnelle* Earl of *Anjou*; a Winter which came on oblig'd him to retire, and *Lotaire* and *Hugh Capet* having drawn their Forces together, cut off all his Rear-guard at his passage over the River of *Aisne*, which was overflown, and pursued him fighting to the *Ardennes*.

The *Almain Monks* of those days, as it is the Genius of men to pretend Miracles in great danger, write that *St. Udalric* Bishop of *Ausburgh*, who accompanied that Emperor in this War, went over the River *Aine* dry-foot, leading the way before him and his whole Army who followed, the over-flowing *Sivean* miraculously growing hard and firm under them, the River becoming a Bridge to it's self.

In this retreat the Earl of *Anjou* did let the *Germans* know, that the quarrel being between the two Kings, it would be better according to common rights, for them to decide it singly hand to hand, then to spill the Blood of so many innocent people: But the *Germans* reply'd, that although they did not doubt the courage of their King, nevertheless they would not consent that he should expose his person singly; Confessing tacitly thereby that they did not think him so brave as the King of *France*.

978.

Otho thus roughly handled, sought an accommodation with the *French*: *Lotaire* and he conferring together in the City of *Reims*, concluded a Peace upon condition, that *Lotaire* should yield him *Lorraine* to be held in Feif of the Crown of *France*, say our Authors; for which the *French* Lords shew'd a great deal of discontent.

978.

Thus the Sovereignty of that Kingdom remained in *Lotaire*, the Duchy of the Lower *Lorraine*, which two years before had been bestowed upon *Charles* his Brother by *Otho*, reverted to his disposal: but as he must give some part to *Charles*, he agreed he should enjoy that also. Which was consented to at an enter-view between that King and *Otho* upon the River of *Kar*, the German Prince having desired

desired that conference before he undertook this expedition into *Italy* against the *Saracens*.

Charles imagining his Brother he had yielded him that Dutchy but by compulsion, was so ill adviced, that he might have some body to support him in it, as to render Homage for it to *Otho*, instead of holding the Sovereignty himself as he might have done.

978.

Two years after, *Otho*, to oblige him the more, gave him likewise the County all about *Metz*, *Toul*, *Verdon*, and *Nancy* and other Lands between the *Meuse* and the *Rhine*.

981.

Now this submission tender'd by *Charles* to a Stranger, found very ill amongst the *French*, and the Augmentation of his power certainly shock'd the designs of *Hugh Capet*, who was preparing his way to the Throne. For we must consider that *Charles* was the only obstacle, *Lotaire* having but one Son, weak both in Age and understanding, and of very small hopes.

Besides the long abode of that Prince in those Countries without coming into *France*, the too great affection he shew'd for the *Germans*, who at that time were the Capital Enemies of *France*, as likewise some rencounters with the King his Brother; King who would have plunder'd the Churches as he had done those of against that King who would have decry'd him amongst the *French*.

Arras: gave his Enemies occasion to decry him amongst the *French*. The Emperor *Otho* II. Died in the year 982. having before declared his Son of the same name Successor of his Estates.

982.

LOTAIRE
and
LOUIS his
Son in France.

OTH O III. Emperor
and King of Germany and
Lorraine, Aged 17 years.

CONRAD
in Burgundy.

Upon the News of his Death *Lotaire* believed that *Germany* was going to be all in confusion and combustion by reason of the contests about the Guardianship of young *Otho*, who was then but seven years old: wherefore he enter'd *Lorraine* An. 983. to regain it, and took *Verdon* with *Godfrey* Earl thereof: but when he understood *Otho* was Crowned by the consent of all the *Grandeess*, he engag'd no farther, but returned home to *France*.

Empp.

Basil and Oth.
Rast. and Otho
III. R. 20 years.
982.

Two years after he rendred up the City of *Verdon*, gave *Godfrey* his liberty, and caus'd his Son *Louis* to be Crowned to Reign with him. He had already married him to a Princess of *Aquitain*, named *Blanche*; And yet was at most not above 18 or 19 years of Age.

985.

It is not well known of which *Aquitain* she was; for in that Age, and the next following, the *French* comprehended *Languedoc* and *Provence* likewise under that name.

986.

This couple were ill-matched, the Woman courageous and gallant, the Husband wanting vigour of mind, and perhaps of Body; in so much that the despised him, and carrying him into her own Country under colour that he could procure the conquest of it by the assistance and interest of her Kindred and Allies she planted him there, and the King his Father was forced to go and fetch him thence again.

This was a great misfortune in the Royal Family, and a greater yet that *Lotaire* Died the 12th Day of March in the following year of some desperate morfel, given him by his own wife.

987.

He was a Warlike Prince, active, careful of his affairs, and worthy in fine to have commanded better Subjects. He survived little more than the 45th year of his Age, and the 35th of his Reign.

Louis

LOUIS

THE

* Faineant, Lazy, Idle, Doe-nothing.

* Lazy, or Sloathful, King XXXIV.

Aged about xx Years.

POPES,

JOHN XV. Elected towards the end of An. 985. S. 10 years, | 4 Months, and a half, whereof 16 Months, under this Reign.

LOUIS the OTHO III. CONRAD.
Do-Nothing in France.

986.

IT was divulged that at his Death he left the Guardianship of his Son to *Hugh Capet*, who in effect was his Cousin German. How-ever it were, *Emma* not relying too much upon him, as it seems had resolved to carry him in the Month of *June* to his Grand-mother *Adeleida*, Widow of *Otho I.* and Tutorefs of *Otho III.* A Heroick Princess who was called the Mother of Kings.

But they did not give her the time : for the 22th of the same month, the Poor Prince ended his Life in the same manner as his Father, and by the crime of *Blanche* of *Aquitain* his wife. He lieth at *St. Corneille* of *Compiègne*. An Author of those times says that he gave his Kingdom to *Hugh Capet* ; another, that he bequeathed it to his wife, upon condition he should marry her.

He Reigned in all about three years, Eighteen or Twenty Months with his Father, and sixteen Months alone.

With his Reign ended that of the *Carlian* or *Carlovingian* Line, after it had lasted 236 years, and had a Succession of Eleven Kings* taking only those of *West-France*, for if we reckon all the others, we shall find above thirty, without speaking of all those Princes who dismembred this Kingdom, as being issued of this Anguit blood descended by Women.

* There were sprung up three Branches of this Race, one in *Italy* by *Lotaire I.* Emperor, another in *Germany* by *Lewis* his Brother, named the *Germanick*, and a third in *West-France* by *Charles* the *Bald*. All three ended their Reigns with

* Or *Carlian*.

* There were two of these that were not so, to wit, *Edes* and *Rodolph*.

with a *Louis*, that of *Italy* by *Louis II.* great Grand-Son of *Lotaire*, that of *Germany* by *Louis* Son of *Arnold*, and that of *France* by this *Lewis* the *Faineant*.

The Princes of this Race at their Coronation, received the Sacred Unction. They were almost ever on Horse-back and in the Field, and had their wives with them. *Charles Martel* and *Pepin*, when they were at rest and peace, held their residence at *Paris* and thereabout, *Charlemain* at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, the *Debonnaire* in the same place, or at *Thionville*, *Charles the Bald* at *Soissons* and at *Compiègne*, *Endes* at *Paris*, *Charles the Simple* at *Reims*, *Lewis Traifmarine* at *Laon*.

If we consider the causes of the ruine of this Race or Line, we shall meet with five or six principal ones. 1. The division of the mainBody of the Estate into divers Kingdoms, which was necessarily followed by DisCORDS and Civil-Warrs between the Brothers. 2. The irregular Love the *Debonnaire* had for his too dear Son *Charles the Bald*. 3. The imbecillity of most part of these Princes, there not having been amongst all of them above five or six who were furnished with Sense and Courage together. 4. The ravages and inroads of the *Normans* who ransacked *France* for Four-score years together, and favoured the attempts of the great Lords. 5. The multitude of Bastard Children which *Charlemain* had, who plaid the Sovereigns in those Countries allotted them for their subsistence. 6. And if we will believe the Clergy, the Curse of God, which fell upon those Princes, because they gave the Churches goods to their Lay-officers and their Soldiers of Fortune.

7. One may add that this Tree bearing no more good Fruit, God would pluck it up to plant another in its place, infinitely more fair and more fertile, whose duration shall be extended to the end of time, and it's renown and glory to the ends of all the Earth.

987.

End of the Second Race or Line.

The

THE THIRD
RACE or LINE
 Of the **KINGS of**
FRANCE,
 Called the *Capetine Race*, or of the *Capets*.

First Part.

Hugh Capet, King XXXV.

POPES,

JOHN XV. S. Eight years and an half during this Reign.	996. S. Two years eight months, whereof some months under this Reign.
GREGORY V. Elected in June	

HUGH CAPET, Aged Forty four or
Forty five years.

* Hugues

THere was none of the *Carlovingian* Race remaining but *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine*. This Prince was absent, of little Merit, and very ill in the minds of the *French*. *Hugh Capet* on the contrary was in the heart of the Kingdom, Powerful and Esteemed; He held the *Dutchy of Burgundy* by *Henry* his Brother, that of *Normandy* by Duke *Richard* his Nephew, and that of *France*, with the Counties of *Paris* and *Orleans* in his own hands. Besides he had a Party made; so that having Assembled the Lords in the City of *Noyon*, he prevailed to be Elected and Proclaimed King about the end of the month of *May*. From thence he went to *Reims* to receive the *unction* and the Crown from the hands of the Archbishop *Adalbert*, who invested him the Third of *July*; Nor one of all those that were present at *Noyon*, and at that Ceremony claiming for *Charles*, but on the contrary all giving their Oaths in Writing as well as by Word of Mouth to his Enemy.

One might say, that this poor Prince had destituted, or deprived himself, by rendering himself a Stranger, and that this Estate could not suffer or admit a Head that was Vassal to another King. *Hugh* might also make use of the Testament which King

C c

Levis

Lewis made in his favour : but his best Right and Title was the general consent of the French People.

987, &c.

After his being first Crowned, he never put the Crown more upon his Head during his whole life time, because it having been predicated to him by Divine Revelation, That his Race should hold the Kingdom for seven Generations, he thought to prolong that Honour one Degree more, by not wearing himself the Regal Ornaments, so that he might not be reckoned one of the seven. He did not know the number seven in Sacred Language, signifies an extent to all Ages.

You must observe, that from about the time of *Charles* the Simple, under the name of the Kingdom of France were comprehended that of *Neustria*, that of *Aquitain*, and that of *Burgundy*, at least that part of *Aquitain* which lies on this side the *Saône* & *Loire*, and therefore when those Kings would be Crowned, they were fain to call together the Lords of all these three. For this reason perhaps it was, that the first *Capetins* Kings having joynted them all under one Title, took likewise upon them the Quality of Emperors; unless we should say, they did so not to seem inferior to the German Kings; but either by some Treaty, or upon some other Condition to us unknown, they quitted it, and contented themselves with that of King.

987.

The same year *Geoffrey* called *Gris-Gaule*, Earl of *Anjou*, ended his days. His Son *Fulk* surnamed *Nerra* was his Successor.

Hugh Capet six months after his Coronation, desiring to have an Assistant, obtained in an Assembly of French Lords, which was held at *Orléans*, that his Son named *Robert*, should be Associated in the Throne with him. He was Crowned in the same City the first day of *January* in the year 988.

988.

HUGH CAPET, and ROBERT his Son Aged about Sixteen years.

It is to be presumed, that Prince *Charles* did not omit to present himself to have or demand the Crown: but being come too late, he was rejected by the French, so that he betook himself to Arms, to resume his pretended Right.

Amongst all the Lords of the Kingdom, there were only *Arnold* Earl of *Flanders*, and *Hebert* Earl of *Champagne*, his Wives Father, that assisted him: but the first cited this year, having been ill handled by *Capet*, and *Hebert* durst not proceed to aid any farther for his Son-in-Law, but under-hand.

Mean time the young King *Robert* married *Lugarde* the Widow of the Earl of *Flanders*, though the were already very aged, and he not yet above Seventeen years old.

988.

Duke *Charles* had a Bastard Brother named *Arnold*, who was a Clerk in the Church of *Laon*: by his means he seized upon that City and upon the Archbishop *Anselm-Auberon* *. This *Anselm* was a very subtil Man, but without Faith, who to regain his liberty, pretended to be come wholly his Friend, and wrought so upon his Mind, that he made him the first of his Council.

* *Adalbert*.

988.

The new King knowing that *Charles* was in *Laon*, came presently to besiege him, resolved to take it by Famine. In the length of the Siege, his Men not standing carefully upon their Guard, *Charles* made a stout Sally, put them to the rout, burnt their Lodgments, and forced them to retire; Then made himself Master of *Reims* and *Souffens*.

But suffering this heat of good success to grow cool, few People declared for him, and even the Archbishop of *Reims* whom he importuned to Crown him, told him that he could not do it of his own head, and that it was a publick Business, that is to say, it required the Consent of the Lords of the Kingdom.

989.

It was greatly *Hugh's* interest to gain *Arnold* Bastard Brother of Duke *Charles* vacant by the death of *Adalbert*, having first taken an Oath from him in Writing: but six months after his being in that Town, *Charles* his Brother was introduced there, and made himself Master by means of a Priest named * *Adalger*, and in Consequence, as was thought, with the Archbishop; who notwithstanding, ever denied feaderacy, and remained Prisoner in the hands of *Charles*, either really or at least pretended.

* *Adalger*.

990.

At the same time *William* III. Earl of *Poitiers* and Duke of *Aquitain* refused to acknowledge the two Kings *Capet* and *Robert*, though he were Uncle to *Robert* by the

the Mother, openly accusing the French of Perfidiousness, and their having abandoned the Line and Blood of *Charlemaine*. Both the Kings marched that way to bring him to Obedience, and besieged *Poitiers*. He repulsed them intirely, pursued them to the *Loire*; and there happens a bloody Engagement, but the conclusion was to the Advantage of the French.

The year ensuing this Duke made War upon the Count of *Anjou*, for *Mirebalain* and *Loudunais*, and did so roughly handle him, that in the end he was constrained to acknowledge him and hold them in Fief of him.

991.

991.

Charles living in too great security at *Laon*, and with too much confidence in *Anselm*, King *Hugh* gained that Traitor; who like another *Judas*, upon Holy Thursday, he might opened the Gates, and delivered the poor Prince and his Wife up to him. He sent them away Prisoners to *Senlis*, and from thence to *Orléans*, where they were shut up in a Tower.

992.

The Archbishop *Arnold* his Brother was taken with him. The Bishops of *Perjury*, Assembled in Council at *Reims*, made his Process as one that was guilty of Perjury, and who had broken his Faith to King *Hugh*, and therefore degraded him of his Prelature; after which the King sent him Prisoner to *Orléans* to keep his Brother company.

Gerbert a Benedictine Monk, who had been Tutor to the Emperor *Otho* III. and to King *Robert*, was chosen in his place. He was so Learned for those times, particularly in the Mathematicks, that it gave him the Reputation of a Magician amongst the ignorant.

993.

Ann 993. *William* III. Duke of *Aquitain* made Peace with the King, and owned to hold his Lands of him. But another *William* Duke of *Gascogne* kept himself still independent. He it was who having gained a memorable Battle against a Fleet of *Normans* landed in *Gascogne* towards the end of this Century, and believing he obtained that Advantage by the intercession of St. *Sever*, who was said to have appeared that day on a white Horse with glittering Arms fighting against the Barbarians, put his Dukedom under the protection of that glorious Martyr, and Erected a Church and Abby over his Tomb; round about which Edifice is built that City called St. *Sever*, Cape of *Gascogne*.

Many believe, but without any certain proofs, that *Hugh Capet* confirmed the Inheritance of all the great Estates, Dutchies and Earldoms to those Lords that had usurped them; and it is probable that they themselves had first given such a dependence upon them, to their own Vassals, thereby to engage them to maintain and justify them in their Usurpations.

It is certain he annexed to the Crown, which had scarce any thing left in Propriety, the Earldom of *Paris*, the Dukedom of *France*, containing all that is between the *Loire* and *Seine*, and the Earldom of *Orléans*.

Amongst a very great number of Lords who enjoy'd of the Regal Rights, the Eight most considerable were the Dukes of *Burgundy*, *Normandy*, *Aquitain*, and *Gascogne*; the Earls of *Flanders*, of *Champagne* and *Thouars* (*Bretagne* then held of *Normandy*) the Earls of *Gascony* and *Marquis of Gualis*; the Earl of *Loz*; This last was likewise Duke of *Sepimania* and Marquis of *Gascony*; the Duke of *Barcelona* in the Marches of *Spain*, and the Earl of *Anjou* on the Frontiers of *Breton*; all these Lords had a great many more vassals, this held of the Duchy of *France*. All these Lords had a great many more besides who took upon them to be Sovereigns.

I do not speak of the Estates that were set up in the Kingdom of *Lorraine*: amongst others the two Dutchies that bare that name, to wit the higher or *Mosellanick*, which retains it to this day, and the lower which is *Brabant*; Nor of those that were framed out of the Ruines of the Kingdom of *Arles*, and that of *Transjurane*, as the Earldom of *Burgundy*, those of *Viennais*, *Provence*, and *Savoy*, *Dauphiné*, the Dukedom of *Zerlingen* and *Alman*, and divers others, because those Countries were not of *France*, but held of the Emperors of *Germany*, who were Titularies of those two Kingdoms.

The Grandees of the Kingdom thought that *Capet* ought to suffer all from them, because they had set the Crown upon his Head: His Patience and Courage, which he exercised diversly according as occasion required, kept them from running to extremity, and maintained him in his Throne.

One *Adelbert* Count de la *Marche* and *Perigord* was one of the most unruly, and concerned himself in all their Quarrels. *Fulk Nerra* had some Pretensions to the City of *Tours*; he besieged it in his behalf. The King sent and commanded him to desist: *Adelbert* would do nothing; and asking him, Who was it that made you a Count? He insolently replied, Those same that made you a King, continued the Siege, and took the Town.

C c 2

993.

William IV. of that name, Earl of *Toulouse* and of *Arles*, turned Monk, and his Son *William V.* succeeded him.

994, & 95.

994-

994

994, and
the fol-
lowing.

By his Example those Lords that possessed Church-Lands, as their own Patrimony: not only rejoyced them, but for Reformation of their unjust Enjoyment and Detention, founded Monasteries which they peopled with reformed Monks: who certainly were much less good and more interested, then the former had been.

৯৯৬.

* *Mil des Ar-
dents.*

* *Mil des Ar-
dents.*

The Calamity, which Anno 994. destroyed in *Aquitain, Angoumois, Perigord, and Limosin*, above 40000 Persons in a few days time, wrought at least this good, that the *Grandes* who had troubled this Province by their private Feuds, fearing the Wrath of God, made a Solemn Oath amongst themselves, to do Justice to their Subjects,

It was likewise in this Age that Pilgrimages to the Holy Land grew very frequent; I mean amongst the Seculars, for the Monks and Clergy-men travelled to these Holy Places from the time of King Clovis.

Church of the
Tenth Age.

But after all these Ruines, they began, before the middle of this Century, to gather up the broken pieces or fragments, and reform the behaviour of the Clergy, as well as rebuild their Churches. *William Duke of Aquitain and Aversen*, having founded the Monastery of *Clugny* in the year 910, and *St. Mayeul* having raised, as it were a Nursery of Religious good Men, they took some Plants from thence to flock and flourish those Abbeys which the Princes re-edified. This Abbot and *Odilon* his Successor furnished at least twenty or thirty, who remained still in subjection to their common Mother, and formed the Congregation of *Clugny*. As much did *William* Abbot of *St. Benigne at Dijon*; as likewise *Abbon de Fleury*, to some others about *Aquitain*; *Suborbenige at Dijon*; as likewise *Abbon de Fleury*, to some others about *Aquitain*; *Subordinations* which may procure much good, and perhaps much greater evils. *St. Gerard* of the Blood of the Dukes of *Lorraine*, having embraced a Monastic Life, reformed Eighteen or twenty. *Adalbero* Bishop of *Metz*, Brother to *Frederic* first Earl of *Bar*, made a Regulation in those of his Bishoprick, amongst others in that of *Gorze*, and at *St. Arnold*, from whence he expelled the Canons who were grown disorderly, to place Monks in their stead.

Abbot de Fleury going to settle his Reformation in the Monasteries of *Sqairs* upon the *Garonne*, which therefore was called *the Rule*, and in the Language of that Country, *La Reule*, and near to which was built a City of that name : was knock'd down by a Sedition which the *Gafcon* Monks of that place, and the Women had rais'd against him.

Amongst the Bishops there were divers that were noted for their famous Intriguing and Disorders. In the Wars between the Kings, *Henry* the Bird-catcher, and *Charles* the Simple, *Hiluin* falsifying his Faith, which he owed to *Charles*, who had given him the Bishoprick of *Lige*, went and acknowledged *Henry*, and forced away the Treasures of the Church, which he distributed to that Prince and his Courtiers, to maintain him: but the face of Affairs being changed, *Charles* would not suffer him to hold that Bishoprick, but bestowed it upon the Abbot *Richer*, which was confirmed by the Pope. King *Henry* recompensed *Hiluin* with the Bishoprick of *Milan*. *Heri de Reims*, otherwise a very learned Prelate, was likewise unfaithful to *Charles* the Simple, whose Chancellor he was, and Crowned *Robert* Brother to *Enders*: but he died within three days after, as if he had been smitten by the avenging hand of God. *Sealfs*, *Hugh*, and *Arnold* his Successors, did all cause many troubles for more then Twenty five years. The Traitor *Adilberon de Loun* delivered up Prince *Charles*, who had made him his prime Minister; and *Arnold de Reims* was contented to owe the Obligation of that Archbishoprick to his Brothers mortal Enemy, and then broke his Faith with him.

It will be difficult to cull out any *excelling in Christian Vertues*, as to merit the Titles of Saints; unless we place in this Rank *Erembert of Toulouze, Gumbert of Cahors, and Tarpion of Limoges*. I do not speak of those of *Germany*; amongst them this Age produced a sufficient number, whole Apostolical Labours and Endeavours converted the *Danes, Sclavonians, Hungarians*, and other Infidel Nations. But amongst the Monks, we find in *Burgundy* five Abbots, *Bennon, Odon, Myselet, Odillon* and

Robert, King XXXVI.

POPES,

GREGORY V. About two years
under this Reign.

SILVESTER II. Elected in
March 999. S. Four years and two
Months.

JOHN XVIII. Elected in May
1003. S. Five Months.

JOHN XIX. Elected in Novem.

1003. S. Five years ten Months.

SERGILUS IV. Elected in Aug.
1009. S. Two years eight Months,
and an half.

BENEDICT VIII. Elected in
1012. S. near Twelve years.

JOHN XX. Elected in March
1024. S. Nine years eight Months.

ROBERT, King XXXVI. Aged Twenty four or
Twenty five years.

THis King compleat both in Body and Mind, of a handſom Stature, a ſweet and grave Air, a compoſed and ſage Humour, having been nurtur'd to Piety and good Learning by *Gerbert*, became very knowing for that Age, much more Religious and Zealous in the Service of God, and as Juſt, Charitable, and Debonnaire towards his People, as any Prince that ever wore a Crown. And indeed God favour'd his Reign with the choicest Bleſſing he is wont to beſtow upon thoſe Kings who are according to his own Heart, I mean with a long and happy Peace, which he enjoy'd near Thirty years, after ſome ſlight and petty Wars.

This year 996. died *Richard I. Duke of Normandy*, who was paſt his Seventieth year; He left his Dukedom to his Son *Richard II.* ſurnamed the Good.

William Earl of Poitou and *Duke of Aquitain*, having War with *Boson II. Earl of Perigord* and *de la Marche*, *Robert* was obliged to aſſiſt him as his Kindred and Vallaſſ. They both laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Belac*: but their Army wanting Proviſions, becauſe they were too numerous, could not ſuſſiſt till the taking of the Place. The Chronicles of thoſe times who are all very ſuccinct, do not give an account of the end of that War, no more then of many other things.

Eudes Earl of Brie and *Champagne* prompted with great deſire to have a paſſage over the *Seine* as he had already over the *Marne*, thereby to go commodiouſly from *Brie* to his County of *Charrier*, caſt his Eyes upon *Melun*, and with Money gained the Vicount or Caſtellaine belonging to *Earl Bouchard*, who deliver'd it up to him.

Bouchard had been the favourite of *Hugh Capet*, who had given him that Earldom, and he was yet at this time Count Palatine for King *Robert*. Wherefore this King took in hand his defence, ſent *Richard II. Duke of Normandy* his Couſin and good Friend, and with him beſieged the place. The Battery with their * Engines having made a Breach, the Garrion ſurrendered upon Compulſion: the Caſtellaine and his Wife were both Hanged on the top of a Hill near the place.

They did not puniſh Gentlemen with Death for Rebellion or Felony, unleſt they committed Treafon; but in that caſe they hanged them in ſome eminent Place, that Crime degrading ſtem of all Nobility.

* Battering
Rammes.

Poland was honoured with the Title of a Kingdom by the Emperor *Otho III.* who going to *Gneſne* to Viſit the Sepulchre of *St. Adalbert Martyr*, gave the Regal Ornaments to *Duke Boleslaus*.

The following year *Hungary* had the ſame Advantage and Honour, but would receive it from the hands of the Pope, to whom Prince *Stephen* the Son of *Geiſa*, who firſt embraced Chriſtianity, ſent to demand the Royal Crown.

Towards the end of January in the year 1002. the Emperor *Otho*, aged but Twenty nine years died in the City of *Rome*, or in *Paterna*, not leaving any Children. It was believed to be of Poyſon; the curſed praſtice thereof being much in uſe, as I have obſerved in this Age, thorough all the Welt. *Henry II.* of that name, called the Cripple, Duke of *Bavaria* and Earl of *Bamberg*, ſucceeded him by an Election of the German Princes, but did not bear the Title of Emperor, at leaſt not in *Italy*, till he had been Crowned by the Pope, which was Twelve years afterwards.

The degrees of Parentage wherein Marriage was prohibited, having been extended to the Seventh, beſides the obſtructions from Spiritual Alliance or Goſpſhip, cauſed much Broil eſpecially amongst Princes and Grandees, who commonly are of Kin to one another, even within that degree. For ſo ſoon as a Husband or a Wife were diſguſted with each other, or that any one had a mind to trouble them, they needed but to Article and make Oath they were of Kin within the degrees forbidden, and produce Witneſſes upon it, (to the number of nine, as I believe) which were not wanting, or difficult to get; and thereupon the Dioceſan Biſhop, or an Aſſembly of Biſhops, if there were any greater difficulty, pronounced Judgment.

Now Queen *Luizard* the firſt Wife of *Robert* being dead, he was adviſed, by Maxims of Policy, to Wed *Bertha* Siſter to *Rodolph* the * Lazy King of *Burgundy*, Widow of *Eudes I.* Earl of *Chartres*, and Mother of *Eudes II.* as yet but young. She being of Kin in the fourth Degree, and beſides he having held a Child with her at the Font; he thought he might prevent the inconvenience of nullity of Marriage by the Authority of the Gallican Church: he called therefore his Biſhops together, who having heard his Reaſons, were of opinion upon conſideration of the publick good, that he might take her for his Wife notwithstanding the Canonical Obſtructions; which was a kind of Diſpenſation.

Abbon who was Abbot of *Fleury*, a vehement Man, not having been able to diſſuade him from this match, beſtirr'd himſelf with much heat to have it diſſolved. The Pope, to whom *Robert* had made no Application, excommunicated the Biſhops that had authorized it, and the two Parties that were Contracted, if they did not ſeparate forthwith.

The King not giving Obedience to a Sentence which appeared to him contrary to the good of his Kingdom, the Pope by an unheard-of Proceeding put the whole Nation under an Interdiction. To which the People ſo humbly ſubmitted, that all the Kings Domeſtick Servants, excepting only two or three, forſook him, and they threw whatſoever was left at his Table to the Dogs, no body thinking it lawful to eat of that Meat he had but touched.

Theſe Severities, and not a Monſtrous Birth by his Wife, whom the Miraclemongers ſay was delivered of an Infant with the Neck and Feet reſembling a Goole, conſtrained him to part from her, but that was not till two or three years after; and we find that they made a Journey to *Rome*, either to defend their Cauſe before the Pope, or to crave his Pardon. However it were the Marriage remained Null.

I cannot forget one memorable Example of the Sovereign Power, and the extrem Rigour of the Pope, it was *Silveſter II.* *Guy* Vicount of *Limoges* was cired to *Rome* by the Biſhop of *Angoulême*, becauſe he had detained him Priſoner in a Caſtle. The two Parties appeared. The Cauſe pleaded upon the very Eaſter-day, the Pope pronounced that *Guy* for Reparation of his Crime, ſhould be tied to the Necks of two Wild-horſes, and his Body thus torn and bruised, thrown on the Dung-hill, which was to be put in Execution three days after. In the mean time *Guy* was delivered up into the hands of the Biſhop; but the Prelat being moved with pity pardoned him, and ſtealing away in the night, generouſly brought him thence into *France* again with him.

About this time *Henry Duke of Burgundy* Brother of *Hugh Capet*, died without Children. Now by the induction of *Giſſelle* his Wife, Widow of *Adelbert*, as above, King of *Italy* and Son of *Berenger II.* he left his Dukedom by Will and Teſtament, to *Otho-William* ſurnamed the Stranger, iſſue of that Woman by her firſt Husband, who finding himſelf already Earl of *Burgundy* beyond *Soane*, named *Franch-Comte*, and beſides aſſiſted by *Landry* Earl of *Nevers* his Son-in-Law, and *Brunn* Biſhop

New-Testament, and a Reliquary or Shrine, wherein was a Tooth of the Martyr St. *Incent*, which was enriched with Precious Stones : and *Henry* a pair of Ear-Pendants.

1024.

This last being dead at *Zamberg*, the *German* Princes elected *Conrad* Duke of *Warmer*, who could not go to *Rome* to receive the Imperial Crown, till the year 1027. At first the *Italian* Princes and Prelats hating the *Teutonic* Nation, who Treated them Peremptorily, ruling as it were with a Rod in hand, refused to obey, and sent into *France* to profer King *Robert* the Kingdom of *Italy* for his Son *Hugh*.

1025.
Emperor *Basilis* and *Conrad* II.
Reigned 25
years.

Upon his refusal they Addressed themselves to *William* Duke of *Aquitain*, very well known in *Rome* by his frequent Pilgrimages. He hearkned to the Proposal, understood their Methods, sent some thither to sound them throughly, and after went himself. When he was amongst them, he found nothing of all they had promised, every one demanding of him instead of giving to him; they propounded no Conditions but such as were very ridiculous; so that finding they had a design upon his Purse, and feared his Power, he laughed at them and left them.

The imperious and proud Humour of *Queen Constance* gave the King perpetual trouble and displeasures, who used all means to soften her. One day being offended and angry with a favourite of his named *Hugh de Beauvais*, who upheld the Husbands Spirit against her undertakings, she makes her complaint to *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou* her Cousin, intreating to Revenge her. The Count sent twelve of his own Country Gentlemen, who taking their opportunity when this Favourite was Hunting with the King, seized on him, and cruelly cut off his Head in the Kings presence, without any regard to his Intraties.

Emperor *Constantine* alone
and *Conrad*.

1025.

The King was forced to put up this Affront for fear of a greater mischief, and withall to endure this Step-mother should Treat his Son King *Hugh* with the greatest indignity, even to the reducing him to much indigence of all things fit for him.

I find in the Life of this most Wise King an act of Clemency more then Royal. There having been discovery made of a grand Conspiracy against his Life and Sta-e, and the Authors taken, when the Lords were assembled together to Sentence them to Death, he caused those Wretches to be splendidly entertained, and the next day admitted to the Sacred Communion : then would needs have them be set free, saying, They could not put those to Death whom *Jesus Christ* had newly received at his * Table.

This year *William* IV. Duke of *Aquitain* and Earl of *Poitiers* died, and his eldest Son *William* V. furnished the *Gros* took the Government of his Country. The Widow Dutches second Wife of *William* IV. having Children, to gain assistance against those of the first Bed, Married *Geoffrey Martel* a most valiant Prince, the Son of *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou*.

The year after, *Richard* the Good Duke of *Normandy* ended his days, and for Successor had *Richard* III. his eldest Son.

Otho-*William* Earl of *Burgundy*, left this World likewise, and his Son *Renaud* possessed his Estates.

An enraged Passion to govern Armed *Baldwin*, then furnished the *Frison*, and afterwards the *Debonnaire*, against Bearded *Baldwin* his own Father Earl of *Flanders*, so that he drove him out of his Country; This unnatural Son valuing himself highly on the Alliance of King *Robert*, whose Daughter he had Married, but who nevertheless did not countenance his impiety. *Richard* III. Duke of *Normandy* (others affirm it was *Robert*) received the old banished Man and restored him to his Earldom : but he could not totally suppress the Partialities in those Countries, where some still sided with the Son, as others stood up for the Father.

The 17th of September the young King *Hugh* died in the Flower of his Age, be-moaned of all Europe for his rare and lovely Qualities, which had acquired him so great Reputation, that he could hardly have made it good if he had longer survived.

King *Robert* had three more Sons remaining, *Henry*, *Robert*, and *Eudes*. Some say that *Eudes* was the eldest of them all. However it were, the King after the Death of *Hugh* would have *Henry* Crowned : but *Queen Constance* by a depraved appetite had undertaken to put *Robert* in the Throne.

The Fathers Authority and Reason carried it for *Henry* amongst the *French* Lords : and yet this Womans Obstinacy could not acquiesce, but caused many Tumults, her Husband not being able to prevent her even in his Life time, from contriving a great Conspiracy to dethrone the eldest, and place the younger in his stead.

Emperor *Roman* II. Cousin
to *Conrad*, in
November,
Reigned Five
years six
months, and
Conrad.

1023.

1023, & 29.

R O

ROBERT, and HENRY his Son Aged some Eighteen years.

Richard III. Duke of *Normandy* having Reigned but two years, died of Poyson by his Brother named *Robert*, who after his death enjoyed the Dukedom obtained by *Fratricide*.

1029.

1028.

In the year 1029. and 30. there began a great War between *Eudes* Earl of *Champagne*, *Chartres* and *Tours*, and *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou*, because *Fulk* fortified the Castle of *Montrichard* which *Eudes* said did belong to the Country of *Toursaine*. After some Rencontres they came to a pitched Battle, each being at the head of his Army : the loss was great on either side, but the *Angewin* obtained the Victory.

1029, & 30.

Though King *Robert* commonly permitted the liberty of Elections, yet the Bishop of *Langres* being dead, he by his absolute Authority substituted another, as having need of one wholly at his Devotion in that place, to help him in the bridling and containing of *Burgundy*. The Canons having Poysoned this, he put in a second there ; which excited to great trouble amongst the Clergy of that Diocess, that he was forced to fend his Son to infall the last promoted, and to secure him from their Attempts.

1030, 31,
and the following.

Whilst *Henry* was in that Country, hapned a great Eclipse of the Sun, and *Robert* his Father was seized with a Difterper, whereof he died the 20th of July in the year 1033. having lived Sixty one years, of which he Reigned Forty five and an half, that was Nine and an half with his Father, and Thirty six since his death.

1033.

He had four Children living ; three Sons, *Henry* who had the Crown, *Eudes* who contended with him for it, and *Robert* who was Duke of *Burgundy* : and one Daughter named *Adeleida*, who Married *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*.

It was no fault of his Government that *France* was not compleatly happy : he gave his Subjects what depended upon him, Justice and Peace ; but had the unhapiness to see a Famine three times, and after that a Plague make great destruction in his Dominions, the first in Anno 1007. the second, Anno 1010. and the third from the year 1030. to 1033. The first was general over all Europe, and the last so severe in *France*, that many People were seen to dig up dead Carcasses for Food, to go a hunting after little Children, and lie in wait at the corners of Woods like Beasts of Prey, to devour Passengers. Nay there was a Man so possessed with the covetous desire of gain, more cruel then the Famine it self, that he exposed Human Flesh to sale in the City of *Tourneus* : but that detestable Prodigy was by them expiated in the Flames.

Henry

Henry I. King XXXVII.

POPE S,

BENEDICT IX. *A young Boy intruded in December 1033. S. near Ten years.*

Three Anti-Popes, the same BENEDICT, SYLVESTER, and GREGORY VI. Elected after the Abdication of BENEDICT, Anno 1044. S. Two years.

CLEMENT VII. *Named by the Emperor, Anno 1046. S. Nine Months.*

DAMASUS II. *Elected in*

1048. S. Twenty three days.

LEO IX. *After Five Months vacancy, Elected in Feb. 1049. S. Five years two Months.*

VICTOR II. *Named by the Emperor, Anno 1054. S. Three years.*

STEPHANUS X. *Elected in August 1057. S. Eight Months.*

NICHOLAS II. *Elected in 1058. S. Two years six Months.*

1033.

THe first and most capital Enemy against this King was his own Mother : who continuing to the prejudice of his Fathers Declaration, and the right of Nature, to endeavour to set the Crown upon the Head of Robert her beloved Son, raised a good Party of the Grantees against him, particularly Baldwin Earl of Flanders, and Eudes Earl of Champagne, bestowing the City of Sens upon this last to engage him to her Party.

But Henry whose Resolution was above his Age, went himself, being the Twelfth, to Robert Duke of Normandy to implore his Assistance. The Duke by Motives of Fidelity, or hatred against the Champenois, aided him with all his Forces : With which having in a short time defeated the Queen's in several Encounters, and taken the Rebels Holds, he unlinked the whole Party, and reduced her in despite of all her Projects to live quietly with him.

The War ended, he gave Robert the Cities of Chaumont and Pontoise, and the French Vexin.

1033.

It was then likewise he yielded the Dukedom of Burgundy to his Brother Robert. From whom issued the First Race of the Dukes of Burgundy of the Blood Royal.

The Earl of Champagne did not hold himself vanquish'd by the defeat of the Party : to make him lay down his Sword the King was forced to beat his Army twice, and the third time put him to a rout, and made him fly away half naked, and hide himself, before he could compel him to shake hands.

1033, and the following.

About the year 1032. or 33. Geoffrey surnamed Martel, made a cruel War upon William V. called the Gros, Duke of Guyenne and Earl of Poitou, whose Mother-in-Law, or his own Fathers second Wife he had Married : She was named Agnes Daughter of the Earl of Burgundy. The Subject of the Quarrel was the Earldom of Saintonge and the Country of Aunis, which he disputed for. The Authors do not tell us plainly by what Title he claimed; but that he vanquish'd the Duke in a great Battle near Montreuil-Bellay, took him Prisoner, and did not release him till three years end, after he had yielded up Saintonge, and paid a lusty Ransom.

1033.

Rodolph, or Roul King of Burgundy beyond the Jura and of Arles dying in the year 1033, instituted his Heir Conrad the Emperor who had Married Gisle his youngest Sister, and had by her a Son named Henry, and made no account of Eudes Earl of Champagne the Husband of Berthe his eldest Sister, because while he was living

he

Henry I. King XXXVII.

he would have forced him to acknowledge him for King, and had bred Factions and Strife in his Country.

By this Institution the Kingdom of Burgundy and Arles passing over to German Princes, was by them as it were united and joyned to the German & Kingdom and the Empire, who being at too great a distance have insensibly let it slip through their Fingers, and after they had lost the Possession, have likewise lost the very Title to it.

In these days lived Humbert, Surnamed White-hands, Earl of Maurienne and Savoy, Stem of the Royal House of Savoy, which at this day holds a great Rank amongst Christian Sovereigns, the Off-spring of this Humbert, having by Marriages, Succession, Conquests, and other means, assembled and joyned all the several pieces whereof that State is composed. Some Historians make this Prince to be descended from Boion King of Provence, others from Hugh King of Italy, and some from the ancient Counts of Melfon; but Tradition, and which appears most probable, makes him the Son of one Berald of Saxony who descended from Vitekind, by the same Branch as the three Otto's Emperors, or by some other.

The Earl of Champagne not able to endure that Conrad should allow him no part of a Patrimony, of which the best share ought to be his, took his time when that Prince was employ'd in Hungary, and with his own Forces and those of his Friends, made himself Master of a great part of the Kingdom.

But Conrad at his return having led his Army into those Countries, drove Eudes Garritious forth of all the Places he had taken, put in his own, and received Homage of all the Lords. In fine, he handled him so roughly, that all help failing, and perhaps an apprehension getting into his thoughts, that the King of France who hated him, might agree with the Emperor to strip him, he went and surrendered upon Mercy, and humbled himself before him.

Robert Duke of Normandy by force of Arms contrains the Bretons to do him Homage.

He dies the year after at Nicea in Bithynia, upon his return from a Pilgrimage to Jerusalem. At his departure he had instituted an only Son of his, but a Baldard named William to be his Heir, begotten on a Citizens Daughter of Falaise, leaving him at Paris, in the guard and protection of King Henry who had very great Obligations to him, and giving the Regency of the Country to Alain Duke of Bretagne.

William had two Paternal Uncles, Manger Archbishop of Rouen, who was Married and had Children, and William Earl of Angiers, to whom the Nobility of the Country would much rather have obey'd than to a Baldard. This was the occasion of great Troubles, and would have ruined Normandy, had the French King's Forces been but as great as his desire to regain it.

About this time the name of the Normands began to grow famous and potent in Italy, especially in Puglia and Calabria. In the year 1003. forty Adventurers of that Nation, upon the quitting the Holy Land, having added some things there almost incredible against the Saracens, in favour of Gaimar Duke of Salerno, who was hugely tormented by them, being returned into Normandy laden with Honour and Presents, had excited other brave Men of their Country to go seek their Fortunes beyond the Mountains.

The first that try'd, was a Gentleman named Drengon-Osmund, who being forced to quit the Country for killing one William Repette in the presence of his Prince having vapoured that he had abused his Daughter, went with four more Brothers and some others of his Kindred, to offer his Service to Melo Duke of Bari, and Pandolphus Prince of Capua, who were Revolted against the Greeks. They received them with open Arms, and gave them a City and some Lands to maintain themselves. Then after these were settled, not without many hazards, Combats and Adventures, six of the Sons of Tancred d'Antecville, a Gentleman of the Bishoprick of Constance, who had twelve all of them brave and courageous, arrived there and carried their fame to a higher pitch then the former.

Normandy was all in Fire and Blood by the particular Feuds of some Lords upheld by the Uncles of the young Duke Alain III. Duke of Bretagne, his Guardian being come to appease them, could not avoid a Mortal Poison given him by the Factions Antagonists. Conrad II. his Son but then in his Cradle succeeded him.

About these times William the Gros Duke of Aquitaine was delivered out of Prison and died the same year. Otto or Eudes his second Brother succeeded him. Two years after he inherited the Dukedom of Gasconne, taking possession thereof in the Church of St. Severin at Burdeaux according to the Custom. He had this Lordship in Right of his Mother Brice who was the Daughter of Duke Saco. Thus the House of Gasconne resolved, or dissolved into that of Poitiers or Aquitaine.

1033, 34
Emperor
chael Daplia-
gonian, in
April, and
Conrad.

1034.
1035.

1035.

1036.

1036.

1003, and
the follow-
ing.

1036.

1037.

The

1037. The Pretensions of *Eudes* Earl of *Champagne* to the Kingdom of *Burgundy* not being wholly stifled, he fell with an Army into the Kingdom of *Lorraine* which belonged to the Emperor, and took the City of *Commercy*; but as he would have attacked *Bar*, *Gatolun* Duke of *Lorraine* came and opposed him so roughly, that he defeated his Army and laid him dead upon the place. His two Sons *Thibault* and *Stephen* shared his Lands. *Thibault* had the Earldoms of *Chartres* and *Tours*, and *Stephen* thofe of *Troyes* or *Champagne*, and *Meaux* in *Brie*.
- 1038, and 39. *Geoffrey Martel*, following the Passion of *Agnes* his Wife, excited the Subjects of *Eudes* Duke of *Aquitain* to rebel againft him, thereby to advance his Brothers of the fame Venter, *Peter-William* and *Guy* the Son of that *Agnes*: which fucceeded as he wifhed; for *Eudes* who had no Child being flain in the year 1039, at the Siege of a little paltry Town, *Peter-William* fucceeded him, and *Guy-Geoffrey* had the Earldom of *Gascogny*.
- 1038, and 39. The Normans under the Conduct of *William* furnamed *Fierabras*, the eldeft of *Tancred's* Sons, were employ'd by the *Grecian* Emperor's Lieutenant, to drive the *Saracens* out of *Sicily*, upon condition they fhould have part of the Conquefts. Whereof finding themfelves fruflrate by the *Greeks*, they fell upon *Puglia* or *Apulia*, which they began to take footing in. Duke *Fierabras* their General happening to die, they chofe his Brother *Drogon* in his ftead, and he being likewife treacheroufly kill'd by the Lords of that Country, they fubftituted *Osfroy* the third of thofe Brothers.
- 1039, and following. The *Grecian* Emperor's Lieutenant brought his Army from *Sicily* to flop their Enterprize, and fought them near the *Streams* of *Anfidus*, and not far from *Cannes*, where otherwhile *Hannibal* made fo horrible a Slaughter amongft the *Romans*. The *Greek* was not more fortunate than the *Carthaginians*, he loft the Battle and fo great a number of his Men, that the *Grecians* could never raife themfelves again in that Country; and the power of the *Normans* increafed fo much, that it fuppreffed theirs in a few years.
- * Or *Fulk*, 1039. *Foulk* * Earl of *Anjou* died in the City of *Metz* in his return from the Holy Land: *Geoffrey* furnamed *Martel* his Son fucceeded him. This *Foulk* being in *Jerufalem* touched with a deep Repentance for his Sins, caufed himfelf to be drawn all naked on a Hurdle with a Rope about his Neck, and Whipt till the Blood run, crying out, Have Mercy Lord, on the Treacherous and Perjur'd *Foulk*.
- 1040, and 41. The Sons of *Eudes* Earl of *Champagne* refufed to do Hommage for their Lands to King *Henry*, becaufe he had not affilied their Father againft the Emperor *Conrad*. The pretence of their Felony was, that they faid the Crown belonged to his Brother *Eudes*; in effect they encouraged him to fet up for King. Which hath made fome fufpect that he was the eldeft.
1041. *Henry* did not give this Confpiracy time to make any progrefs, he befieged his Brother in a Caftle whither he was retired, and having taken it, fent him under a ftrong Guard to *Orleans*. I do not find what became of him.
- This done, he marched againft *Stephen* Earl of *Brie* and *Champagne*, whom he put to a rout; and thence turns againft *Galeran* Earl of *Meulan* their Allie whom he deprived of his Earldom.
- On the other hand he animated *Geoffrey* called *Martel* againft *Thibault*, whereupon he befieges the City of *Tours*, and whatever Agreement could be afterwards made between the King and *Thibault*, *Martel* would not give over his Enterprize.
- He had kept it block'd up almoft a year; *Thibault* knowing it was like to perifh for want of Victuals, refolves to relieve it. *Geoffrey* going to meet him with the Chappes or Mantle of *St. Martin*, which he caufed to be carried in manner of a Standard, gained the Victory, made *Thibault* a Prifoner, and afterwards reduced the Town, which fince belonged to the Earls of *Anjou*.
- In thofe times Princes caufed the Relicks of fome Saint Worfhip'd in their Countries to be carry'd for their Enrichment, or fome which they had procured from other places, and likewife often took the Banners ufed in Churches which ferved as their Standards.
1039. During the Troubles and Factions the Minority of *William* the Baftard occafioned in *Normandy*, the King took his opportunity to make them deliver up the Caftle de *Tilieres*, upon pretence that the Rebels might feize upon it: and in truth he caufed it to be razed, but foon after he rebuilt it, and placed a Garrifon there, then ftepping farther into *Normandy*, he ranfacked the County of *Hispner*, and there burnt the little City of *Argentan*, which perhaps is the place the *Romans* called *Ara Gemina*.
1040. Soon after *William* took the Government; and becaufe he was yet a Minor, chofe himfelf a Guardian, it was *Rodolph de Gae* his Conftable. But the Lords obey'd unwillingly becaufe of the defect of his Birth: they had for Chief *Guy* of *Burgundy*, who being the Son of *Reynald* Earl of the *Franch Comte*, and *Alise* Sifter of the deceased *Robert*, pretended that in his Confcience the Dutchy belonged to him.

- The Faction was fo ftrong that they had like to ruine *William*; but being fome what re-affured, he had recourfe to King *Henry*, who having now another defign then to deftroy him, went and joyned forces with him: both gave the Rebels Battle in a place called the *Valley of the Downs*, fome Leagues on this fide the City of *Cuen*. The King was truck down with a Lance by a Gentleman of *Conftantine*, but recover'd himfelf again without any hurt. The Rebels were wholly cut off, *Guy* of *Burgundy* befieged and forced in *Brienne*, was deffied of the Lands he held in *Normandy*, and retired to the *Franch Comte*.
- The Earl of *Anjou*, who had been once in greateft favour with the King, there being I know not what coldnefs grown betwixt them, let fall fome words, which fo highly offended the King, that he undertook to chaftife him; he fent therefore to the *Norman* Duke to accompany him in this Expedition, and entred upon the Earls Lands; but they were immediately reconciled.
- The quarrel was ftill to be decided between the *Norman* and the *Angevin*, it lafted as long as the life of the latter, and Fortune was favourable fometimes to the one, fometimes to the other.
- The *Norman* Duke having attained to years fit for Marriage, efpoufed *Matilda*, Daughter of *Baldwin*, called the *Pious*, Earl of *Flanders*, and *Alise*, or *Adeleida*, Daughter of King *Robert*. Being of kin to him, they were fain to obtain a Difpenfation from the Pope, who allowed it, upon condition to build four Hofpitals in four feveral Cities, each to maintain an hundred poor People.
- The Church not being ufed to thefe Difpenfations, *Mauger* Arch-Bifhop of *Rouen*, Uncle to the Duke, not out of any zeal for Canonical Difcipline, but becaufe he would embroil them, that his Brother the Earl of *Arques* might make himfelf Duke, Excommunicated them both. The Duke having Convened the Bifhops of the Province at *Lifenex*, the Popes Legat prefiding, depofed him, and banifhed him to the Ifland of *Grenezay*.
- The Earl of *Arques* having his Party Formed, rifes up in Arms, the Duke gives him a repulse, and befieges him in the Caftle of *Arques*; the King who changed fides, either according to his Intereft or Humour, highly undertakes his Defence, and goes in Perfon to put Provisions and Relief into *Arques*. Notwithstanding this Refrefhment, the Duke is bent to keep the place blocked up; fo that the Earl wanting Provisions, is obliged to Capitulate, provided he may enjoy his Life without lofs of Members, and fome Lands for his fubfiftance.
- The broken remnants of the party fled to the King, who being a little jealous of the profperity of *William*, and pushed forwards by the Earls of *Anjou* and *Poitou*, enemies to the Duke, promifed to turn him out of his Dutchy. He had but the defign, the event was contrary: being advanced towards *Rouen*, the *Normans* cut his Vanguard in pieces, between *Efcany* and *Mortemer*; he was compell'd to face about, and after this cheque to deliver up the Caftle of *Tilieres* to him.
- This Duke not wont to pardon any that took up Arms againft him, efpecially his Relations by the Father's fide; moft of thofe who had engaged for the King, or the Count *d'Arques*, went into *Puglia*, where they made a better fortune than they were like to have found, had they remained in *Normandy*.
- The victorious Duke carries the War into *Anjou*, and in his paffage feizes on the County of *Maine*, which Earl *Hebert* had given him by Will, in recompence for that he had defended him againft the *Angevin*.
- The valiant *Geoffrey Martel*, Earl of *Anjou* in the year 1047, about Eight and forty years old, quitted the World, and retired to the Abby of *St. Nicholas* of *Angers*, where he lived till *An*. 1061. Before his Retreat, he left his Eftates to *Geoffrey* called the *Bearded*, and to *Foulke* furnamed the *Rechin*, who were the Children of his Sifter *Adeleida*, and *Alberic*, Earl of *Gafigne* in *Poitou*. *Geoffrey* bare the Title of Earl of *Anjou*, and dying, left it to *Foulke*.
- The Emperor *Henry III.* called the *Black*, and *Henry* King of *France* had an Interview this year in the Countrey of *Mefn*, where they renewed the antient Alliance between the two Crowns.
- Pope *Leo IX.* a *Lorainer* by Birth, and who had been Bifhop of *Toul*, being come into *Gall*, to reconcile *Geoffrey* Duke of *Lorraine* with the Emperor, and put a period to that bloody quarrel, which was betwixt that *Geoffrey* fupported by the Earl of *Flanders*, and the Houfes of *Alface* and *Luxemburg*, held a Council at *Reims*, and negotiated to effectually, that he made an end of that War.

1053.

At his going from *Germany* he carried some Forces into *Italy*, to oppose the *Normans*, who being grown potent did sometimes undertake upon the Countries belonging to the *Holy Chair*. These brave Adventurers conducted by *Onfroy*, did first shew their valour to him by cutting his Army to pieces, and taking him prisoner; then their Piety and Respect, by Treating him with great submission, and restoring him to his Liberty.

1054.

In recompence, he granted and gave them Title to all the Lands they had conquer'd, and likewise all such Lands as they should hereafter gain from the *Greeks* and *Saracens*; and *Onfroy* shared part of his Conquests with *Robert* surnamed *Guischard*, which is to say the *Crafty*, and *Roger* and the rest of his Brothers.

1055.
Emp. *Theodore*,
Daughter
of *Constantin*,
then *Michael*
VI. Son of
Henry II.

1057, and
58.

1058.

Thibault Earl of *Chartres* taking it to heart that the King should thrust him out of the Earldom of *Tours*, and not being able to get satisfaction, went and waited on the Emperour at *Meurs*, who made him his Knight, and promised him his protection.

To prevent the seeds of Jealousie and Discord, which this Voyage might have sown between the Emperour and the King, they thought fit to set all right by a mutual Interview, at the same place where they formerly met. The King complain'd that the Governour had contravind'd to the Articles of Alliance, but he found no satisfaction; and having conceived some apprehension of an ill design upon his Person, retired by night.

The brave *Robert Guischard* with his *Normans* having compleated the Conquest of *Calabria*, called himself Earl for two years, and after feared not to take upon him the Title of Duke.

Normandy having still in its bosom some sparks of Division, the King who thought to make advantage by it, attempted to bring it to his bow by a second Expedition, which was no more fortunate then the first, his Army having been set upon, and defeated on the Common of *Varaville*, between *Caen* and *Lisieux*, he accepted of a Peace with the Duke.

1059.
Emp. *Isaacius*
Comnenus, and
Henry IV.

Anno 1059. was seen an unheard of Prodigy, a vast multitude of Snakes and other Serpents, being assembled together in a Plain near the City of *Tournay*, divided into two Bands, being fought obstinately, till one of them being overcome and fled, left the Field all covered with their Dead, and retreated into the hollow of a great Tree, whither the Conquerors pursued them to compleat their Victory: but the Country people running thither with Clubs, Fire and Fagots, destroyed both the one and the other.

1060.

5.

Not long after King *Henry* finding himself broken with Labour, though he were not above 54 years of age, assembled the *Grandees* of the Kingdom, and having told them the Services he had done for the Nation, and how well he had acquitted himself of the Command of the Armies; he prayed them all in general, and every one in particular, to own *Philip* his eldest Son for his Successor, and to give him their Oaths; which having all promised, he caused him to be Anointed, and Crowned at *Reims* the 22 of May, being the Feast of *Pentecost*, by the Arch-Bishop *Gervais*, whom afterwards this young King Honoured with the Office of Chancellor.

1060.

About the end of the same year he was taken with a little Fever, of which he dyed at *Vitry* near *Paris*, having Reigned Twenty eight years and four Months after the death of his Father.

To avoid the danger of contracting a Marriage within the Degrees prohibited, he sent to seek a Wife as far as *Russia* or *Moscovia*: She was *Ann*, the Daughter of *George*, some call him *Jurjelod*, King of those Countreys, by whom he had three Sons, *Philip*, *Robert*, and *Hugh*: the Eldest was then but Seven years old; *Robert* dyed in Infancy, and *Hugh* when come to age had the Earldom of *Vermandois*, and was the Stock of the Second House of that Name. For they made him Marry *Adeleids* Daughter of *Hebert*, last Earl of the First Branch of *Vermandois*, She enjoying her Fathers Lordships, though She had a Brother alive named *Eudes*, his Vassals judging him incapable to succeed, from the imbecillity of his understanding, a defect very ordinary in the *Carlovinian* Race.

Henry left all his Three Sons under the Guardianship of *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, who had Married his Sister, and likewise entrusted him with the Regency of the Kingdom.

Emp. *Constantine*,
Ducas, chosen
by *Michael*,
who turned
Monk. And
Henry IV.

Queen

Queen *Ann* his Widow retired to *Senlis*, where she was building a Church in Honour of the Martyr *St. Vincent*. Her Solitude was not so Austere, but she could listen to the Addresses of *Rodolph* Earl of *Crespy*, who was of that neighborhood. She made no difficulty to Marry him; and this Second Flame had like to have kindled a Civil War, not for the difference in their Qualities, for the *Grandees* went almost equal with their Kings; but because *Rodolph* was of Kin to the First Husband; for which reason the Bishops Excommunicated that Lord: but nothing could make him let go his hold of her, save death, which untied him from his Prince's, *Ann*, 1066. Being a Widow, and destitute of support, she returned to end her days in her own Country.

Ec 2

Philip

Philip I. King XXXVIII.

Aged Seven or Eight years.

POPES.

Vacancy of Three Months.

Alex. II. Elect 1 Octob. 1061. S. Eleven years, and near Seven Months.

Gregory VII. Son of a Carpenter, Elect in April 21. 1073. S. Twelve years, One Month.

Victor III. Elect in May 1086. S. about One year Four Months.

Vacancy Five Months.
Urban II. Elect in March 1088. S. Eleven years and Four Months.

Paschal II. Elect 12. August 1099. S. Eighteen years, and Five Months.

1060. 61, and 62.

ALL quietly gave Obedience to the Regency of Baldwin, the Gascons only refused to submit themselves, apprehending, said they, lest by that Title, he should destroy his Pupil to invade the Crown, upon pretension that he was Married to the Daughter of King Henry.

He wisely dissembled this injury; but two years after marched an Army towards the Pyreneans, giving out, it was to make War upon the Saracens in Spain; and when he had palled the Garonne, he stopp'd in the Rebels Country, and brought them to their Duty without striking a blow.

1062.

Guy Gefroy-William Duke of Aquitain, believed that Gefroy Martel Earl of Anjou, his Nephews, Sons of his Sister, had no right to being dead without Children, and besieged Xaintes: his Army was defeated-*Xaintonge*. He would therefore seize it, and the following year he got another of the two Brothers near *Chef-Boutonne*: but the following year he got another Army, and took the Town from them.

1062, and 63.

The two Brothers minded not the relieving it, they were at mortal feud amongst themselves. Foulk le Rechin, the younger of the two, gained the Lords of *Touraine* and *Anjou*, who betrayed his Brother Gefroy, and unfortunately deliver'd him up with the City of *Angers*.

In the mean while the Duke of Aquitain having re-conquered *Saintonge*, led his victorious into Spain, where he forced the City of *Barbaste*, at that time very rich and renowned.

The Zeal of Religion did often lead the Princes and Lords of Aquitain and Langue-
doc into Spain, to succour the Christians against the Saracens, and their assistance raised, and very much supported the petty Spanish Kings.

1064.

Edward, King of England, whose Christian Virtues have placed him in the number of Saints, dying without Children, left his Kingdom by Will and Testament to William the Bastard Duke of Normandy, in consideration of the good Reception and Treatment he found in the House of Robert his Father, when he was driven out of his own Country; as likewise because he was near of Kin. But the English not affecting the Government of a Stranger, gave the Crown to Harold, Son of Godwin, one of the great Lords of the Kingdom.

The Bastard on his side fought from all parts the assistance of his Friends and Allies, to get himself into possession of his Right; inasmuch as having got by his large promises, a powerful Army of Normans, French, Flemings and others together, he

he landed in England, gave Battle to Harold the 14th of October, who was slain in the fight with his chief Commanders, and left England to the discretion of the Conqueror. A Revolution thought to be prefiged by a terrible Comet, which for Fifteen days blazed with three great Rays, over-spreading almost all the Southern parts of the Heavens.

Before William past the Sea, hapned the death of Conan Duke of *Bretagne*; it was said he caused him to be poisoned, because he claimed the Duchy of Normandy, as belonging to him by his Mother, Daughter of Duke Robert. Heel who was Married to his Sister, succeeded him.

The English ill-Treated by Williams Lieutenants and Officers, Revolted the following years, and called in the Danes to their aid, but that only increased their misery and yolk, for he took from them almost all their Lands, and even their antient Laws, introducing and imposing those of his own Country, as he did that Language in all Courts of Justice, and instruments of Law, withal putting such Lords as follow'd him, in possession of English Mens Estates, the greatest part of them being punished or slain.

Thus ended the Reign of the English in that Island, which hath notwithstanding retained their Name; but in effect hath ever since been sway'd, and is still by the Norman Blood, their Kings, and the greatest of the Country being descended, and holding their Rights of this William the Bastard, to whom was given the Surname of Conqueror.

Baldwin, Regent of the Kingdom of France, and Earl of Flanders, ended his days in 1067. He had Two Sons, Baldwin, called of Montz who was Earl of Flanders, and Robert, who was Surnamed the Frison, as being Lord of that Country of Friesland.

It is observed that in the year 1069. Arnold Lord of Selve began to build the City of Ardres, upon the ruins of his Castle of Selve.

A Ward did soon break out between Baldwins two Sons, the Eldest thinking to de-
vise the Younger, was by him beaten and slain in the field of Battle, leaving two Sons, Arnold and Baldwin very young. The Guardianship of these begot a bloody contest between Robert their Uncle, and Richilda their Mother. This Princess, supported by Gefroy Crook-Back, Duke of the lower Lorrain, defeated Roberts Army, and thrust him out of a part of his Countreys. This happy success made her so haughty towards her Subjects, that the Flemings Flammengans forsook her, and she had none left but the Walloons and the Hennuyars. The King would have made himself Judge and Arbitrator between both parties; but Richilda coming to Paris with great Presents, gained his Council, and engaged him openly to take her quarrel.

The King inflamed with the heat of Youth, would needs go in person to make his first Essay in War and Arms. It proved not very successful, for he was beaten and purified, Richilda taken and carried to St. Omers. But as he was retreating towards Montreuil, Enfance, Earl of Boulogne, who had a great Body of Reserves, took Robert, and carried him to St. Omers: He that Commanded the place, surrendered it to deliver Richilda, for which the King was enraged, that he lacked and burnt the City.

The same year Richilda, though still assisted by the French, lost another Battle, in which Enfance Earl of Boulogne being made prisoner, his Brother, Chancellor of France, and Bishop of Paris, to obtain his freedom, obliged the King to intercede the no more in that dispute.

Nay, which was more, he made him Marry Bertha, the Daughter of Florent I. Earl of Holland, and Gertrude of Saxony, who had taken Robert for her second Husband.

By this means he was engaged to maintain the Cause for his Father-in-law, who by his assistance defeated Richilda's Army the Fourth time, and so remained Master of Flanders.

Roger, Brother of Robert Guiscard, Duke of the Normans in Puglia, was by his Brother sent into Sicily, which was possessed by the Saracens; he conquered the City of Panormus * and Messina, which opened him a way to become Master of the whole Island.

After the death of Baldwin the Regent, King Philip being arrived to the age of Adolescence, ran into many disorders and vexations with his Subjects. Whereupon Pope Gregory VII. who sought but the occasion to constitute himself the Judge and Reformer of Princes, wrote to William Duke of Aquitain, that together with the Lords, he should make him some Remonstrances, and Declare, that if he did not amend, he would Excommunicate both him and all the Subjects that obey'd him, and would place the Excommunication upon St. Peters Altar, to re-aggravate it every day.

1067. and the following.

1067.

1069. Emp. Roman. Dign. having Married Eudoxia, Widow of Ducas. R. Three years. And Henry IV. 1068.

1070.

1071.

Emp. Michael VIII. Son of Isaac. R. Five years. And Henry IV. 1071.

* Palermo now.

1072. and 4.

at 1

* God will
have it so. Or
Dixie's volta.

try in An. 10.8. then of Mesopotamia, Syria, Judea, and almost all Asia; and had formed five or six Kingdoms, one in Persia, one in Bithynia, one in Cilicia, one in Damascus, whereon Jerusalem depended, and one in Antioch. Now subduing the Persian, they had taken up their Religion, which was the Mahometan; This Reason joined with their natural Barbarity, inclined them to treat those Christians that inhabited Judea with all manner of cruelties; and besides, they threatened to invade the rest of Asia, and destroy the whole Eastern Empire.

These Crusades' and beyond-sea Voyages, the heat whereof lasted for above two hundred years, was the ruin of these Lords, and multitudes of the common people. But the Popes and Kings found great advantages towards the making themselves absolute. Those, because they had the Command of these Expeditions, whereof they were the Heads; took into their protection, the Persons and Estates of such as adventured; made the use of Indulgences and Dispensations more common and current then formerly; their Legats collected, and managed the Alms and charitable Contributions that were given for the carrying on these Wars; and it was even made a fair pretence to raise the Tents upon the Clergy.

The Kings found their reckoning likewise, because all the brave active, and hottest Spirits going into these foreign Provinces, left them a clerical State, and more easy Government, with less opposition to attain their chiefest end. The Lords and Grandees sold them their Estates, or Engaged and Mortgaged them to raise Money; or at their death they fell to Minors, or Women, from whose hands they were easy to be wrested; And in fine, France which swarmed with prodigious numbers of Men, being evacuated by these great and frequent Plagues, became more gentle and submissive, and their Wills less dependant on the Laws and ancient Orders of the Kingdom.

1096.

* Pontile.
Aplia.

* Walter.

1096.

* Or Galfrey.

1096.

For several nights together it was seen to rain down Stars by intervals, but thick and very small, as if some Sparks had fallen from the flatter'd Orbs.

1097,
and 98.

The City of Nica in Bithynia, was the first exploit of these Christian Adventurers; The defeat of Salymans Army, followed with the surrender of the places in Lycania, Lycia, Cilicia and Pamphilia, the Second; and the taking of Antioch, which held them seven Months, and cost them a great deal of Blood and Trouble, the Third.

After they were got in, they went to meet Corban, or Corbaget, General of the Army to the Sultan of Persia or Babylon, fought him, and slew an hundred thousand of his Men, which weakened the power of the Turky so much, that the Sultan of Egypt, who was a Saracen, took from them Judea, and the Holy City of Jerusalem.

1099.

He kept it but a little while, the Christian Army besieged it the 9th of June, and carried it by main force the 15th of July. All the chief Commanders agreed to give it, with all its dependencies, and the Title of a Kingdom, to Godfrey of Bouillon their Prime General; who notwithstanding, was so humble, that he would never suffer them to put the Crown upon his Head, nor give him the Title of King in a City where the King of Kings had been Treated like a Slave.

The

The Sultan of Egypt with reason apprehending, left the Christians, after so many advantages should deprive him of his Country likewise, without which it is very difficult to preserve the Holy Land. Seeing them therefore much weakened, so that they had scarce 5000 Horse, and 15000 Foot left, he got together an hundred thousand Horse, and four times as many Foot, giving the Conduct of them to a Lieutenant, to cut them off. Godfrey the greatest Soldier of his age charged them so resolutely, that he put them into disorder, and slew above an hundred thousand. So great a Victory gave him all Palestine, one or two places only excepted.

This year therefore commenced the Kingdom of Jerusalem, under which were the County of Edessa, the capital City of Media, the Principality of Antioch in Celsyria, and the County of Tripoly, which was not conquer'd till many years afterwards, upon the Maritime coasts of the Phenician Syria. At that time was Caliph in Babylon, Abuguebese Achamet the Son of Maquetady, the Eight and twentieth of the House of Guebese.

The Fame of this Conquest published in the West by those Princes that returned, excited such others as had not been there, to go and signalize their Names. They made therefore a Second Croisade, composed of above 500000 Men, French, Almain, and Italian. William VII. Duke of Aquitain, carried an hundred thousand, two thirds of them being his own Subjects: Hugh le Grand the Kings Brother, and the Earl of Burgundy who had been in the first Expedition, went also in this; and divers Prelats, and many illustrious Ladies would go this Voyage. Godfrey being dead the preceding year, his Brother Baldwin succeeded him in the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

This Army took their way by Hungary and Torace, and by the straight crossed over into Asia. In their passage Duke William sent to pay him Hommage for those Lands he should conquer from the Infidels. The perfidious Emperor being offended in his mind, ordered them such Guides, who having haras'd, and entangled them, by the difficulties of the bad ways, and want of Food, made them pass over a River, where the Enemy waiting for them with advantage, kill'd above Fifty thousand in one day, the rest made their escape as they could in Cilicia. Hugh the Kings Brother went to Toros, where he died of his wounds.

These Voyages to the Levant renewed, and extremely increased the hatred the Greeks did conceive against the Latins, or Western People; inasmuch that those Traitors did them more mischief a great deal, than the Infidels themselves. Hereafter we shall mention no more of these Wars then what relates to our History.

But we must not forget to tell that they gave beginning to the use of Coats of Arms*. In all times every Nation bore some Figure or Symbol in their Banners or Ensigns. The Roman Legions were distinguished by the different painting of their Shields, or Bucklers, and the different Lines traced or drawn upon them. Particular Men did likewise adorn their Shields with devices which made known their birth, or their brave acts, or their Wit and Humour.

Now in these Expeditions to the Holy Land, those that had such Symbols before, made them more proper for them; and those that had none, contrived, and made choice of such as might render them conspicuous and remarkable in Battle (their Armour for the Head, binding them from being known by their Face) as well as to distinguish them from others; And likewise that these Coats of Arms might serve them as it were for Surnames; for in those days there were yet but few, or none.

Some therefore to show they were going in these Crusades, took Crosses in their Shields, of which there was infinite variety and several sorts; others to make known they had been in the Levant, and passed the Seas, took Beasts, Lions, Leopards, or Escallops Shells. Others framed their Arms of the Linings of their Mantles or Cloaks, according as they were Checkie, Varie, Diapred, Gyroned, Lozanged, Undulated, Pale. Some there were that chose rather to charge their Field with some piece of their Arms, as the Spurs, Lance, Maillets and Sword. Several chose such things as had resemblance to the Surnames people had given them, or to the Lands they held, as what they produced, how situated, or some particularities of their Castles, or such Office they bore. Some there were that chose such things as preserved the memory of their brave Feats of Arms, or some singular Adventure which had hapned to them, or theirs: and others in fine would have such as bespoke their inclinations, not to mention those that would needs have their Coats out of a meer fantastical Humour, and without any design.

1099.

1100.
and 1101.

1101.

* Scutcheons,
Cognillances,
also Armours,
Coats.

F E

Toise

These glorious Marks and Badges belonged otherwise only to the Nobility, and was not the least illustrious part of the Succession of their Noble Families. Now at this time every one hath them, the meanest Villains are the most curious herein; they have not only brought the Robes of the little Citizens, Merchants, Cyphers, Shop-keepers, Signers, and Artists tools and implements into their Coats, under the shadow of Gownes, Helms, and Supporters; but likewise by a confidence not to be endured, they have made choice of the most illustrious things, and given occasion to observe, that there are no better Coats, than the Arms of a Villain or Plebeian.

From the first *Croisade*, William Rufus King of England, taking the opportunity of his Brother Robert's absence, had seized on the Duchy of Normandy. Sworn with this increase of Power, he promised himself to invade France, because he saw the Excommunicated King, languishing in the Arms of his Concubine; who besides, had but one lawful Son of 15 or 16 years of age, and was destitute both of Money and Friends. Nevertheless this young Prince surpassing his age, did by his Courage and Virtue defend himself so well three years together, that Rufus was forced to leave him in Peace, and retired again into England.

In that Country letting himself loose to all sorts of infamous pleasures, tyranny, and execrable wickedness, both towards God and Man, he perished in a tragical manner, being as he was Hunting shot with an Arrow, either designedly aimed at him, or by chance, which pierced his very Heart. Henry's younger Brother got into the Throne during the absence of Duke Robert, who was still in the Holy-Land.

Notwithstanding the Popes Excommunications, the King had renewed society with Bertrade, by the consent even of Foulk her Husband, being so infinitely enchanted with that Woman, that he was often seen at her Feet, there to receive all her Commands, as if he had been a Slave.

Some of the Belgick Bishops honour'd the Kings Adultery with the name of Marriage, and on their great Feasts, according to ancient custom, placed the Crown upon her Head, to shew or signify they did not hold her to be Excommunicated; but the Popes Legats denied to communicate with him, and conven'd a Council at Poitiers in July, where he was Excommunicated once more. William Duke of Aquitaine, who feared the like Treatment, having committed the like fault, for he entertained a Concubine, and had forsaken his lawful Wife, affronted and abused the Prelats greatly; and perhaps his Sorrow and Repentance for it afterwards prompted him to go to the Holy Land, as we have observed.

The King constant in his Affections, solicited the Popes Favour so earnestly, that he sent some Legats to re-view the Cause.

They assembled a Council at Bayeux. The King and Bertrade promised to abstain from each other till the Popes Dispensation, and thus the Council broke up without giving any Judgment. The King continued with the recommendation of the Bishops, to endeavour the obtaining a Dispensation in the Court of Rome; in the end he had it, he was Absolved in the City of Paris, and his Marriage confirmed; so efficacious is constancy, even in things not commendable. The opposition of the Bishops served only to authorize the use of Dispensations from Rome, which since have been very common in all matters and occasions.

Young Lewis, whom they named the Prince of the Kingdom, and was designed King by his Father, (it is not specified in what year) took the Government of Affairs.

PHILIP LEWIS, Surnamed the Gros, designed King, aged 19 or 20 years.

*In those times the Rights * of the French were such, that they could not legally arrest the Lords, nor punish them with death, unless it were for Treason; but only deprive them of their Lands; I mean those they held of the King. (they called them Homagers.) This was it that gave them Licence to arm, to oppress the weaker, to rob and plunder, and above all, usurp the Goods of the Church.*

Lewis had to do first with Roucard Lord of Montmorency, against whom he embraced the Cause of the Monks of St. Denis, whose Lands that Lord had pillaged, and having appeared according to an attestation in the Kings Court of Justice, refused to obey the Sentence or Judgment given against him therein. He forced him by destroying and burning all his villages, and his Castle it self, to submit to Reason.

In like manner he chastised Droco or Dreux de Mouchy, and Lionnet de Meun, who tyrannized, this over the Churches of Orleans, the other over those of Beauvais.

Also

Also he humbled Matthew, Count of Beaumont upon Oise, Son-in-law to Hugh Earl of Clermont in Beauvoisie, who having half of the Lands of Luzarches in Dowry, had seized upon all, and had defested the good Man his Father-in-law.

He durst, or would not intermeddle with the quarrel between the two Norman Brothers, Robert and Henry. The first upon his return from the Holy Land demanded the Kingdom of England of his younger Brother, who had usurped it after the death of William Rufus. The business after three years Negotiation and War, was determined in this manner; Robert An. 1107. having lost a Battle at Tinchebray in Normandy, was made prisoner by his cruel Brother, who deprived him of Sight, by placing a burning Balon of Brails before his Eyes, whereof he dyed in Prison. Thus the whole Succession of William the Conqueror, remained in Henry the youngest of his three Sons.

In the year 1103. Lewis passed into England to King Henry, I cannot tell upon what design. Bertrade his Mother-in-law, who could willingly have sent him out of the World, solicited Henry to make him away; and this Artifice failing, she caused poison to be given him at his return into France, which put him in great hazard of his Life.

The King to rid himself of the trouble brought upon him by the Family of Montlebery, agreed upon a Marriage with Guy Tresselt, betwixt Philip his Son, and Bertrade, to whom he gave the Earldom of Mantes, on condition that Guy should deliver him the Castle of Montlebery, which he did.

At the same time, or a little after, Guy Lord of Rochefort, Uncle of Tresselt, entirely possessing the Kings Favour, contracted his Daughter Luciana, but ten years old, to Prince Lewis.

Ebles Baron de Roncy a famous Captain, who often raised Soldiers, with which he went into Spain, not so much to fight the Saracens, as to find opportunity to plunder and pillage the Churches, vexed all those of Champagne, upon complaint of the Clergy Lewis hastens to Reims; his Celerity astonished the Flunderer so much, that he laid down his Arms, and promised to forbear those Robberies.

The protection he gave to Thomas Lord of Marle, against Enguerrand de Boves his Father, was not so just. Thomas by means of his Castle of Montigny in Lorraine, committed a thousand Cruelties and Robberies, inasmuch that his Father was forced to besiege him. Lewis upon the request of Thomas re-visited the Castle, at which Enguerrand and the Lords were so enraged, that they declared they owned him no longer for their Sovereign, since he protected the wicked. They were almost ready even to give him battle; but being brought to a Conference, they killed his Hand, and swore Service to him.

The unhappy Emperor Henry IV. against whom the Popes had stirred up first his eldest Son Conrad, then he being dead, Henry his Second Son, being taken prisoner by this unnatural Child, wrote very patheticall Letters to King Philip and Prince Louis, which begot a great deal of compassion towards him, but no help. Being got out of prison, he died in the City of Liege the Second of August, and Henry V. his succeeded him in his quarrel with the Pope, as well as in his Estates.

Pope Paschal II. not willing to go to this Henry, because, said he, the Germans are yet enough humbled, came into France, passed to Chagny, la Charite, Tours, Paris, and went to St. Denis, where the King and his Son paid him their Respects, by bowing down to the very ground. At Chalons he Treated with the Ambassadors of Henry V. and held a Council at Troyes.

In this Council, whether by the zeal of the Prelats, or the suggestion of Prince Lewis, the Pope pronounced the Dissolution of his Marriage, not yet consummated with Luciana.

Guy de Rochefort discontent for the Divorce of his Daughter, retires from Court. Anseau and Stephen de Garland the Brothers exasperate Prince Lewis's Spirit against him, which they swayd. Rochefort commits some hostilities at his Castle of Gournay upon Marne. Lewis besieges the place; a League is formed between Rochefort and Tibaud Earl of Blois and Chartres; Lewis goes to meet the Army of these discontented Gentlemen, defeats them, and returning to the Siege takes Gournay.

King Philip quite wasted with excess of pleasures, dies at Melun the 26th of July, aged 56 years, whereof he had Reigned 48 and two Months. From thence he was carried to St. Benets Abby on the Loire, where he had chosen his Burying place. He was a Prince of a good shape and stature, but his softness and amorous Commerce had rendered his Body unactive and heavy, and dissolved his Confidence and Courage.

✠

1096, 97,
98, and
99.

1100.

It is observed
that more
Kings perish
in Hunting
then in Wars.
1098, 99,
and 1100.

1101.

1102.

1102, 3,
and the fol-
lowing.

* Liberties
and Privi-
ledges.

1100.

1103.

1103.

1104.

1104.

1103.

1106.

Emp.
Alexis, and
Henry V.
1106.

1108.

He had had two Wives, *Berthe* the Daughter of *Florent* Earl of *Holland*, and *Betrade* of *Simon* of *Montfort*. The First brought him two Children, *Lewis* who Reigned, and *Constance* who Married *Bernard* Prince of *Antioch*, *An. 1106*. By *Betrade* were born two Sons, *Philip* and *Florus* * or *Fleury*, and one Daughter named *Cecely*. The two Sons were Married, but had no Male-issue. The First was Earl of *Manter*, *Mon* upon *Tourre*, and *Montlebery*; the Daughters first Husband was *Tancred* Prince of *Antioch*, the Second was *Ponce* * de *Toulouze* Count of *Tripoly*.

* Was he not
also called
Charles?
* Or *Pontius*.

Church of the
Eleventh age.

The Tenth, the Offerings, the Presentations, and the very Churches as we have related, had been infeoffed to the Laity by a strange abuse, whereof the Footsteps are yet to be seen in *Gascogne*. The Lords took the infeffiture of the Prince, and held them of him in Fief; so that they could not alienate them without his consent, and when they sold them, it was upon condition of preference for the Curate, or for the Bishop, if he would.

Now to bring them back by little and little to the Ordinary, it had been ordained by the Councils, especially by that of *Metz* under King *Arnulf*, that the Laity should not put them off their hands, nor give them to the Monasteries, without the permission of the Diocesan Bishops or the Pope, which was since confirmed by the Council of *Rome* in the year 1078. and by that of *Melfe*, *An. 1090*.

When it hapned then that the Seculars would discharge their Conscience, and restore those Possessions to the Church, which their Fathers had usurped during the Wars; the Ordinaries believed they ought not to suffer the Monks should draw these to themselves, and joynd together to make them revert to the benefit of the *Hieracelical* Order.

This was the subject of an obnoxious and bloody quarrel between the Bishops and the Monks; the First held divers Assemblies to preserve their Rights. There was one amongst the rest in the Abby of *St. Denis*, about the end of the Tenth Century, where *Seguin* de *Sens*, venerable both for his Age and Virtue presided. The Monks perceiving the Council was going to pronounce against them, raised a furious Sedition to scatter them. *Abbon* de *Fleury* was accused to have been the *Boute-feu* *. How ever it were, *Seguin* was wounded with an Axe betwixt the two Shoulders; and *Arnold* d'*Orleans*, a particular enemy to *Abbon*, had lost his Life there, had he not fled away betimes.

* Fire-brand.

Learned Men.

As the conduct of the Prince is the Rule to all his Kingdom, the Piety of *Robert* served not a little to contain the Ecclesiastics in their Duty, and incline them to the exercise of their Religion, and the study of good Literature. We ought certainly to reckon him the first amongst the Learned Men of this age, not so much for his quality and rank, as for his capacity, which was not little for those times; and to him we may add *Gaulsin* his bastard Brother, Arch-Bishop of *Bourges*, who amongst other Works, composed a Discourse about the causes of the shower of Blood that had fallen *An. 1017*. in *Aquitain* for three days together, and had this of wonderful in it, That it could not be wiped or rubbed off from any Flesh, Cloaths or Stones, but out of Wood the spots might be easily taken away, and leave no stain behind. Amongst other persons of erudition, those that most excell'd, were * *Foulk* and *Tyber*, Bishops of *Chartres*, *Leterick* of *Sens*, *Gervais* de *Reims*, Chanceller of *France*, *Berenger* Arch-Deacon of *Angers*, *Hildebert* du *Man* his Disciple and Admirer, and *Gefroy* de *Vendôme* (these two passed very far in the other age) *Lanfranc* Abbot of *St. Stephens* at *Caen*, *Durand* Bishop of *Liege*, and the Monks, *Sigebert* of *Gembours*, *Glaber* of *Clugny*, and *Helgard* de *Fleury*, who all three laboured in History.

* Or *Fulk*.

Saints.

We must take notice besides those most eminent Servants of God, *Odilon*, whom we have already mentioned, and *Hugh*, both Abbots of *Clugny*, who being favoured by Heaven, were in great credit with the Princes of this world; of *Thierry* Bishop of *Orleans*, *Burchard* de *Vienne*, *Bruno* de *Toul*, all three in the beginning of this Century; and in the latter part of it, *Ausinde* d'*Auch*, *Hugh* de *Gremble*, *Arnold* de *Souffron*, and *Maurille* de *Rouen*. Add to these Prelats *Brune* who was Institutor of that most austere Order of the *Chartreux*; and *Robert* Abbot of *Malsme*, who was Institutor or Founder of the *Cisteraux*. For *Robert* d'*Arbrisset* he is not yet in the Catalogue of Saints.

Heresies.

France was not exempted from Heresies; In the year 1000, there started up a Phanatique Peasant, named *Leontard*, in the Burrough of *Vernu*, within the Bishoprick of *Chalon*, who broke down the Images, Preached that they ought not to pay Tithes, and maintained, that the Prophets had not always spoke those things that were good; he was followed by an innumerable multitude of the Populace, who believ-

ved

ved him to be inspired of God: his Bishop (it was *Guibin*) having easily convinced him, and afterwards disabused those ignorant people; the unhappy wretch, in despair to see himself forsaken, cast himself into a Well, his Head foremost.

Some years afterwards came from *Italy* I know not what Woman, infected with the dotage of the *Manicheans*, which she inspired into a couple of the most Noble, and most Learned Clergy-men of *Orleans*, and those into several other people of several conditions. King *Robert* who made his Residence in that City, being informed hereof, assembled a Council, *An. 1017*. to convince them; but not able to disinfatuate them, they kindled a fire in a neighbouring Field to burn them, if they persisted in those Follies. These obstinate Zealots far from dreading those Flames, ran to them, Thirteen were burnt, Ten whereof were Canons of *St. Croix*.

The same severity was practised towards all of that Sect that could be discovered in any place, especially at *Toulouze* *An. 1022*. But the remainders or Seeds of those ashes, or (as some say) the frequent Commerce the *French*, who travelled to the *Levant*, had with the *Bulgarians*, who were *Manicheans*, soon after raised up this *Phrensy* again in *Languedoc* and *Gascogne*.

The error of the Sacramentaries was more subtil, and therefore did not make so great a progress. *Job. Scot. Erigene*, and other half Learned, and too subtil Wits, disputing about the incomprehensible Mystery of the Holy Sacrament, according to the notions and terms of humane Philosophy, had raised doubts and difficulties in the minds of Men, touching the real presence of the Body of *JESUS CHRIST* in the Holy Eucharist. We may believe that even in the Tenth age, some scruples had been made by people contending herein, since there were miracles wrought to prove it.

But the First that durst openly say contrary to the belief of all former ages, that the Holy Sacrament was but the Figure of the Body of our Lord, was *Berenger*, Arch-Deacon of *Angers*, Treasurer and * Super-intendant of *St. Martin* de *Tours*. As he was one of the most Learned Men of his time, and had such charms in his Discourse and Entertainment, that he was followed by vast numbers of Disciples, for which reason his adversaries said he was a Magician: he drew to his party *Bruno* Bishop of *Angers*, and very many others, who spread his Doctrine thorough *France*, *Italy* and *Germany*. *Durandus* Bishop of *Liege*, and *Adelman* his Rector, afterwards Bishop of *Bress*, stopt the current of it by their Writings; and King *Henry* by his Authority: so that he kept close and quiet for some years. At the end whereof moving the question afresh, Pope *Leo IX*, condemned it in the Council of *Rome*, and in that of *Vercel*, both in *An. 1050*. In the last they ordered *Scots* Book to be burned, which was the Well from whence he had drawn his error. Five years afterwards *Hildebrand* Legat from Pope *Victor II*, being sent into *France* to reform the Clergy, convened a Council at *Tours*, where he compell'd him to abjure his Error, and subscribe his Retraction.

* Or *Sch* master.

For all this he desisted not from his former ways, they were fain to cite him before the Council which was held at *Rome*, *An. 1059*. where he was ordered to burn *Scots* his Book with his own hand, and Sign to a Confession of Faith composed by Cardinal *Humbert*: but as soon as he was at liberty he renewed the Dispute, which lasted till the year 1079. when *Gregory VII*, having summon'd him before another Council in *Rome*, managed this turbulent Spirit so well, that he owned and confessed both from his Heart and Tongue, the substantial Conversion of the Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of *JESUS CHRIST*.

Being returned into *France*, he took up the Habit of *St. Bennet* for his penance, and retired into the Priory of *St. Cosmo*, which is in an Island of the *Loire*, about two Leagues from *Tours*, whither he drew several Canons of *St. Martins*, who were enchanted with the sweetness of his Conversation. He passed the rest of his days there with great austerity, and died very Religiously, *An. 1091*. aged above Fourscore years.

What care soever was used to reform the disorders, and take away the Weeds and Darnel out of the Church, yet they could never pluck up the most spreading and fruitful root of Simony. I shall give you a little taste of it. In a Council which the Legat *Hildebrand* held at *Lions*, *An. 1055*. there were 45 Bishops, and 23 other Prelats, who without any other accusation but their own Conscience, publicly avowed this crime, and renounced their Benefices: An example very common as to the fault, but singular for the repentance.

I do not know any times wherein so many Churches and Abbeys were built, as in these days. King *Robert* himself founded above 20. There was not one Lord but valued



valued himself in so doing. The most wicked affected the Title of *Founders*; whilst they ruined the Churches on the one hand; they built on the other, and made their Sacrilegious Offerings to God of those things they had ravished from the poor, and needy.

The fancy that reigned in Mens minds at the beginning of this Century is most remarkable, which was to pull down old Churches to build new, nay, even the fairest and noblest, to erect others after their own mode.

This change of material Walls, seemed to be a sign of that change was made in those times in the whole Face, and if we may say so, the Body of the *Gallican Church*. From the Eighth Century the Popes had found out means to diminish the Authority of Metropolitans, obliging them by a Decree in Council, held at *Mentz* by *St. Boniface*, necessarily to receive the Pall at *Rome*, and subject themselves Canonically to obey the *Roman Church* in all points. A Profession since changed into an Oath of Fidelity, under *Gregory VII.* They had likewise attributed to themselves, exclusively to all others, the Right of Separating, or Dissolving the Spiritual Marriage which a Bishop contracteth with his Church, and to give him the liberty of Marrying with another, they had enlarged their Patriarchal Jurisdiction over all the West, by necessitating the Bishops to have confirmation from them, for which they paid certain rates, which in time were converted into what they call *Annuates*; in admitting the appellations of Priests, and in taking cognizance of things that belong only to Bishops.

Nay, much more, they had as it were annihilated the Provincial Councils, in taking away their Sovereignty by a cession of their Judgments; inasmuch as those Assemblies were in the end laid aside as useless, yielding no other satisfaction to such as resorted thither, but the displeasure of having their Sentences oftentimes reversed at *Rome*, without any proofs, or any reasons brought before them. *Gregory II.* made it a Rule of common Right, *That none should be so bold as to condemn any that appealed to the Holy See.*

But they never made a greater breach in the liberties of the *Gallican Church*, then when they introduced the Belief, that no Council could be called without their Authority; and after they had made divers attempts to set up perpetual Vicars in *Gall*, found out the way to have their Legats admitted and received. To this purpose they first made use of a Canon of the Council of *Sardique*, which gave them power to send Legats into the Provinces, to review any Process of the Deposition of Bishops, where complaint was made. After they had accustom'd the *French Prelats* to suffer the Legats in such Cases, they gained by little and little another Point, during the weakness of their Princes, which was to send a Legat whether there were any such Process, or Appeal, or not; and finally when they had received the *Y oak, Alexandre II.* settled it for a maxime, that the Pope ought to have the whole Government of all the Churches.

Of these Legats, some of them had the whole Kingdom under their jurisdiction, others a part only. They came with Authority to Depose Bishops, or the Metropolitan himself, when they pleased; to Assemble Councils in their District, to preside with the Metropolitan, and precede him, to make Canons, to send to the Pope the decision of such things to which the Bishops would not consent; as likewise all Acts of the Council, which he disposed of at his Will; and it is to be observed that their Suffrage counterpoised those of all the Bishops; and often, by their sole Authority, they judged of the Elections of Bishops, of Benefices, of the Excommunications of Laics, and other such like: so that those Assemblies formerly so Holy and Sovereign for the Discipline, having now no more power, were to speak properly, rather Councils to assert the Will of the Pope, then lawful and free Councils.

Now after *Alexandre II.* had ordained, that the Bishops of those Provinces, whether the Legation extended, should be at the charges for their subsistence, and defray their expences; and that *Gregory VII.* had added to the Oath the Bishops take when they receive the Pall, that they would Treat them Honourably at their going, and upon their return, and would furnish them with all necessaries; the profit of those employments was not less great then the Honour and Dignity. So that the desire of gain made them court these employments with great earnestness; and the Popes bestowed them as rewards upon their creatures. There was nothing but going and coming of Legats, and as soon as one had cramm'd his Purse, immediately another came in his place. Inasmuch as the Bishops and Clergy extremely tired, and

and impoverished by these perpetual exhaustings, did not look upon these Legations any longer as a remedy, but as a disease. In effect, it became so importunate and vexatious, that at length they were forced to consider of some moderation, and not to receive any more Legats, but upon very important occasions.

We should never have done if we queried all the Councils that were assembled in this Century. We find a great number in the Epistles of *Xues de Chartres*, *Gregory VII.* and *Gissey de Vendôme*. I will likewise set down some, *An. 1103.* The Bishops of *France* approved the Marriage of King *Robert* with *Berthe*; and the year after, being constrained by the *Anabaptists* from *Rome*, they revoked their Sentence, and Excommunicated the King.

Glaber relates that many were celebrated in *Italy*, and in *Gall*, about certain usages of no great importance; as to consider, whether they should Fast on the days between the *Ascension* and *Pentecost*; permit the *Benedictines* to Sing the *Te Deum* on the *Lent Sundays*; and celebrate the Feast of the *Annunciation* the 25th of *March*, or else the 18th of *December*, as the *Spaniards* did, according to the Decree of their Tenth Council of *Toledo*. The decisions were, That those Fasts should be all abolished, excepting upon *Whitsuntide Eve*; the *Benedictines* maintained in their Singing the *Te Deum* in *Lent*; and the Festival of the *Annunciation* be observed in *March*.

King *Robert* convened several Councils, particularly one about the year 1017, at *Orleans*, to extirpate the Heresy of the *Manicheans*, which sprung up apace in that City; another in the same place *An. 1029.* for the Dedication of *St. Agnes Church*, which he had built there. The same year was held one at *Limoges*, *Gauzlin de Bourges* presiding, about the contest started, Whether they must give *St. Martial*, the Bishop of *Limoges*, the Title of *Apollite*, as the *Limosins* would have it; or only that of Confessor, as some others maintained. These frivolous questions proceeded from the ambition of the Prelats, who to gain precedence over others; did all of them attribute the Foundations of their Churches to the *Apollites* or *Disciples of Jesus Christ*, and to that end invented Fables, and perverted all History.

This Council had not power enough to determine this question, it was again debated with great contention in that of *Bourges*, *An. 1033* in the second of *Limoges*, and that of *Beauvais*, which were held in the year 1034. and withal, they consulted the Holy Chair herein, whereto it was decided, that *St. Martial* ought to be revered as an *Apollite*.

In this second Council of *Limoges*, complaint being made concerning Absolutions granted to such as being Excommunicated, addressed themselves to the Pope; it was said, *That none could receive Penance or Absolution from the Pope, if he were not sent thither by his Bishop.*

The same *Glaber* writes, that the same year 1034. there were divers Councils in the Provinces of *France*, particularly in *Guyenne*, for the reformation of Manners, which all people most earnestly desired, thereby to appease the wrath of God, who had forely afflicted *France* with Famine. Amongst divers Decrees, there was one which Ordained upon pain of Excommunication, abstinence from Wine upon Fridays, and Flesh upon Saturdays, unless sickneis, or some great Festival hapned upon those days. *Gerard* the Bishop of *Cambray* rejected this Decree as a Novelty, contrary to the Orders and Rules of the Church, and which had no Foundation, but I know not what Revelation.

These Assemblies labour'd likewise to scourge what belonged to the Church from the Rapine and Thefts of some Lords, and restore the Discipline, for which some Canons were made in the Second of *Limoges*. That of *Beauvais* was held Fifteen days after that of *Bourges*. Pope *Leo IX.* being come into *France*, Convened one at *Reims*, towards Autumn, *An. 1049.* *Vitor II.* One at *Toulouse*, *An. 1056.* To extirpate abuses, and especially Simony, which is more difficult to be taken from the Church, then their Riches which is the cause of it.

King *Henry* desiring to have his Son *Philip* Crowned, Assembled the Prelats and Lords of the Kingdom at *Paris*, *An. 1059.* or 60. *Amat*, Bishop of *Oleron*, Legat from *Rome* in *Aquitania* *Tertia*, and *Narbonensis* held divers; Two in *Gascogne*, One wherein he Excommunicated such as detained any Goods belonging to the Church; another wherein he Dissolved the Marriage of *Cennille*, Viscount of *Bearn*; and another also at the Burrough of *Deols* in *Berry*, with *Hugh*, Legat and Arch-Bishop of *Lyons*, about the affairs of that Abby. The same having

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the Popes Legation in the lesser *Bretagne*, Convened one *An. 1079*, in that Province, to take some course against the abuses of false penances, that is to say, their imposing of slight penances for great crimes.

About the end of the year 1080. there were three, One at *Lyons*, where *Hugh, de Die*, the Popes Legat, caused the Sentence to be confirmed, whereby *Manasser*, Arch-Bishop of *Reims* had been deposed; One at *Avignon*, where he consecrated another *Hugh*, Bishop of *Grenoble*, and the Third at *Meaux*, in which *Urfon de Soissons* was deposed, and *Arnold* a Monk of *St. Medard* installed in his place.

The year following the same *Hugh*, and *Richard*, Abbot of *Marfille*, Cardinals, called One at *Poitiers*; *Amat d'Oléron* Legat in *Aquitain* came likewise thither. They provisionally ordained a Divorce of *William Earl of Poitiers* from his Wife, because of their conflagrancy.

That of *Toulouse* in *An. 1090*. was Convened by the Legats of *Urban II.* Some Rules were there made concerning Causes Ecclesiastical, and the Bishop of that City purged himself of certain things imposed upon him.

The most famous of all was the Council of *Clermont*, *An. 1095*, where the same Pope with great zeal Preached up the First *Croisade*; and to obtain the assistance of the Holy Virgin towards those that should undertake the Expedition, ordained the Clergy to recite the Office, or *Huere* * of our Lady, which the *Chartreux* and Hermits instituted by *Peter Damianus*, had already received amongst them. There was one more at *Tours* the year following, to prepare them to that expedition of the Holy Land.

The last year of this Century they had one likewise at *Poitiers*, whereat *John* and *Benedict*, Cardinal Legats presided; King *Philip* was here struck with an Anathema, for having retaken *Beitrad*; and the Kingdom of *France* put under an interdiction. The precedent year, there had been one held at *Autun*, and the following, there was also one at *Baugency* for the same business.

The prohibition of Marriages, even to the seventh Degree, extremely embarrass'd the Eleventh and Twelfth Century; and as that rigour was excessive, the Princes broke thorough without much scruple, and afterwards became obstinate against Excommunications, with so much the more Reason and Pretence, as having the opinions of many great Lawyers, who reckoned these Degrees after another manner than the Church-men; so that it served for little else but a specious colour for such as were dissatisfied with their Wives, to procure their Divorce.

The custom practised in the Church of *Jerusalem*, where because of the top great confluence, the Laity communicated only under the species of Bread, introduced it self by little and little, into the Western Church; and there is some appearance that the Canon of the Council of *Clermont* was favourable to it, ordaining, *That those that communicated should take the two species separately* (this was to avoid that abuse of the Greeks, who soaked or dipped the Bread in the Wine) *Unless in case of necessity, or by PRECAUTION*. That is to say, if there were danger of spilling the Chalice, as when the multitude and throng of Communicants was * too great.

There was like a change in the Government of some Churches; the Sees of *Gascogne*, which had been vacant above two ages, were filled; the Bishopricks of *Arras* and *Cambray*, both which had been Governed by one Pastor since Saint *Vaast*, began each to have their own, after the death of *Gerard II.* who held them both; and *Manasser* was the first Bishop of *Cambray*, *An. 1095*.

The same thing was attempted for *Noyon* and *Tournay*, which had been joyned since *St. Medard*: but King *Philip* opposing, they remained so united till the year 1146. When *Simon* the Son of *Hugh* the Great being Bishop thereof, they were divided. *Ausleme* a Monk of *Soissons*, and Abbot of *St. Vincent de Laon*, was the first that held the See of *Tournay*.

An. 1179 *Gregory VII.* by his Bulls gave, or as others say, confirmed to the Arch-Bishop of *Lyons* the Primacy of the four *Lyonnaises* only, being perhaps perfwaded, as some others, that *Lyons* was in ancient times the capital City and first Church of the *Galls*. The Arch-Bishop of *Tours* was the first who submitted, but those of *Sens* and *Reuen* opposed it with all their might: and although this establishment had been maintained in the Council of *Clermont*, and since by judgment contradictory, which was given in the Court of *Rome*, *Anno 1099*. they had much ado to submit themselves; and it was, as I believe, during this Contest that he of *Rouen* began, out of emulation, to take up the Title of *Primate* of Normandy.

* Prayers for certain Hours.

* They permitted then in that case to communicate under one species.

The Abbot *Odillon* being excited by divers Revelations to ease the Souls that were in Torments after Death, ordained the Monks of his Congregation of *Cigny* to make a Commemoration every year the day after *All-Saints*, in their Prayers and Divine Service; which the Universal Church received soon after.

About the end of his Age three famous Religious Orders had their Birth; That of the *Chartreux* Anno 1086. by *Bruno* Canon of *Reims*, and *St. Hugh* Bishop of *Grenoble*, who were the first that retired into the horrid Solitude of the *Chartreuse* in *Dauphine*, which gave name to this Order. That of *St. Anthony* at *Vienne*, in the same Country, by a Gentleman named *Gajon*, who devoted his Person and Estate to the assistance of those that were seized with the Distemper called *St. Anthony's Fire*, and came to implore the intercession of that Saint at *Vienne*, where they had his Corps, brought thither from *Constantinople* by *Jocelin* Count d'Albon, in the time of King *Lotaire* Son of *Louis Transmarine*. This *Gajon* got together some Companions, who at first were of the Laity, but soon after they became Friars under the Rules of *St. Augustin*, and planted their Congregation in several Provinces.

In the year 1098. *Robert* Abbot of *Moleme* instituted the Order of the *Cîteaux*; being as it were a younger Sprig of that of *St. Bennet*, and became so potent that for more than Twenty years it governed almost all Europe both in Spirituals and Temporal.

We must not omit how *Robert*, Native of the Village d'Arbrefel in the Diocese of *Renner*, founded the Order of *Fontereault*, whose Monasteries are double, of Men and Women, living according to the Rule and wearing the Habit of *St. Bennet*. This *Robert* was at first Archdeacon of *Renner*, then had a particular Mission from Pope *Urban II.* to Preach to the People. Finding he was every where followed by an infinite multitude of either Sex, he built Cells for them in the Woods of *Fontereault* three Leagues from *Saumur* on the Confines of *Poitou*; and then shutting up the Women apart (this was perhaps after the good Advice of *Gefroy de Vendôme*) he made a large Monastery, which produced many others, in each of them the Abbots Commands, and the of *Fontereault* is the General of the whole Order.

About the year 1048. began a famous Dispute between the *Benedictine* Monks of *St. Denis* in *France*, and those of *St. Himmeran* of *Ratibonne*, these having given out a report that they had the Body of *St. Denis* the *Apostle*, and that it was bestow'd upon them by King *Arnold*. They held a famous Assembly at *St. Denis* upon it, where the Contenders of either side, having fasted and pray'd, the Shrine of this Saint was opened; and there his Corps was found intire, excepting one Arm which Pope *Stephanus III.* had carried to *Rome*. Those of *Ratibonne* would not yield for all this, but always maintained their Supposition.

The great Zeal People then had for Reliques, prompted such as hold nothing so Sacred as Money, to go for some to *Jerusalem* and the East, to steal Reliques wherever they could come at them, and oftentimes likewise to suppose and bring Counterfeit ones to make Merchandize: and the great Lords gave dear Prices for them, not only out of Devotion, but also to enrich their Towns and Castles, by the affluence of those People that came to behold them.

G g

Lewis

Lewis the Gros, King XXXIX.

POPES,

PASCAL II. *Nine years six Months during this Reign.*

GELASIUS II. *Elected in January 1118. S. One year.*

CALISTUS II. *Elected in Feb. 1119. S. Ten years, ten Months.*

HONORIUS II. *Elected in Decem. 1124. S. Five years, one Month and an half.*

INNOCENT II. *Elected in Feb. 1130. S. Thirteen years seven Months, whereof Seven years seven Months during this Reign.*

LEWIS the GROSS, King XXXIX. *Aged about Twenty seven years.*

1108.

THis Prince no less Massive of Body than his Father, but brave, active, vigilant, exposing himself boldly to all Labours and all Dangers, had undertaken to suppress the Pilferings and Licentiousness of the Lords. They had made several Leagues against him; and at that time there was one, whereof *Guy* Earl of *Rocheport* was the chief Promoter; and, this perhaps, had hindered him from being Crowned in his Fathers life time.

The fear of this League obliged him to hasten his Coronation, so that five days after the Death of *Philip* he was Anointed and Crowned at *Orleans* by *Gislebert* Archbishop of *Sens*, assisted by all his Suffragans. He would not have it performed at *Reims*, because *Rodolph* who was chosen Archbishop by the Clergy, and confirmed by the Pope, had not his approbation, for which reason he disturbed him in the enjoyment, and *Rodolph* thereupon had put the City under an Interdiction.

1109.

The War raised by *Guy de Rocheport* and his Friends, lasted still. The new King besieged *Chevreuse* and other little Castles which the other party defended well. Mean time *Guy* died, and *Hugh* surnamed *de Crescy*, his second Son, succeeded to the Animosity of his Father.

* See before Fol.

Hugh Lord *Puise* in *Beauce*, mighty famous for his Robberies, was of the League. *Eudes* Earl of *Corbeil*, Grandson to *Idle Bouchard**, having refused to join with the Male-contents, *Crescy*, though his Brother by the Mother, made him Prisoner, and shut him up in the Castle of *la Ferte-Bandonin*. The King set him free soon after, taking the place, partly by Intelligence.

1109.
1110, &c.

At the same time the King had War with *Henry* King of *England* and Duke of *Normandy*. The Subject was, that that Prince did not keep the Promise he made upon his doing Hommage for *Normandy*, to pull down the Castle of *Gisors*, built on this side the *Epte*, a River which served as a Boundary between the Territories of the *French* and the *Normans*.

The Difference put to Discussion between the Deputies of the one and other side, and the Parties not able to agree the Fact; King *Lewis* offer'd to prove it by Combat Body to Body. Some idle Jefters said, the two Kings had best fight upon the Bridge which stood and was ready to fall. *Henry* having refused this Challenge,

they

they came to a Battle, the *English* lost it, and their broken Remains fled to *Meulan*. *Robert* Earl of *Flanders* pursuing them too rashly, was wounded to Death. His Son *Raldwin* surnamed * *a la Hache* succeeded him.

Under the favour of this War, the Male-contents drew *Philip* the Kings Brother to their Party: The power and greatness of *Amaury de Montfort* his Uncle by the Mother, the credit of his Mother *Queen Bertrade* and of *Foulk* Earl of *Anjou*, afterwards King of *Jerusalem*, his Brother heightened his courage. He had two strong Holds, *Mantes* and *Montlebery*; the King besieged *Mantes*, and forced it to surrender.

For that of *Montlebery*, the better to keep it, they would have given it to *Hugh de Crescy* with a Daughter of *Amaury*'s in Marriage: but the King prevented it, and restored it to *Milon* Vicount de *Troyes* who had some right to it.

He after this attack'd *le Puise* in favour of *Tibault* Earl of *Chartres*, who was mightily molested by *Hugh*, Lord of that Castle, and took the place together with the Lord, whom he kept under a good strong Guard in *Castle-London*.

This War begot another. *Tibault* would build a Fort on the limits of the Country of *Puise*: the King obstructing him, he maintain'd he had promised him leave to do it: and therefore did him wrong, which he offer'd to prove by Combat, proposing his Chamberlain for Champion, in his own stead, he being yet too young. The King on his part appointed his Grand Seneschal *Anseau de Garlande*: but the Champions could find no Court or Judge in the Kingdom, who would secure them the field of Battle. Perhaps the King might underhand obstruct it.

The Earl therefore declares War against the King with the Assistance of *Henry* King of *England*, his Mothers Brother, and the Duke of *Bretagne*; for according to the Customs of those times the Lords thought they might do it, when they apprehended there was a denial of Justice. With him joined the Lords, *Hugh de Crescy*, *Guy de Rocheport* returned from the Holy Land, *Lancelin de Danmartin*, *Payen de Mont-Jesus*, *Rodolph de Beaugency*, *Milon* Vicount de *Troyes*, and *Eudes* Earl of *Corbeil*.

To tell it in gross, the King received a great deal of trouble, and made them suffer so much too, that he brought most of them to their Duty one after another. *Eudes* being dead during these Transactions, he Treated with *Hugh de Puise* who was to inherit that Earldom, and making him resign his Right provided he would give him his liberty, put himself in possession of that place, of great importance at that juncture.

Some time after *Hugh* having re-fortified *le Puise*, and committing a thousand Insolencies upon the Neighbouring Countries, he besieged him in that place: but the *Champenois* having the rest that were in League together for him, failed not to come to relieve it. Two great Battles were fought, one to the Kings disadvantage, the other to his advantage; after that they talked of an Accommodation, and *Hugh* obtained his Pardon.

Milon Vicount de *Troyes* whom the King had re-settled in *Montlebery*, had withdrawn himself from the rest of the Leagued Party, *Crescy* not being able to draw him in again surprized him by Treachery; and after he had led him about to divers Castles bound and fetter'd, not knowing where to secure him so, but the King would deliver him, nor how to let him go but he would take his Revenge, he caused him to be Strangled in the night, and thrown out of a Window at the Castle of *Gannet*. He would have had it believ'd that he had broken his Neck, endeavouring to make his escape; but the Crime was discover'd; and the King with great diligence besieged the Castle of *Gannet*. The wretched Murderer being condemned to justify himself by Duel in the Court of *Amaury de Montfort*, had not the courage to expose himself to that hazard: and therefore finding himself Convicted, he came and cast himself at the Kings Feet, gave up his Lands to him, and put on the Habit of a Monk as his Penance.

Hugh du *Puise* being Revolted the third time, the King again besieged that Castle, razed it, and then turned that Rebel out of all his Estate. This unfortunate Man having in a Sally killed *Anseau de Garlande* Grand Seneschal and favourite to the King, and not daring to remain any longer in the Country, went a while after to the Holy Land, which in those times was the Refuge of Banish'd and Condemned People, as it was likewise of true Penitents.

Thomas de Marle Lord of *Coucy* had been Excommunicated and Degraded of his Nobility Anno 1114. by the Popes Legat in the Council of *Beauvais*, for the Sacrilege and Robberies he committed upon the Churches, and the People belonging to the Bishopsricks of *Reims*, *Laon* and *Amiens*. That Sentence had inflamed his

G g 2

Rage

* Of the Hatchet.

1112, &c.

1115.

1116

Rage to do yet worse, even to the setting Fire to the City of *Laon*, and the *Noble Church of Notre-Dame*, (I believe it was that of *Lieffe*) to Maffacre the Bishop *Galdric*, and cut off that Finger whereon he wore the Episcopal Ring. The King who flew about every where with incredible Celerity, ran that way before this Robber had seized the Tower of *Laon*; forced and razed his Castles of *Crecy* and *Nogent*, and brought him to Reason.

1116, & 17. He quelled likewise another puny Tyrannet named *Adam*, that ravaged all the Neighbourhood of *Amiens*. He had gotten possession of the City Tower which was very strong, and gave a great deal of trouble: but the King having begit it for two years, gained it and razed it.

About Ten or Eleven years afterwards *Thouin* draws the King again upon him, by the like Deportment, so that he went and besieged his Castle of *Cowcy*. It hapned that making their approaches, *Rodolph Count de Vermandois* met him, wounded him, and took him Prisoner. He was carried to *Laon* where he died miserably of his Wounds.

* Firebrand.
1117. *Henry King of England* was the *Boute-feu**, and Support of all these Revolts: King *Lewis* in Retaliation had tirred up against him his Nephew *William* Son of the Deceased Duke *Robert*, whom he admitted to do Hommage for the Dukedom of *Normandy*, and gave him the Castle and City of *Gisors*, the first Cuckon of the Quarrel. This Nephew being thus supported, put his Uncle to so much trouble that he was fain to make a Peace with *Lewis*, promising to leave all the Rebels to his Mercy.

1118. * *Archibald* Lord of *Bourbon* being dead, *Hemon* his Brother surnamed *Vaire-Pa be*, under pretence of claiming his Share detained the whole Possession to the prejudice of the Son, and Treated his Subjects, especially the Clergy very Tyrannically. The King assigns him to plead his Right before the Parliament. Upon his refusal to appear, he went in Person to compel him, and besieged his Castle of *Germigny*. *Hemon* dreading his Wrath, came and craved his Pardon: he received him to Mercy, and took both him and his Nephew along with him, to bring them to an agreement of all their Disputes.

Emperor Joh.
Comenius Son
of Alex in
Ang. Released
Twenty four
years since
Months; and
Henry V. still
1118. The Quarrel between the Emperor and Pope concerning the right of Investitures, being burnt out anew with more heat then ever. *Paschal II.* being Pope, the Emperor *Henry V.* had seized both upon him and all his Cardinals, and constrained him to allow him the privilege of nominating two Bishopricks. Afterwards that Pope being at liberty annul'd that Treaty in the Council of *Latran*, and Excommunicated the Emperor.

In this year 1118. *Galafus* was elected in the room of *Paschal*, or *Paschalis*, but he sought not the approbation of the Emperor, who being displeased at that neglect or contempt, caused one *Alaurice Burdin* to be chosen, a *Limasu* by Birth, and Archbishop of *Braga* in *Portugal*, to whom they gave the name of *Gregory*.

1119. *Galafus* being then driven from *Rome* took his way into *France*, to hold a Council there, as he did in the City of *Vienne*: but he died the same year in the Abby of *Clugny*.

1119. The Cardinals that had followed him elected *Guy* Archbishop of *Vienne*, who took the name of *Calixtus II.* He was the Brother of *Stephen* Earl of *Burgundy*, and Uncle of *Adele* or *Alix* Queen of *France*, who was the Daughter of his Sister and of *Humbert* Earl of *Morienne*: and this consideration did fortifie the Holy See with great Alliances against the Emperor.

1119. The whole Kingdom of *France* having taken his part, he came from *Vienne* to *Toulouse*, where he held a Council. Thence he went to *Reims* where he called another, in which divers Canons were made to take away Simony, the Investiture of Benefices from Laicks, Concubines from Priests, and the selling of Sacraments. The King was present, the Emperor *Henry* would not be there, and having refused to part with the right of Investitures, was Excommunicated.

There was almost the same contest and difference betwixt the Popes and the Kings of *France*: These pretending the Election and Provisions of the Popes were not sufficient without their consent. So that it had begot great troubles in the Churches of *Bourges*, *Reims*, *Beauvais* and others. But the Popes durst not shock these Kings so rudely. It was good Policy not to make too many Enemies at once, to keep *France* in receive as a Refuge against the Emperors; and bring down the *Germans* first, because they troubled them most.

The Peace between the two Kings *Lewis* and *Henry*, was of no long duration. The Friends of the late Duke *Robert* and *William* his Son declared for *Lewis*, and the

Earls

Earls of *Anjou* and of *Flainers* served him zealously: as *Thibault* Earl of *Champagne* served *Henry* who was his Uncle.

Baldwin Earl of *Flanders* being wounded upon an assault of the little Castle of *Bures* in *Caux*, did so inflame his Wound with his Debauches, that he died of it at *Amiens*. *Charles* surnamed the Good, Son of his Sister and *Canan* King of *Denmark*, succeeded him in the Earldom of *Flanders*, and maintain'd himkelf there courageously, notwithstanding that *Clement* of *Burgundy* Mother of *Baldwin*, who was again Married to *Goffrey* Earl of *Louvain*, endeavoured to make it fall into the hands of a *Baltard* of *Flanders* named *William* of *Tpres* who had Married her Niece.

After a world of Ravages, Firings, Sieges, Surprizes, and Plunderings of Places; after two great Battles fought betwixt the two Kings, one in the Plain of *Beaumont* near *Noyon* on *Andelle*, where the *French* had the worst, the other near *Bretnel* where the success was doubtful: Pope *Calixtus*, as the common Father, being come expressly to *Gisors*, brought them to agree, by persuading them to restore what places they had taken to each other. This the Dutchy remained to *Henry*, who gave it to his eldest Son *William*, surnamed *Adelin**, in wrong of *William* his Nephew.

This Peace did not put an end to his grief and troubles; For a few weeks after he lost his three Sons, and with them above Three hundred Gentlemen, the flower of his Nobility and his best Captains. It was a strange misfortune. They being Embarked at *Harfleur* to go into *England*, their Seamen who were drunk, split the Ship as they were getting out of Harbor. And at the same time his Nephew's Friends and Partisans fired up new Disturbances in *Normandy*, and re-engaged the King of *France* to uphold them. Which renewed the Delolations of that Province.

In Anno 1119. died *Alain* surnamed *Pegeant* Duke of *Bretagne* Son of *Hel*, who departed this Life Anno 1084. His Son *Conan* surnamed the *Gr* or *Erme* and succeeded him.

This *Alain*, if we believe the *Historian* of *Bretagne*, prescribed certain Forms and Rules for the doing Justice in his Country, where before it was administered very confusedly. For he Established a *Senechal* at *Rennes*, to whom he would have all Persons to resort, unless the of the County of *Nantes* who had one likewise, and began to hold an Assembly or Parliament, which judged of Appeals from the *Senechals* of *Rennes* and *Nantes*, for all Matters Criminal there lay no Appeal. There were no certain and fixed Officers, no more then any certain times for sitting. They afterwards made a President in the absence of the Chancellor and a Master of Requests.

The death of *Hugh III.* of that name Duke of *Burgundy*, to whom succeeded *Odon* his eldest Son, who Married *Mary* the Daughter of *Thibault* Earl of *Champagne*.

The War grew hotter in *Normandy* betwixt the *French* and King *Henry*, and was carried on with various success. But *Henry* found nothing more troublesome then his Domestic Officers and Servants, who had framed a Conspiracy against his Life. He could confide in no body, he trembled at the approach of all that came near him, he died a thousand times a day for fear they would Murder him, and in the night shifted Beds five or six times, and changed his Guards, not thinking he was safe in any place, believing there were none but Enemies about him.

The Emperor reconciled himself with the Pope, and laid down the Investitures: But his Wrath still boiling in him, would needs discharge it self upon *France*.

He had Married *Matilda*, Daughter of the *English* King, for that reason, as likewise for the Relement he conceived because *Lewis* had protected Pope *Calixtus*, he raised a very great Army to destroy and lay that City of *Reims* flat with the ground, where *Calixtus* had held the Council against him. *Lewis* on his side resolved to draw all the Forces of his whole Kingdom together, even to the very Priests and Friars, so that in a short time he had 200000 Men out of the Isle of *France*, *Champagne* and *Fleardy* only. The Emperor having information of these prodigious Levies, found it safer for him not to come into the Country of *Meuse*, but retire.

At his return Triumphant *Lewis* brings back the Martyrs Holy Standard, (called the *Oriflamme*) and depolites it again in *St. Denis*, whence he had taken it, retired Solemn Thanks to those Glorious Saints, carried their Shrines upon his Shoulders, which had been taken down and expoled on the high Altar during all the time of the War, and made or confirmed several Grants to that Abby, especially the Fair of *Lendis* out of the City, for they had one already within.

Upon this occasion we may observe the difference there was between the Forces of France and the Kings. For when he made a War for himself, he could have only the People of those Countries properly in his own possession, and they served but unwillingly; but when it was the Kingdoms Cause or Concern, all the Forces of France were in action, every Lord came in Person, and brought all his Subjects along with him.

1125. The Emperor Henry being dead, the Princes of Germany brought in *Louis* * Duke of Saxony; who likewise retaining the Kingdom of Burgundy as united to the Empire, *Renold* Duke of Burgundy refused to acknowledge him. For which he would have deprived him of his Earldom, and have bestow'd it upon *Berold* Duke of Zeringhen; and this begot a bloody War between these two Houses; who fought till the time of *Frederick* I. who Married *Beatrice* the Daughter of *Renold*.

1126. This year 1126. the King received the Complaints made by the Bishop of *Clermont* concerning the Usurpations and Tyrannies of *Robert* Earl of *Auvergne*, and going thither in Person forced the Earl, notwithstanding the Rocks and Castles of his High-Lands or Mountains, to submit to Reason.

Five or six years after, the repeated Violences of the same Earl engaged him to make a second Expedition and besiege *Montferrand*. The Duke of *Aquitain* came to relieve his Vassal; but having from the height of a Mountain taken a view of the great Strength and Forces the King had with him, he sent to offer him all Obedience, and brought the Earl as far as *Orleans* to demand Pardon, and submit to all that should be enjoined him.

1126. Death of *William* VIII. Duke of *Aquitain* Aged Fifty six years. He left his Possessions to *William* IX. his Son, who was the last Duke of those Countries. The Father had Married *Emma* only Daughter of *William* Earl of *Arles* and *Toulouse*, and Brother of *Raimond* de *Saint Gilles*. By her he pretended to the Earldom of *Toulouse*: but *Raimond* de *Saint Gilles* laid his Brother had sold it to him, before he went to the Holy Land. It caused a War between *William* Duke of *Aquitain*, and *Alphonse* Son of *Raimond*, and afterwards again between * *Elinor* and the same *Alphonse*.

* Or *Alicor*. 1127. *Whilft* *Charles*, most justly surnamed the Good, prudently governing *Flanders*, relieving the Poor, protecting the Clergy, and doing Justice to all; a Family in *Bruges* abounding in Riches and in numbers of Men, but of *Servile* Race, taking offence for that he had commanded them to open their Granaries in the time of Famine, and withall being infligated by the *Baldard* *William* of *Tpre*, plotted the Death of this Prince; so that one Morning before day-light whilst he was at Prayers in *St. Donats* Church at *Bruges*, these Villains Murder'd him at the foot of the Altar.

The horror of the Fact, and intreaties of the Nobility of the Country, made the King take Horse immediately to revenge this Parricide. He besieged the wretched Authors in the Church, and having taken them, punished the two principal very severely. For one, after they had put out his Eyes and cut off his Nose, was bound to a Wheel planted very high, where they pierced him with an infinite number of Arrows and Darts thorough every part of his Body. The other was hanged on a Gallows with a Dog tied on his Head whom they beat continually that he might tear his Head in pieces. All the rest who fled into the Steeple were cast down from the top to the bottom, and dashed against the Ground.

This done he adjudged the Earldom to *William* of *Normandy* Son to Duke *Robert* as being the nearest, or next Heir, without any regard to *Baldwin* Earl of *Hainault*, and to *William* of *Tpre*, who pretended a Right. The last obstinately struggling to carry it by force, the King handled him so roughly, that he took from him the City of *Tpre*, and all the Lands he held in *Flanders*.

1128. As little gained *Stephen* Brother to the Earl of *Champagne*, who was Earl of *Boulogne*, by his Wife, though the King of *England* his Uncle supported him in this design, nor so much to advance him, as out of hatred to the King of *France*, and a fear of the growing greatness of his Nephew *William*. The King finding that with the Assistance of the Earl of *Hainault* and *Godfrey* of *Namur* Forces, he had besieged *Tpre*, led his Army into that Country again, gave them Chase and secured the Country to *William*.

However the Covetousness of this Prince vexing his new Subjects with Impôts he wanted not, and selling of Offices; the principal Cities revolted, and invited in *Thierry* Earl of *Alstia* whom they owned for their Prince; and in truth he was of the Blood of their Counts by the Female side. The King therefore made a third March towards those Quarters, and advanced as far as *Artois*, to serve *William*: but not

not finding things disposed to as he expected, he came his ways back again.

William did not lose Courage for all this; He gave Battle near *Alst* to *Thierry*, and put him to the rout: but pursuing his Victory, he received a Wound in his Arm, which being ill-dress'd caused his Death; and after that all the Disturbances raised in *Normandy* by his Partisans wholly ceased.

In this Kings Reign there were four Brothers, private Gentlemen of the Family of the *Garlands*, *Anseau* *William*, *Stephen*, and *Giselbert*, who had the greatest share in the favour of the King, in his Council, and Offices. *Anseau* had that of Grand Senechal or Dapifer, which he held in Fief of the Earl of *Anjou*, who was the Lord Suzerain: (for in those times Offices and Dignities were granted in Fief, and even the Devotion of the Faithful.) *Stephen* who was Archdeacon of *Paris* was provided with that of Chancellor, and *Giselbert* with that of Butler. Now *Anseau* being slain at the Siege of *Puisie*, Anno 1118. the King bestowed his Office upon *William*; and he being dead about the year 1120. *Stephen* desired it rather for himself, then for his younger Brother *Giselbert*.

This was a Monster, that never any Reason, nor any Example could justify, a Soldiering-Priest, making profession to spill Human Blood. And indeed all good People had him in horror, but his Ambition, and the flattery of Courtiers, who lay the fairest Colours upon the foulest Facts, stopp'd his Fars, that he might not hear the just Reproaches of his Brethren, nor the checks of his Conscience. His Pride ascended to that height to shock Queen *Alix*, who had Spirit enough not to endure it, and it was perhaps for that reason that he would surrender his Office to *Anaskey* de *Monfort* who was Married to his Niece the Daughter and Heiress of *Anseau*.

The King not thinking that convenient, he dared to take up Arms against him, and made a League with the King of *England*, *Thibault* Earl of *Champagne*, and other of his Masters Enemies, plainly demonstrating thereby, that in his former Services his aim was not the good of the Kingdom, but his own Grandeur. The King vigorously assaulted the Castle of *Livry* which they had fortified; they shot at him, and he was wounded in the Thigh with an Arrow. The smart of his Wound redoubling his Anger, he forced the Castle and razed it; in fine, he continued to make fire hot a War upon them, that *Stephen* was constrained to renounce the Office of Senechal. But the Party being strong, he thought fit to leave him that of Chancellor.

Great toil and labour, more then number of years, making *Lewis* old, he found it fitting the better to secure the Kingdom to his Family, to have his eldest Son *Philip* Crowned. Which was performed in the City of *Reims* the 14th of April, being Easter-day, in presence of *Henry* King of *England* his Vassal.

LEWIS the Gros, and PHILIP his Son.

Henry likewise having no Children by his second Wife, caused his Daughter *Matilda* Widow of the Emperor *Henry* to be acknowledged and accepted of in Heiress to his Crown and Dominions, and Re-Married her to *Geoffroy* surnamed *Plantagenet* Son and future Successor to *Fulk* Earl of *Anjou*. The Party was good, and besides he made it his choice thereby to divide this House of *Anjou*, which had given him so much trouble, from the King of *France*'s Party, and join it to his Interest.

King *Lewis* who had defended the Churches and protected the Clergy, changed his Language towards the end of his Reign, because they carried themselves too haughtily towards him, and would not suffer he should meddle with the nomination of Benefices, nor lay his hand upon their Revenues. He turned some out of their Sees, and seized their Lands. *Stephen* Bishop of *Paris*, and *Henry* Archbishop of *Sens* adventur'd to Excommunicate him: but the Pope *Honorius* annulled their Sentences.

Pope *Innocent* II. Successor to *Honorius*, was no sooner elected, but makes himself General of an Army, to compel *Roger* Duke of *Puglia*, to resign that Country to him, which he pretended (I know not wherefore) to belong to the Holy See. In the beginning he overcomes *Roger* and blocks him up in the Castle of *Galeazzo*; but his Son *William* halting thither, disingages his Father, cuts the Popes Army in pieces, and takes him Prisoner. Now although he set him immediately at liberty again, nevertheless the report of his Captivity being carried to *Rome*, caused them to elect another Pope, who took the name of *Anacletus*.

Innocent not daring therefore return to *Rome*, held a Council at *Pisa*, where he Excommunicated *Anacletus*. From thence he came into *France*, where he called another

1128, &c.

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1129;

at Clermont in Auvergne. His Cause had some difficulties, the King assembled the Prelats of his Kingdom at *Estampes* to know which Party they must take. St. Bernard Abbot de *Cleraux* strongly maintained *Innocent*, after his example every one embraced it. Nevertheless Girard Bishop of *Angoulême* advice, to whom *Anacletus* had retracted the Legation of *Aquitain* that had been taken from him, had so much influence upon *William* Duke of *Aquitain*, that he declared himself for this Anti-Pope, and perilled a year and an half in that Schism, vexing those Church-men extremely who would needs side with *Innocent*.

1131. One day being the Fifth of *October*, as the young King *Philip* was riding through some Street of the Suburbs of *Paris*, a Hog thrusts himself betwixt his Horses Legs, who fawned and curveted in such a manner as threw him on the Ground, and then ran over his Body, wherewith being much bruised, he died the same night.

To Comfort the King for this loss and the great and sensible grief it was to him, and in some measure repair it, he was Counsell'd to let his other Son named as himself *Lewis* be Crowned. He carried him to *Reims*, where the Twenty fifth of the same Month he was Anointed and Crowned by Pope *Innocent*; who then held a Council there against the Anti-Pope *Peter* *Lain*.

It seems it was at this Coronation that they reduced the Pairs or Peers, who were heretofore to be assitant at those Ceremonies to the number of Twelve, Six Ecclesiastick, and Six of the Laity, who were chosen from amongst all the Lords and Prelats of that Quality. They did not however take away from the other Pairs their Prerogative of not being judged by any but their Pairs in matters Ecclesiastical, as well Civil as Criminal.

Of those Twelve Peers are remaining only the six Ecclesiastick, five of the Lay ones having been re-nuttid to the Crown by Confiscation, Marriage, or otherwise, and the sixth, which is that of *Flanders*, torn from them by the Emperor *Charles* V.

LEWIS the Gros the Father.

LEWIS the Young his Son called the Pious or Debonair, Aged about 20 years.

1132. *Thierry* of *Alsacia* remaining Master and Possessor of the Earldom of *Flanders*, was admitted to render Hommage to the King who received him, because it would not have been in his power to drive him out, and besides he was his Kinsman.

Geoffrey Plantagenet was come to be Earl of *Anjou*, *Fulk* his Father being returned to the Holy Land to take possession of the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, to which he was called by King *Baldwin* his Father-in-Law. He pressed King *Henry* his Wives Father very earnestly to give him Places and Money for advancement of Succession; which begot such a divorce between them, that *Gisfrey* besieged and burnt *Beaumont*, and *Henry* had carried his Daughter back into *England*, had the not been in Child-bed.

When she was up again, she fell into Dispute with her Father, and parted very much discontented from him; which gave him so much jealousy and anguish, that being taken ill of a slow Fever and a Looseness, he died the first day of *December*, having Reigned Thirty five years.

- 1136, &c. His Succession no more then his Life was without great Troubles. That *Stephen* Earl of *Boulogne* of whom we have spoken, his Sister *Adela's* Son, being in *England*, seized on that Kingdom, and maintain'd himself in it as long as he lived; Not content with that, he likewise disputed for *Normandy*, and almost totally dispossessed *Matilda* and *Gisfrey* her Husband. The unhappy Province dividing it self in favour of both Parties was ravaged by both, and the King of *France* favouring sometimes the one, sometimes the other, kept it still in a Flame.

William IX. Duke of *Guylene* touched with Compunction, resolved to go in Pilgrimage to St. *James's* in *Galicia*. Before he went he made his Will and Testament, wherein he ordained that his eldest Daughter named *Aimor* should Marry the young King *Lewis*, and should bring him all his Lordships in *Dowry*; For his only Son was dead: but he had yet another Daughter called *Alix-Peruile*. In his Journey he fell sick and died having confirmed his Will.

His Corps was conveyed to St. *James's* in *Galicia* and interred in the Church; and yet the Legend-makers do not stick to say, That he feigned only that he was dead, and stealing away so privately that his own Secretary knew not of it, he went and turned Hermit in a Grotto or Cave near *Florence*, where he macerated his Body by terrible Penance, and that it was he who instituted the Order of the *Gulleimins* *.

* St. *F. go.* or *St. Jacques*.

1136.

* Or *Willers* *mins*.

Of the same *Fabrick* is the Tale they make of the Emperor *Henry* V. saying, That to do the greater Penance for his Faults, he caused it to be reported that he was dead, and retired to *Angers*, where he ended his days serving the Hospital, but before he died, discovered himself to his Confessor, and was known by *Matilda* his Wife, who was again married to *Gisfrey* Earl of *Anjou*.

King *Lewis* was likewise fallen Sick of a Diarrhea, which took him upon his return from his last Warlike Expedition, in which he had razed the Castle of *St. Erisson* on the *Loire*, the Lord thereof using to rob the Merchants.

William's last Will and Testament being brought to him, he accepted of the Match, bestowed a gallant Equipage upon his Son, and ordered a Train of many Lords and above Five hundred Gentlemen, with whom he went to *Bordeaux*, where *Elienor* Resided, and there Espoused her in presence of the Lords of *Gascogne*, *Saintonge*, and *Poitou*, then brought her to *Poitiers* towards the middle of *July*.

In that City he heard of the Death of the King his Father, which hapned at *Paris* the first day of *August*, the Thirtieth of his Reign, and the Fifty eighth of his Age. His Body was carried to the Church of *St. Denis*.

1137.

Before this Prince Violence reigned, Majesty and Justice were trampled under foot; the People, Merchants, Clergy, Widows and Orphans were exposed to Rapine and Plunder; The Lords and Gentlemen had all of them Castles from whence they sallied out to Rob upon the High-ways, upon Rivers, and the defenceless Countries. As soon as he could ride on Horseback he buckled on his Armour, running wherever the Oppressed cried out to him for help, and fighting Personally as a private Soldier, so that having brought many of these Tyrannets to Reason, he began to settle things again in order and security.

He had by his Wife *Alix* Daughter of *Humbert* Earl of *Savoy* Seven Children yet living, Six Sons and one Daughter. The Sons were *Lewis* who Reigned, *Henry* who was a Monk at *Cleroux* then Bishop of *Beauvais*, *Hugh* of whom we know nothing but his Name, *Robert* who for his share had the Earldom of *Dreux*, from whom sprung the Branch of the Earls of that name, *Peter* who Married *Isabella* Daughter and Heiress of *Renaud* Lord of *Courtenay*, whence came the Branch of *Contenay*, whereof there are yet some younger Brothers of Cadets. *Philip* who was Archdeacon of *Paris*, and being elected Bishop, had so much modesty that he yielded it to *Peter Lombard* called the Master of Sentences; whose Book hath served as a foundation of School-*Divinity*. The Daughter was called *Constance*, she was Married first to *Engrace* Earl of *Boulogne* by whom he had no Children, her second Marriage was with *Raymond* V. Earl of *Toulouse*.

As for Scholastic Learning, it is fit we observe that towards the end of the Reign of *Lewis* the Gros, a Philosopher named *John Rouffelin*, and after him the famous *Peter Abelard* his Disciple both Bretons, introduced in the Schools certain Notions and certain Expressions, with a Sophistical manner of Arguing, drawn from Philosophy and applied to Theology, which hath intangled it with Questions subtil and dangerous, and which favour more of the Metaphysics then of the Holy Scripture. The great Wits of those times, having nothing better to apply themselves to, there being none that taught the true Sciences, nor good Literature, fell all into these Ergotries.

Hh

Lewis

Lewis called the Young, King XL.

POPE S,

INNOCENT II. S. Six years under this Reign.	ANASTASIUS IV. Elected in July 1153. S. One year and five Months.
CELESTINE II. Elected in Sept. 1143. S. Five Months and an half.	ADRIAN IV. Elected in Dec. 1154. S. Four years and near eight Months.
LUCIUS II. Elected in March 1144. S. Eleven Months and an half.	ALEX. III. Elected in Sept. 1159. S. almost Twenty two years.

Lewis called the Young, during his Fathers Life time, and the
Pious, King XL. aged Nineteen or Twenty years.

1137. **A**fter Lewis the Young had taken possession of Guyenne, he brought his new
Spouse to Paris, where he laboured with his Council to establish the publick
Safety, and that Justice, which some petty Tyrants began to disturb afresh,
Ranfoming the Common People and Merchants.

The Cities to defend themselves from these Oppressions had framed Communities,
that is to say, created Popular Magistrates, with power to Assemble the Citizens and
Arm them. For this end they must have the Kings Letters Patents, which he granted
willingly, with many fair Priviledges thereby to oppose them against the over-
grown power of the Lords. Some Citizens of Orleans making use of this power, to
the prejudice of the Regal Authority, and running into Mutinies, he repress'd them
as he past that way, and brought them to their Duty again.

1138. As he was Sovereign Lord of Normandy, he was obliged to concern himself in the
Dispute between Gefroy Plantagenet Husband to Matilda, and Stephen Earl of Blois
and Boulogne, who disputed it between them. At first he took part with Gefroy, in-
vested him in the Dutchy and received Hommage from him, and in Reconquence Gefroy
gave him the Normand Vexin: but when Stephen who was come over from England,
had got some advantage upon Gefroy, Lewis changing his Party, puts his Son Eustace
into possession, aged not above Fourteen or Fifteen years, and gave his Sister Constance
in Marriage to him.

The Schism in the Roman Church was extinguished by the Death of Anacletus, and after
by the Cession of Victor, whom the Cardinals of Anacletus had elected Pope.

The Emperor Lotaire II. deceased in a shattered Cabbin, the Third of December Anno
1138. After four Months Interregnum, Conra dill, of that name was elected.

1139. Roger having made himself Master of the Dutchy of Puglia by the Death of Duke Rey-
nold Feudatary to the Holy See had taken Pope Innocent Prisoner who made War upon him
without Mercy ever since he got into the Papacy: Now having him in his own hands he obliged
him partly by force, partly by his good Usage and Respect to confirm the Title of King of Sicily

Lewis called the Young, King XL.

to him, which Anacletus the Anti-Pope had already bestowed upon him. Thus began the
Kingdom of Sicily, which besides the Island likewise comprehended Puglia and Calabria,
that is to say, what we now call the Kingdom of Naples.

Thierry of Alfatia goes into the Holy Land with great numbers of the Nobility, to
the relief of Fulk King of Jerusalem his Wives Father, and leaves the Administration of
his Earldom of Flanders in the hands of Sibylla his Wife.

Stephen returned into England is vanquish'd and taken by Robert Earl of Gloucester
Bastard Brother to Matilda. William of Iprey a brave Soldier, who had taken
Sanctuary in that Country, found a way to make this Robert Prisoner, the sole Coun-
sellor and Support of Matilda: so that to get him again the released Stephen: but
during the time he was under Reltraint, Gefroy recover'd a great part of Normandy.

This year Alfonso I. Duke of Portugal having obtained a most famous Victory over
five petty Moorish Kings or Generals, was saluted and proclaimed King by his Army. Five
years after, he renders his Estates Tributary to the Holy Chair, to pay down four Ounces of
Gold annually, Anno 1078. he puts it wholly under the protection of the Pope, and increases
the Tribute unto two Marks of Gold; upon which Condition Alexander II. confirmed the
Title of King to him.

This Alfonso was the Son of one Henry, who going into Spain about the year 1039. to
seek his Fortunes, Married Trefa Daughter of Alfonso VI. King of Castile, and had
for Dowry the Earldom of Portugal, formerly gained by him from the Moors. The most
exact Genealogists assure us that this King Henry was of the French Blood, being Son, say
they, of another Henry, who was Son of Robert Duke of Burgundy, Son of King Robert.

We do not find during these years any Stirrs or Troubles in the King of Frances Ter-
ritories; unless it were some Contentions amongst the Divines. Peter Abelard, dis-
puting with too much subtilty concerning the Trinity and other Mysteries of Faith,
had given occasion to accuse him of Novelty and Error, for which he was condemned
by the Popes Legat. Afterwards the Archbishop of Sens gave him leave to explain
and make good his Propositions against St. Bernard. But being come for that purpose
to the Council of Sens, he would or durst not dispute there, but appeal'd to the Pope.
Being on his way towards Rome to pursue his Appeal, he stop'd at the Abby of Clugny,
and there led a holy Life in the Habit of St. Bennet, which he had long before taken
upon him.

These Prosecutions were carried on by the Zeal of St. Bernard Abbot of Cler-
vaux, a Burgundian Gentleman, who had raised himself to so high an Esteem for se-
veral years before amongst the Clergy, the Nobility and Common People, that
there hapned no Cause in Matters Ecclesiastical, no considerable Contest, no im-
portant Enterprize, wherein his Judgment was not required, together with his
Counsel and Mediation. To shew us, that the Wife and Virtuous have a more na-
tural Empire, then that which proceeds from Power, or the Institution of Man.

The Clergy of Bourges had elected for their Archbishop one Peter de la Closerie a
Person of singular Learning and Piety: The King whether he did not like him, or de-
sired that Benefice for another, refused to give his consent. Peter would therefore
have desisted; but Pope Innocent enjoyed him to perform his Duty; which the
King obstructing, it bred a great deal of trouble, and grew to that height, that the
Pope Excommunicated the King, and put the King under an Interdiction.

Thibault Earl of Champagne, a Lord of great Authority, as well for his Power
as his Vertues, having intermeddled somewhat too much about this business, offended
the King; whose anger was yet more inflamed upon another occasion, which was
this.

Rodolph de Vermandois, who was in effect the first Prince of the Blood (but in those
days that Title was not known, those Princes being considered only according to
the dignity of their Lands) caused his Marriage with Gerbise Cousin German to Thibault
to be dissolved, upon pretence of Parentage, that he might have Alex-Prin-
de the Sister of Queen * Alienor for his Wife. The Pope at the instigation of * Thibault
Excommunicated Rodolph, and interdicted the Bishops that had pronounced the
Divorce.

Lewis lays all upon Thibault and enters his Lands in Hostile manner; Thibault has
recourse to the Pope, who to deliver him from that War which oppress'd him, takes
off the Excommunication; but as soon as that was over he thunders it a second time,
and then the King more exasperated then before, turns his Army into Champagne;
They take Virry by force, putting all to the Sword and setting Fire on the Church,
wherein three hundred poor innocent People were burnt who were got into secure
themselves.

Emperor Jo.
Comnenus and
Conrad III.
elected in
May after the
death of Lo-
taire II. Reign-
ed near Thir-
ty years.

1139.

1140.

1141.

1141, & 42.

* Or Eleanor.
* Or Thibault.

Emperor Ma-
nel the Son
of Fulk Co-
lombet in A-
pril, Reigned
Thirteen
years, and
Conrad II.

- 1143, and At the recital of this Cruelty the Kings Bowels yearned, and his Conscience was mightily troubled. He mourned and dispairs; St. Bernard had much ado to persuade him that he might obtain Mercy from God upon his Repentance. In this Condition it was easy to persuade him to restore the Archbishop of Bourges to his See, and procure a Peace for the Earl.
1144. *Fulk King of Jerusalem* being dead, *Anno 1142.* the Government being in the hands of *Melchenda* his Widow, his youngest Son *Baldwin*, and the Christians of that Country worse then the *Turks*; their Affairs ran all into confusion: so that *Sanguin Sultan of Alfyria* tore the Principality of *Edessa* from them, one of the four Members of the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*.
1144. The King had before Vow'd a Voyage to the Holy-Land, these sad Tidings moved both him and the other *French* Princes to carry them Relief. St. Bernard the Oracle of those times being consulted with herein, refers the business to the Pope, who sent him orders to Preach the *Croisade* over all Christendom.
1146. Beginning with *France*, he Conven'd a National Council at *Chartres*, by whom he was chosen for Generalissimo of that Expedition: but he refused the Sword and was content to be the Trumpet only. He proclaim'd it every where with so much fervour, so great assurance of good success, and as they believed, with so many Miracles, that the Cities and Villages became Deserts, every one lifting themselves for this Service.
1147. The Emperor *Conrad* and the King were the first that took the Badge of the Cross with an infinite number of Nobility. Each of these Princes had a Legat from the Pope in his Army. *Conrad* led threefore thousand Horse, he went away first and arrived at *Constantinople* about the end of *March* in the year 1147.
1147. The King staid some while in *France* after him, to receive *Pope Eugenius* who by the Revolted *Romans* was forced to quit that Country. He set forwards a fortnight after *Whitsontide*, in the same year, and having marched thorough *Hungary* and *Thrace* passed the *Bosphorus*; so that the following *Leut* in *Anno 1148.* he got into *Syria* whilst on the other hand his Naval Force was put to Sea to meet him there.
1147. By Advice of his Parliament held at *Estampes*, he left the Regency of the Kingdom to *Kadolph Earl of Vermandois*, and *Suger* Abbot of *St. Denis* who was in great Credit at Court, even from the time of *Lewis* the Fat. Before his departure he went according to the usual Custom into *St. Denis* Church to receive his Staff and Scrip, the Badges of Pilgrimage, and the Standard of *L'Oriflamme* on the Altar of the Holy Martyrs.
- "It is fit we should tell you the Kings of *France* of the Second Race display'd at the head of their Armies *St. Martin* Cope or Mantle: But *Caper* and his Line, after their great Devotion to *St. Denis* made use of the Banner belonging to his Church, which they called *Oriflamme*. It had wont to be carried or born by the Count de *Vexin-Francois* who was Hommager to the Church of *St. Denis*: After the Kings had possession of this County they appointed some Person of great Merit and illustrious Birth to carry it.
- There is not that wicked or mean Artifice and Treachery but the perfidious *Manuel* Emperor of *Greece* put in practise to destroy both the Emperors and the Kings Armies. Against the first he had his will, by Poisoning their Meal, he was to furnish them withall with Lime and Plaster, and appointing such Guides, as having led them a long way about, which made them waite all their Provisions, at last delivered them half dead, and languishing into the hands of the *Turks*, who cut them all in pieces, so that there was not a tenth part of them escaped.
1148. The King being likewise gotten into *Asia*, found the Emperor *Conrad* at *Nicea* where he comforted him in the best manner he could. Then he marched along by the Sea-side and ran the same hazard as the other had done, however he saved himself, more by good fortune then prudence. He won a Battle at his passage over the *Mander*: but reaped little benefit: for after that, not standing upon his Guard, he received a notable check in a narrow Pass through the Mountains. At last he arriv'd at *Antioch*, whereof *Raimond* Uncle to the Queen his Wife then held the Principality.
1148. This *Raimond* did all he could to oblige him to employ his Forces for the enlarging the limits of his Principality. The King refusing it because he would continue his march towards *Jerusalem*, he resolv'd to be reveng'd, and to this purpose persuades the Queen, to demand to be Divorc'd from him, as being of Confanguinity within the third or fourth Degree. This Princess being Fickle and Amorous, and having but a mean Esteem for her Husband, was easily over-weigh'd by her Uncle: The King

King could find no other remedy to avoid this scandal, then by taking her away in the night time out of *Antioch*, and sending her before him to *Jerusalem*.

Now the Emperor *Conrad* after he had been at *Constantinople* to refresh himself was come to *Jerusalem* to pay his Devotions. The King and he holding a Council together with the Lords in that Holy City, resolv'd to besiege *Damascus*. This Enterprize had no better success then all the rest, by reason of the horrid treachery of the Christians of those Countries. So these two Princes detesting their wickedness, which outvied the Malice and abominable Vices of the very Infidels, thought of nothing but their return again.

The Emperor having made Alliance with the *Greeks* against *Roger* King of *Sicily*, was by them brought back into *Italy*. Soon after the King being Embarqu'd in his Fleet met the Navy belonging to those Traitors, who lay in wait for him. Whilst they were engaged, or as some Authors tell us, were carrying him away Prisoner, by good fortune arrives the Fleet of *Roger* King of *Sicily* their capital Enemy, commanded by his Lieutenant, who made them quit their Prize, having burnt, taken, and sunk a great many of their Vessels.

Alfonso Earl of *Toulouse* Third Son of *Raimond de Saint Gilles*, had also made that Voyage about the same time as the King, but went all the way by Sea, and landed at the Port of *Palestina*. He got not far into the Country before he died, having been basely Poison'd, though it could not be known who had committed the Execrable Deed. His Son *Raimond* was his Successor.

"During the time of this Expedition, St. Bernard was wholly employ'd in *Langedoc* in oppoling one *Henry* a certain Monk that had cast off his Frock, a Disciple of *Peter de Bruys*, who Preached with much applause, but with little integrity of Life as it was said of him, almost the same Opinions as the *Zuinglians* and the *Calvinists* Preached in these latter Ages.

"A certain Wealthy Citizen of *Lyons* named *Valdo*, did likewise about Ten or twelve years after this Preach the same things in *Lyonnais* and the neighbouring Provinces. They called such as were Followers of *Henry* and *Peter de Bruys*, *Henricians*, and *Petro-Brusians*, and those *Valdo*, Poor of *Lyons* or *Vaudois*. There were some Remnants of these last in the Valleys of *Dauphine* and *Savoy*, when *Luther* began to appear.

In the year 1148. hapned the death of *Conan* the Great Duke of *Bretagne*; an Earl of *Pontevre*, who was Married to *Berthe* his Daughter, seized on the Duchy, to the prejudice of *Hoel*, whom the Duke *Conan* had disowned for his Son. From afterwards was complicated with another much longer, which lasted Thirteen or his own Son, who would needs enjoy the Dukedom, because it came by his Mothers side. This had Son having recourse to *Henry* King of *England* for assistance, used him: we do not know what became of him at last.

The ill success of the Foreign Expedition, which had made so many Widows and Orphans, ruin'd so many good Families, and unpeopled so many Countries, bred seemed to promise them a quite contrary Event. So that when the Pope would, two years after, have had him Preach up another *Croisade*, and obliged him to go *Cîteaux* broke all those Measures, to draw the greater numbers after him: the Monks of course greater then the first.

The King at his return to *France* finding the War continued still between King *Stephen* and *Matilda*, joyned his Army with *Eustace* Son of *Stephen* to besiege the Castle of *Arques*. *Gefroy* the Husband of *Matilda* and his Son *Henry* to whom the year before he had resigned the Duchy, marched to the Relief. The two Armies manag'd it so that the King (who without doubt found himself to be the weaker) agreed to receive Prince *Henry* upon Hommage; who by this means was the Twelfth Duke of *Normandy*.

Towards the end of the year *Gefroy* ended his days at the Castle du *Loir*, leaving three Sons, *Henry*, *Gefroy*, and *William*. He ordained that forthwith *Henry* should quietly

1149.

1148.

1148.

1149 & 50.

1150.

1150.

quietly enjoy the Mothers Estates, to wit *England* and *Normandy*; That *Gefroy* should have the Paternal, that is *Anjou*, *Touraine*, and *Maine*, with the Castles of *Loudun*, *Chinon*, and *Mirebeau*; and *William* the Earldom of *Mortaigne*.

1151. Not long after died *Eustace* Earl of *Boulogne*: his Death was a means to restore *Englands* Peace, for as much as *Stephen* his Father seeing himself Childless, was overpersuaded (it was not though till two years after) to consent that when he died the Kingdom should return to *Henry*.

This Prince, as *English* Authors tell us, would have resumed the County of *Toulouse* in right of his Wife: but Earl *Raimond* gained so much upon him by Marrying his Sister *Constance* the Widow of Earl *Eustace* newly dead, that he confirmed to him the possession thereof.

1152. The following year 1152. hapned the death of *Thibault* Count Palatine of *Champagne*, surnamed the *Liberal*, the Father of the Council, and Guardian of the Poor and Orphans; a Man of great Justice, who notwithstanding was almost in continual War with the Kings. He had four Sons, and five Daughters. The Sons were *Henry* Earl of *Troyes* or *Champagne*, *Thibault* Earl of *Blvis* and *Chartres*, *Stephen* Earl of *Sancerre*, *Henry* Archbishop of *Sens*, afterwards of *Reims*.

"This year also died the Emperor *Conrad*, to whom for want of Male Issue by Election succeeded *Frederick* I. surnamed *Barbaross* Duke of *Alman* or *Savabe* his Sister Son.

"If I do not mistake, it was under this *Frederick* that the *French* began to give the *German* the name of *Alleman*, or *Alman*, because this Prince being Duke of the *Almans*, had ever both in his Train, and in all Offices more of those People than of any other Country. The *Italians* even in those days called then * *Tudschis*, as they do still.

* Teutonic.

Death ravishd from the King his two ablest Councillors, which were *Suger* Abbot of *St. Denis* the Fifteenth of *January*, and *Redolph* Earl of *Vermendois*, the last Prince of the second Royal Branch of that name. He having no Children, and his Sister being Married to *Philip* Son of *Thierry* Earl of *Flanders*, the King who cherished this *Philip*, left him the possession of *Vermendois*, the Subject of a Quarrel in the Reign following.

1152. Whether it were jealousie or scruple of Conscience, the King eagerly pursued the Separation from his Wife, and obtain'd it by Sentence of the Prelats of his Kingdom whom he had called together at *Bangency*.

Immediately proceeding with integrity, he withdrew his Garrisons from *Aquitain* to leave her that Country in freedom, and gave her liberty to go whether she pleased, keeping the two little Daughters he had by her with him. This Woman burning with Love and Ambition, Married some Months after *Henry* Duke of *Normandy* and Presumptive King of *England*, a Prince both young, hot, and Red-Haired, very able to satisfy her Desires.

* Eleanor.

1152. As soon as * *Eleanor* was Divorced, *Lewis* sent to demand *Constance-Elizabeth* Daughter of *Alfonso* King of *Castile*, by *Hugh* Archbishop of *Sens*, who performed the Ceremony of that Marriage at *Orleans*, and there Crowned the new Queen; the Archbishop of *Reims* protesting in vain that this Right belonged to him only.

Lewis not able to endure his Vassal should go equal with him, nor *Henry* who had so many great Lordships, suffer a Sovereign above him, it was impossible they should continue good Friends. This last being assigned to appear in Parliament, refused to come. *Lewis* to punish him besieged and took the City of *Vernon*, but *Henry* submitting out of some apprehension he yet had of King *Stephen*, the Lords reconciled him with *Lewis*, who restored the place to him.

1152. King *Stephen* the Usurper of the *English* Crown being dead, *Henry* gets into possession of that Kingdom, according to the former agreement betwixt them.

Emperor Manuel and Frederick Barbarossa in Feb. Reigned thirty six years.

1154.

1154.

It was not permitted the Kings of *France*, says *Yves de Chartres*, to Wed any Bastards. Now there was a report that *Constance* was such: wherefore King *Lewis* two years after his Marriage would satisfy himself herein, and under the pretence of going on Pilgrimage to *St. Jago* in *Galicia*, took her Fathers Court in his way, the most magnificent Prince of those times, who received and entertained him most Royally at *Burgos*, and took away that suspicion he had conceived.

Divers do in this year 1154. reckon the Death of *Roger* I. King of *Sicily*, one of the most Warlike and Potent Princes of this Age. He raised the reputation and fame of the *Normans* to its highest pitch, in so much as after him, it did ever decline.

He

He had a Son named *William*, and a Daughter called *Constance*, the Son Reigned, but with so much Injustice, Avarice, and Tyranny, that he deserved the surname of Wicked or Bad. He prided himself most in filling his Coffers, and draining his Subjects to the very last Penny. *Constance* being an old Maid Married the Emperor *Henry* VI. in the year 1186.

Gefroy Earl of *Gien* on the *Loire* knowing himself too weak to oppose *William* Earl of *Nevers*, who made a rude War upon him, allied himself with *Stephen de Champagne* Count of *Sancerre*, and gave his Daughter to him, and for Dowry his Earldom, to the Exclusion of his Son *Here*. The Son thus disinherited by his Father without any fault committed, implored the Kings Justice, who goes in Person and besieges *Gien*, takes it upon Composition and settles him there.

When *Henry* was posses'd of *England*, *Gefroy* his Brother demands *Anjou*, *Touraine*, and *Maine*, according to their Fathers Will: but far from giving these, he takes *Loudun*, *Chinon*, and *Mirebeau* from him; so that he had been left without any thing, had it not been his good Fortune to be chosen by the *Nantes* for their Earl, who having forsaken *Huel*, stood in need of a Prince to defend them against the Assaults of *Conan*.

The Enmities between King *Lewis* and *Henry* being ready to break forth, the Lords found out a way to prevent it yet a while, by the Alliance of *Henry's* eldest Son of the same name, with *Margaret* Daughter of *Lewis* by his second Wife, though both of them were Children and had scarce left off their Bibs. The Girl was put into the Father-in-Law's hands, and *Lewis* promis'd to bestow in Dowry with her *Gisors* and other places in the *Normand Vexis*; which in the interim were trusted to the keeping of the Grand Master of the Knights-Templars, to be deliver'd up to *Henry* when the Marriage should be Consummate.

"The Emperor *Frederick* composed the Difference between *Bertold* of *Zerichgen* and *Renauld* about the Earldom of *Burgundy*, in such a manner that he dissembled "or cut off from it the little Country of *Nufland* which is beyond *Mount-Jon*, and the Cities of *Geneva*, *Lausanna*, and *Sion* to give them to *Bertold*, leaving the remainder to *Renauld*, whose Daughter and Heiress named *Beatrice* he Married. "After which keeping open Court with great Pomp at *Besancon*, he received Hommage "of all the Lords and Prelats belonging to the Earldom of *Burgundy* and the Kingdom of *Arel*; who notwithstanding, regarded not his Sovereignty, but only to "obtain a better Title to their usurpations.

Those that were common Friends to both endeavour'd to procure an Interview between him and the King of *France*, and agreed upon the time and place: but the King stung with Jealousie at the Grandeur of that young Prince, or having some suspicion he would design upon his Person, would go attended with a great number of Soldiers; which caused *Frederick* to withdraw very much dissatisfied.

Gefroy Earl of *Nantes* being dead without Children, *Conan* Earl of *Reims* or of *Little Bretagne*, seized on the City of *Nantes*. King *Henry* Brother of *Gefroy* pretending it belonged to him by Succession, undertakes to recover it by force of Arms. *Conan* being hardly press'd, buys his Peace by giving him his Daughter, and Heiress, (named *Constance*) for his Third Son, by name *Gefroy*, the same as his Uncle desired.

After the Death of Pope *Adrian*, the greater number of the Cardinals elected the Cardinal *Rowland* a *Siennois*, who was named *Alexander* III. But the *Roman* People and two Cardinals only gave their votes for Cardinal *Ottavian* a *Roman*, who took the name of *Viktor*. The Right of either side was dubious: for on the one hand the Decrees of some Popes had refer'd the Election to the Cardinals only, and on the other the *Roman* People pretended they had the better Title, and had most commonly maintain'd themselves in possession of it, alleging the Popes could not deprive them of a Right born with the Church its self, and practis'd in the times of the Apostles.

King *Lewis* relying upon the Judgment of the *Gallican* Church, whom he assembled for this purpose at *Etampes*, adhered to *Alexander*. All the West followed his Example, excepting the Emperor *Frederick*, who with his *Almans*, and what Partisans he had in *Italy*, fiercely rejected him, because he was install'd without his Approbation.

King *Henry* besides the Kingdom of *England*, held the Dutchy of *Normandy*, (which had then a part of *Bretagne* holding of it) the Country of *Maine*, *Anjou*, *Tou-*

1160.

1160. *Touaine*, and the Province of *Aquitain*. His Ambition upheld by this great increase of Power, made him revive afresh the Right his Wife had to the County of *Toulouze*. For this end, having made Alliance with *Raimond* Prince of *Arragon* and Earl of *Barcelona*, he raised a great Army of *Aquitains* and * *Routiers*, amongst whom was *Malcolme* King of *Scotland*, enter'd upon *Languedoc*, took *Moissac*, *Cabors*, and some other places.

1160, & 61. The jealousie *Lewis* had of his growing Greatness, moving him at least as much as the Prayers and Intreaties of Earl *Raimond* his Brother-in-Law, caus'd him to march that way, and call himself into *Toulouze*, but he had so few with him, that it was in the power of *Henry* to have forced that City, had not the scruple of falling upon his Sovereign deterr'd him from it. After which they were reconcil'd: but *Henry* would not let fall his claim and hold of the Earldom of *Toulouze*, till he bestow'd his Daughter *Jane* Widow of *William* II. King of *Sicily*, on Earl *Raimond*.

"In these days the cursed Crew of *Routiers* and *Cottereaux* began to make themselves known by their Cruelties and Robberies; we cannot tell certainly why they were so called; but they were a kind of Soldiers and Adventurers coming from divers parts, as from *Arragon*, *Navarre*, *Biscay*, and *Brabant*, who wandered over all Countries, and would be hired by any one that offer'd to take them, provided they might be allow'd all manner of Licence. The *Cottereaux* were most of them Foot-Soldiers, the *Routiers* served on Horseback.

In the mean while Pope *Alexander* fearing the Emperor, after he had pull'd down the Pride of the *Milannois*, might come to *Rome*, did not judge himself a fit match, and so retired into *France*, where he remained about three years.

1161. This year he held a Council at *Clermont*, in which he did not forbear to thunder against *Victor*, *Frederick* and all their Adherents.

1161. The most Potent and most Faction Family in all *France* was the House of *Champagne*: *Lewis* to divide them from the *English* and gain them to himself, takes *Alix* for his third Wife who was youngest Sister to the four Brothers *Champenois*; for *Constance* his second Wife was dead, Anno 1159. and for the two Daughters of his first Bed he gave one to *Henry* the eldest of the four Brothers Earl of *Troyes*, and the other to *Thibault* the second Earl of *Blais*.

1162. Pope *Alexander* came to *Torey* on the River *Loire*, where the two Kings *Lewis* and *Henry* received him with extream submision: Both of them alighted, and each taking one of the Reins of his Horses Bridle, conducted him to the House prepared for him.

1162. A second time the Emperor came into the County of *Burgundy* bringing his *Victor* with him, and a second time some endeavoured to procure a Conference between him and the King, to determine that Difference which made the Schism, by the Judgment of a Council. They agreed upon the place of Interview to be at *Avignon*, as being the Frontier of either Prince, whither the King by Oath obliged himself to bring *Alexander*. But that Pope refusing to go there, saying he could be judged by none, it broke off the Conference, and put the King in very great danger. For the *Almans* having reproached him that he kept not his word, plotted to way-lay him, and had taken him Prisoner, had not the King of *England* caus'd his Army to advance to disengage him. Thence follow'd a cruel War between the Emperor and *Alexander*, which horribly tormented *Italy*, and out of which the Emperor could not withdraw himself but by the means of a shameful submission, craving Pardon of the Pope, and suffering him to fet his Foot upon his Throat. Which hapned in Anno 1177. in the City of *Venice*.

1163. Anno 1163. *Alexander* assisted at the Council of *Tours* Assembled by his order; and there he thunders once more against *Victor* and *Frederick*. He caus'd some Decrees likewise to be made against the Hereticks who had spread themselves over all the Province of *Languedoc*.

"There were especially of two sorts. The one Ignorant, and withall addicted to Lewdness and Villanies, their Errors gross and filthy, and these were a kind of *Manicheans*. The others more Learned, less irregular, and very far from such filthiness, held almost the same Doctrines as the *Calvinists*, and were properly *Flemicians* and *Vandoes*. The People who could not distinguish them, gave them alike names, that is to say, called them *Cathares*, *Patarines*, *Bohemes* or *Bulgares*, &c.

"Admirer, *Cataphrygiars*, *Publicans*, *Gazares*, *Lollards*, *Turlapins*, and other such like Nick-names.

Death of *Odo* III. Duke of *Burgundy*, to whom succeeded *Hugh* III. his Son. There being Peace between the two Kings, *Lewis* employs himself in doing Justice and suppressing Disorders. The Inhabitants of *Vezelay* having made a Corporation, would have shaken off the Abbot who was their Lord, protected by the Earl of *Nevers*: He compell'd them and their Earl to ask Pardon and break their Corporation. The same year he went in Person to fight the Earl of *Clermont*, the Earl du *Puy*, and the Vicount de *Polignac*, Lords of *Auvergne*, who denied to forbear plundering of Churches, overthrew them and brought them Prisoners to *Paris*; where having detained them a long while, he releas'd them upon giving their Oaths and Hostages.

In like manner he punished the Earl of *Chablons* with the loss of his County, because he had pillag'd the Abby of *Clugny* and kill'd above five hundred, some Monks, some Servants. However the Daughter of this Man re-enter'd upon her Patrimony.

Thomas Becket Chancellor of *England*, elected Archbishop of *Canterbury* Anno 1163. soon lost the good favour of King *Henry*, for divers causes; and particularly for sticking too fiercely in maintaining the Privileges of the Clergy: Being banished the Kingdom he retired himself in *France* in the Abby of *Pontigny* of the Diocese of *Sens*, whence he gave much trouble to his King, and suffer'd not a little himself during six years.

"Death of *Victor* the Anti-Pope, in whose stead the Cardinals of his Party elected *Guy de Cremon* who named himself *Paschal*, and was confirm'd by *Frederick*. But *Alexander* III. recalled by the *Romans*, left *France* the year following and returned to *Rome* to put an end to that Schism.

In the year 1165. *Lewis* had a Son born, whom he believed Heaven had sent him in return of his Prayers. For this reason he was surnam'd * *Dieu-Donne*, i. e. Gift of God, or God-Gift, and after for his brave Acts the Conqueror, which *Paul Emilius* has render'd by Interpretation *Augustus*, and is followed in the same by all the Modern Historians.

The Life of *Conan* the Little, Duke of *Bretagne* which had been ever full of trouble, ended Anno 1166. to make room for *Gefroy* of *Normandy* his Son-in-Law. This Prince being yet but fifteen years of Age, remained together with his Datchy under the Guardianship of the King his Father for some time, after which being at liberty, he begins a War against him, because he would make him do Hommage for his Dukedom; a Duty he required by virtue of a Treaty made by *Charles* the Simple with *Rollo* Duke of *Normandy*.

Thierry of *Alsacia* Earl of *Flanders* dies at *Gravelin*, *Philip* his Son governs after him.

The Feud was renewed between the two Kings upon several occasions; one was the Earl of *Auvergne*, whom *Lewis* as Sovereign Lord took into his protection and safeguard against *Henry* to whom the Earl was a Vassal holding of him in *Aquitain*; the other, the support he gave to *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. The War thereupon breaks forth, and lasted for two years; however it was carried on but slowly, and so, as the Respect either of them had for Pope *Alexanders* Mediation, brought them to an Agreement for some time.

These two Princes having Confer'd together at *Saint Germain en Laye*, concluded the Peace betwixt them; and there the King of *England's* Sons render'd Hommage to *Lewis* for those Lands their Father assur'd to them by advance of Inheritance; *Henry* of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, the County of *Anjou*, and the Office of Grand Seneschal, joyn'd thereto from the time of *Grisegonelle*, as also the Earldoms du *Maine* and du *Touaine*; and the second named *Richard*, of the Dukedom of *Aquitain*; as for the third (which was * *Gefroy*) he had *Bretagne* by his Wife, and ow'd Hommage to none but the Duke of *Normandy*.

The Kings Intercession obtained of *Henry*, that *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury* might return into *England*: but he continuing to act with the same heat, four Gentlemen of *Henry's* Court out of Complaisance as mean as detestable, having plotted and contrived to deliver their King of him, entred the Church at *Canterbury* where that Holy Prelat was reading Service, (it was on the *Christians* Holy-days) and murder'd him at the foot of the Altar.

1163.

1163.

1164.

1164.

1165.

* Given by God, or God's Gift.

1165.

1169.

1169, & 1170.

1172.

* *Gefroy*, or *Gosfrid*.

1171. Though the King disown'd this Murder, and shew'd an extream grief: nevertheless having given cause to commit it, if perhaps he did not command it, the Pope made a mighty business of it, from which he could not get clear without submitting to great Penance and such Reparations and Satisfaction as was ordained by his Legats. The Holy Archbishop revered as a Martyr, was Canonized the following year, and the frequent Miracles wrought on his Tomb, attested his Holiness.
1173. Every year almost there was some Rupture, then a Peace or Truce, between the two Kings, either concerning their own proper Interests, or that of their Friends and vassals. Lewis had this advantage, that being the Sovereign Lord, he had a right of hearing the Complaints of Henry's Vassals, and of making himself his Judge.
1173. He had stirred up many in Aquitain and Normandy: but this year he Armed his own Children against him. The eldest with Margaret his Wife, being gone to Visit him, and having staid some time in that Court, had a fancy put into his Head that since he was Crowned he ought to Reign, and to demand of his Father the enjoyment either of the Kingdom of England, or the Dukedom of Normandy.
- With this disposition, and fretted for that his Father had taken some young People from about him who gave him such like ill Counsels, he stole away one Night from him, and came and cast himself into the Arms of the King.
- Immediately all the young Nobility follows him, Queen Alienor favours him, his two Brothers, Richard Duke of Aquitain and Geoffrey of Bretagne joyns with him; and those whole Provinces follow their Motions. The King of France takes them into his protection, William King of Scotland declares for them and attacks England, whither at the same time went some French Forces under the Command of Robert Earl of Leicester.
1174. It seemed therefore as if the unhappy Father must needs be overwhelmed on a sudden: but he overthrew all the Enemies. Lewis having taken *Vernant au Perche*, durst not hold it, and retreated before him. The Earl of Leicester is defeated in England, and all those that followed him either slain or taken, then all the Kingdom reduced in less then Thirty days by old Henry, who went thither presently after this defeat.
1175. The following year whilst he was doing Penance at St. Thomas Becket's Tomb, William King of Scotland his most capital Enemy loses a Battle against his Lieutenants, and was taken Prisoner. The Fleet of young Henry is dispersed and disabled by Tempest; King Lewis who had carried Philip Earl of Flanders with him, is rudely repulsed from *Rouen*; so that finding Henry who was come over-Seas again to Relieve this City, made ready to give him Battle, he hearkens to a Truce for some Months.
1175. Whilst that lasted old Henry going into *Poitou*, and subduing Richard the worst of his three Rebellious Sons who held that Country, all the others returned to their Obedience; and he enters upon a Treaty of Peace with Lewis; who gave him * *Alix* his Daughter for his Son Richard, and put her into his hands to compleat the Marriage when she should be Age for it.
- * *Alix*.
1177. The two Kings now grown old were weary of so many Wars and Disturbances; Either of them had cause to fear, the one the activity of his three most valiant Sons, the other the weakness of his only Heir as yet too young; so that they confirmed the Peace by new Oaths, promised mutual friendship against all others, and took up a resolution to go joyntly into *Languedoc* to extirpate those Hereticks, already mentioned by us. But they thought it more convenient first to send the Popes Legat thither with three or four other Prelats to endeavour to reclaim them by Exhortations and Anathema's which converted and brought back a great many, and kept the rest within bounds for some time.
- These Hereticks were all called Albigensis, because they propagated most in those Countreys, under the protection of Roger Earl of Alby who much favoured them.
1178. During the Calm of this Peace, Lewis who was extream feeble with Age, using the same provident foresight as his Predecessors, resolved to have his Son Philip Crowned: but it hapning that this young Prince fell ill upon an aspright for having lost his way in a Wood as he was Hunting, this Ceremony was sain to be put off, which was not performed till the year following.
- In the mean time Peoples Devotion increasing towards the Reliques of St. Thomas of Canterbury, from the example of King Henry, who of his Persecutor was become his Adorer: King Lewis passes into England, prayed on his Tomb, and left very rich Tokens of his Piety there behind.
1179. In fine Prince Philip was Anointed and Crowned at Reims on All-Saints day by William Archbishop of that City and Cardinal, Brother to the Queen his Mother; The Duke

- Duke of Normandy and Philip Earl of Flanders, both Pairs or Peers, assisting at that Ceremony, and holding the Crown upon his Head.
1180. Soon after Philip Earl of Flanders faithful and affectionate to King Lewis, procured the Marriage of his Niece *Isabella-Alix* Daughter of his Sister and of William Earl of Hainault, with the new King who was his God-son; and treating her as his own Daughter because he had no Children, he gives her in favour of this Marriage the County of Artois, and the County all along the River of Lys.
1180. Hardly was the joy of this Festival over, when King Lewis died of the Palsy in the City of Paris the 18th or 20th of September, Aged, as many tell us, near Seventy years, but according to my Computation not above Sixty three or Sixty four, whereof he had Reigned Forty three. His Corps lies in St. Denis.
- He was not very happy in his grand Designs, and too effeminate or mild in Affairs that required vigour; but as Pious, Charitable, Good, Just, Liberal, and Valiant as any Prince in his Time. He can be taxed but for two faults, the one against Prudence for Divorcing his Wife; the other against the Laws of Nature, having supported the Rebellion of Henry's Children against their Father.
- He had three Wives, Alienor or Eleanor of Aquitain, Constance of Spain, and Alix or Alice of Champagne. By the first he had two Daughters Mary and Alix, who Married the two Brothers, Henry Earl of Champagne and * *Thibault* Earl of Chartres and Blois. By the second came Margaret Married first with Henry the young King of England, and then with Bela III. King of Hungary. By the third he had two Daughters, Alix who was betrothed to Richard of England, afterwards Married to William Earl of Pontieu, Aenes Married to Comnenus the Son of Emanuel of Constantinople; and a Son named Philip who Reigned.
- * Or *Thibault*.
- I i z
- Philip

Philip II. King XLI.

POPES.

ALEX. III. One year under this Reign.	January 1188. S. Three years three Months.
LUCIUS III. Elected 29 Aug. 1181. S. Four years three Months.	CELESTINE III. Elected in April 1191. S. Six years nine Months.
URBAN III. Elected in Decemb. 1185. S. One year and near Eleven Months.	INNOCENT III. Elected in January 1198. S. Eighteen years six Months nine days.
GREGORY VIII. Elected in Octob. 1187. S. a little less than two Months.	HONORIUS III. Elected in July 1216. S. Ten years eight Months, whereof seven during this Reign.
CLEMENT III. Elected in	

PHILIP II. Surnamed the Conqueror, or Augustus, King XLI. Aged Fifteen years.

Emperor Alex II. Son of Manuel in Octob. Reigned Two years, and Frederic I. 1180.

1180.

* God's Heart, God's Fear, &c.

1181.

Even in the Life-time of Lewis the Young, Affairs began to be governed in the name of Philip, and by the Administration and Care, as I believe, of Philip Earl of Flanders, who was his Guardian, his Governor, and his God-father.

The Methods of Piety and Justice his Father and Grand-father had taken to strengthen their Authority, had much advanced them in their Design; He was therefore Councell'd to pursue them. Wherefore immediately undertaking the Protection of the Church, he with a high hand went and reduced Ebles Lord of Charenton in Berry, Imbert Lord of Beaujeu in Lyonnais, and Guy Earl of Chalon upon Saone, who oppress'd the Ecclesiasticks.

At the same time he began to let the Grantees of the Kingdom know how he could order and reduce them, for he dissolv'd a powerful League which they had formed against him, perhaps out of the jealousy they had conceiv'd of the greatness of the Earl of Flanders, and forced the Earl of Sancerre, who was the first that declar'd himself, to fly to his Mercy.

After the Death of his Father, desiring to Sanctify his new Reign, he publish'd an Edict against such as utter those horrible Blasphemies compos'd or made up of the * Name and Body or Members of the Son of God, condemning them to pay a certain Pecuniary Mult, if they were People of Quality, and to be thrown into the Water if they were meaner People.

Prompted with the same Zeal, he caus'd strict search to be made after all those that were accus'd of Herefie, and sent them to the Fire; expell'd all the Jews within his Territories and Confiscated their Estates, suffering them to carry away only the Price of their Household-Goods.

His

Philip II. Surnamed Augustus, King XLI.

His Piety appeared no less in the expulsion of Comedians, Juglers, and Jestors or Buffoons, whom he turned out of his Court, as People that serve only to flatter Vice, encourage Sloath, and fill idle Heads with vain Chimeras which perverts them, and puts their Hearts into those irregular Motions and Passions as Wildom and true Religion commands us so much to suppress and mortifie. Punices were wont to bestow great Presents on those People, and reward them with their richest Clothes: But he, being perswaded, says Rigord his Historian, *That to give to a Player was to Sacrifice to the Devil*, chose rather according to the Example of that Holy Emperor Henry I. to make a Vow he would henceforth employ his Money towards the maintenance of the Poor.

Anno 1183. he encompassed the Park du bois de Vincennes with a Wall, and stock'd it with Deer which the King of England sent over to him.

The same year Henry, the young King of England, died in the Castle of Martel in Surrey; Perhaps by the just Punishment of Heaven, for having been so often, as he was at this time, in Rebellion against his Father.

"Every private or particular Lord having usurp'd a Right of making War upon one another after either had sent his defiance, there followed Murders and continual Spoils and Plunderings; For which the Bishops and some of the wisest Lords of the Kingdomd endeavour'd to find a Remedy, from the year 1044. having ordain'd the Truce or Peace of God, for those Disputes and Contentions betwixt particular Men during certain times in the year, and certain days of the week, with most severe Punishments against the Infringers, even to the killing them in the very Churches, which served as a Sanctuary to all other the most enormous Criminals. William the Conqueror had Establish'd this Law in England and in Normandy, Anno 1086. Raimond Berenger Earl of Barcelona in his Country Anno 1060. the Council of Clermont had confirm'd it Anno 1096. and that of Rome Anno 1102.

"Now as these Truces were but ill observed, and Language and a part of Guyenne, principally upon occasion of that War betwixt the King of Arragon and Raimond Earl of Toulouse, were most miserably tormented with Factions, Murders, and Robberies: a certain Carpenter named Durand, who seem'd a plain simple Fellow, found the Remedy against these Calamities, and a Means to enrich himself. He asserted that God had appeared to him in the City du Puy in Auvergne, commanding him to proclaim Peace, and for proof of his Mission had given him a certain Image of the Virgin which he shew'd. So that upon his Veracity, the Grantees, the Prelats and the Gentry being Assembled at Puy on the day of the Feast of the Assumption, agreed amongst themselves by Oath upon the Holy Evangelists, to lay down all Animosities, and the remembrance of former Injuries, and made a Holy League to reconcile Mens Spirits, and entertain Love and Peace, which they named the Peace of God. Those who were of it, wore the Stamp of this Image of our Lady in Pewter upon their Breasts, and Capuches, or Hoods of white Linnen upon their Heads which this Carpenter sold to them. Which had such power over their Minds, and had made such Impression, that a Man with those Badges was not only in security, but likewise in Veneration amongst his most mortal Enemies.

Whether the three Princes of Champagne, Brothers to the Queen Mother, had gotten the upper hand at Court, and put the King out of conceit with the Earl of Flanders, or for some other cause; the King summon'd him to surrender up Vermandois, which Louis the VII. had given him only, as was pretended, for a certain time. The Earl being very Potent would maintain the possession, pass'd the Somme with a great Army and came as far as Senlis. But upon tidings of the Kings march, he turns back the way he came and went and besieged Corbie; from whence he decamp'd again immediately for the same cause. The King not being able to overtake him, besieges Boves, the two Armies drew near to engage. Some Mediators put a stop to their impetuous hate, and made up the Peace; The Earl yielded all Vermandois, excepting Peronne and Saint Quentin, which they let him enjoy during Life.

To this Agreement the King call'd all the Bishops, Abbots, Earls and Barons, that served in his Army, with their Under-Vassals. And such was then the Fidelity of the French.

The Patriarch of Jerusalem, and the Prior of the Hospital of St. Johns, deputed on the behalf of the Christians from the Holy-Land, brought the Keys of the Holy City to King Philip, imploring his assistance, and representing to him the extrem danger it was reduced unto. Whereupon having held a great Assembly of Prelats and Lords at Paris, he enjoynted them to Preach the Crois or Croifade, and to publish it every where: and in the mean time sent at his own Expence a considerable Relief of Horse and Foot into that Country.

* Hijiriconi.

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Emperor Adrian who strangled Alex II. Reigned Three years, and Frederic I.

1183.

1184.

1184.

1184.

The

1184.

The Complaints of the Clergy of Burgundy whom Duke Odo had plundered, and the Lord de Vergy, whose Castle that Prince besieged, engaged the King to march that way, and besiege Chagillon on the Seine, the strongest Bulwark belonging to that Rebel. Who finding his Fort taken by Assault, came humbly to submit to his Commands, promised to pay 50000 Livres for Reparation to the Clergy, and gave up four Castles; which however were soon after put into his possession again; without doubt because they had some need of him.

1183, & 84.

In Berry there were several Bands of Robbers that wasted the Country: they were named *Cottereaux*, and were believed to be tainted with the Herefie that spread in *Languedoc*, because they aimed chiefly to do mischief to the Churchmen: the *Berriers* getting together with the help of some Men sent them by the King, cut them in pieces, killing seven thousand upon the place.

Emperor Isaac Angelus, having kill'd Andronicus, R. Nine years nine Months, and Frederic.

1185.

The vast Multitudes of People that flocked to Paris, the Kings Train encreasing with his Authority, made the Streets so dirty and miry that there was no going in them. The King sent therefore for the Citizens and their Provost, and enjoined them to remedy it, which they did by Paving it with Stone at their own expences.

I find about this time, that one Girard de Poilli, who managed the Exchequer brought in either of his own proper Money or Fund, Eleven thousand Mark in Silver. It is to be imagin'd that he had gotten them by the King: but however we may say, that this Example will be singular, and that we shall never meet a Chequer-man will follow his Example. What ever can be done, that sort of People will sooner go to the Gibet, then be brought to make Reformation.

✠.

1185.

Margaret of France Widow of Henry the Young King of England, is Re-Married to Bela III. King of Hungary.

Gefroy Duke of Bretagne and Brother of that Henry, being come to wait on the King who tenderly lov'd him, died of a Distemper at Champagne, and was interr'd at Notre-Dame in Paris. He had one Daughter named * Alienor; and one Son only, aged but three years. The Bretons would give him the name of * Artur, in memory of that famous King whom the Romancers make to be the Author of the Knights of the round Table, and many high feats of Arms. He remained under the Guardianship of his Mother, and the Protection of the King, in despite of all the Efforts of Henry, and Richard his Son, who made several Attempts to seize upon his Person that they might get Bretagne into their possession. The Widow Constance afterwards Married Guy Lord de Thouars.

* Eleanor,
* Arus, or
Arthur.

1185.

The memory of Gefroy is still very famous amongst the Bretons, because of that Law he made in his Parliament or Estates General, which was called the Assize of Count Gefroy; Whereby it was ordained that in the Families of Barons and Knights, the Estates should not be shared or equally divided as heretofore; but that the eldest should reap the whole Succession, and bestow such part upon the younger as himself and the rest of his Kindred should think fit. This had since been thus propagated, the Thirds amongst all the younger Children, during Life to the Male, and Inheritance to the Female. In time, the rest of the Gentry, not to yield in Quality to the Barons, would needs be comprehended therein likewise.

Towards the end of the year 1186. a War was raised between King Philip and Henry of England, for two causes; One was, that Richard refused to do Hommage to the King for his County of Poitou, grounded perhaps on this, that it held immediately of the Dutchy of Aquitaine. The other, Henry desired to surrender Gisors and other places of the Vexin, which Louis VII. had given in Dowry to Margaret who had no Children by young Henry. Philip sets upon him towards Berry, took Ifoudun, and besieged the Castle-Rouel. The King of England and his Son came to its Relief, and sent to bid Battle: but the two Armies being ranged, Henry's heart failed him, he talks of an Agreement, promises Satisfaction to Philip, and leaves him Ifoudun for his Expences in that War.

1186.

1187.

1187.

The Fifth of September, Lewis the first born Son of Philip, came into the World, for which the City of Paris expressed so much Joy, that they made the whole week but one Holy-day, keeping all darkness at a distance by the infinite numbers of Flambeaux every where.

Saladin King of Syria and Egypt, who from a low Birth was raised to that high power, not without great desert, after his having obtained many Victories over the Christians, at last tears the Holy City of Jerusalem from them, whereof Guy de Luzignan was then King (it was taken the Second day of October) and all the Holy-Land, excepting only Tyre, Tripoly, Antioch, and some strong Holds.

Thus at the end of Eighty eight years, Ended the Kingdom of Jerusalem, which Title

after

after it had ambitiously passed through the Houses of divers Princes, does at this day make us part of the Catholick King.

At this dreadful news which arrived towards the end of the year 1187, all the Faithful made a great moan: never was any sorrow so great or so universal. The Kings Philip and Henry being faithfully touched, Consented together at Gisors and Trie, and resolved to take up the Cross with great numbers of Princes, Lords and Prelats to recover those Holy Places out of the hands of the Infidels. In remembrance whereof they erected a Cross in the Field, where they had resolved upon this Croisade, and mutually promised to leave all Disputes in the same posture they then were, till after their return from this holy Expedition.

The Month of March following Philip Assembles a Parliament at Paris, where it was resolv'd by Advice of the Bishops and Barons, to take the Tenth of all Goods, Movable and Immovable of all Persons, as well Ecclesiasticks as of the Laity, excepting only the Monks of Cîteaux, the Chartreux de Fontevault, and the Spittles belonging to the poor Leprous People. This Impost was called the *Saladine Tax*.

Whilst they were preparing with great cheerfulness and courage for this Expedition, Richard for 1 not what little Injury received of Alfonso Earl of Toulouse, renew'd the old Pretention of his Mother Alienor to that County, and endeavoured to recover it by the Sword. Philip to disengage his Brother-in-Law and make a Diversion, falls into Berry, takes all the places the English were possessed of, drove out old Henry who was got thither with an Army, and pursued him as far as Normandy.

Winter brought them to a Truce. In the mean time Richard falls out with his Father, and threw himself into the Arms of Philip. His discontent proceeded from his Fathers delay in giving him Alice of France betrothed to him. Some believe the old Man cast other looks upon her, then he ought towards his Sons Wife, and besides by completing this Marriage, he had been obliged, according to the Contract, to let his be Crowned, and give him the Title of King.

The Physician Rigord in the History of Philip relates, That being at Argenteuil, when the Moon was at Full, and the Night very clear, a little before day-break, the Prior of that Monastery, and several of the Monks saw that Planet descend in a Moment to the Earth, where having rested some time, it mount slowly up again and took its former place.

The following Spring Philip takes the Field, Conquers all the Countrey of Mayne and the City of Mans, Touraine and the City of Tours, himself having, as by Miracle found a Foard in the Loire which he discover'd to his Army.

At the same time John surnamed Without-Land, the Third Son of Henry, likewise takes up Arms against his Father, who not knowing which way to turn himself, leaves Chinon and advances towards King Philip humbly to desire a Peace: Philip grants it, and reconciles him to Richard, upon condition that one of them should accompany him to the Holy-Land.

But Henry as unfortunate in War as he was unfortunate in his Children, overcome with Shame and sorrow, dies three days after he was returned to Chinon. Richard succeeds him: and then Philip his Brother-in-Law generously restores to him all he had Conquer'd of his, excepting Ifoudun and the Fust he held in Auvergne, settling Gisors and all the Vexin for his Wives Portion.

The two Princes thus united in a Friendship which appeared to be very cordial, and so firm that one would imagine nothing could untie or shake it, fitted themselves for their Expedition to the Holy-Land, appointed the Rendezvous for their Armies at Vreclay, and took Shipping, Richard at Marseille, and Philip at Genoa. Both of them landed in Sicily; but Philip not so happily as Richard, a furious Tempest having forced him to throw over-board part of his Horses and his Equipage.

Before their departure, Philip with the leave and by the agreement of all his Barons left the Guardianship of his Son and the Government of the Kingdom to the Queen his Mother Alice de Champagne, and to William Cardinal-Archbishop of Reims Brother to that Queen. But fearing they might abuse it, he left an Authentick Order in Writing signed by the Great Officers belonging to the Crown, which limited their Power and prescribed their Lesson in many cases. Amongst others he would have them bestow vacant Benefices of the Regalia by the Advice of Brother Bernard, who was a devout Hermit living in the Bois de Vincennes, and that during his absence, no Tailles should be levied by any Lords upon their Lands, nor in case he should happen to dye, by the Regents during the Minority of his Son.

He likewise ordered the Sheriffs of Paris, that they should take care to enclose it with Walls and Towers. There were no Ditches made, the Enclosure on the left hand of the River upwards hath been often enlarged and altered. The Burghers of other

1188.

1188.

1189.

1189.

1189.

1190.

1190.

other Cities by their example, were ambitious to Wall their Towns and make Ramparts for defence.

"William the Good King of Sicily, Son of William the Wicked or Bad, being dead without Children Anno 1189, He had an Aunt the Daughter of King Roger, named Constance, who being almost Thirty years of Age, not a Nun as some have falsely maintained, who had married Anno 1186, Henry Son of the Emperor Frederic. This young Prince was called to the Empire this year 1190. The Emperor his Father having drowned himself while he was bathing in the little River of Serre between Antioch and Nicea, as he was leading great succours into the Holy Land. Now Constance pretended to succeed his Nephew: but Tancred his Bastard Brother had excluded him, and seized on the Kingdom.

It was he that received the two Kings at Messina, where they landed in the Month of March, and sojourn'd there above six Months. During their stay Richard had Contests with Tancred, concerning the Articles of his Sister Jane's Dowry, Widow of King William. He was often like to come to blows about it, and had thoughts of forcing the Town of Messina. In fine Philip's Mediation procur'd him 60000 Ounces of Gold from Tancred, whereof he had a third for his pains.

Now Tancred, whether it were true, or whether by a Diabolical Artifice, shew'd Richard some Letters, which he affirmed to have been written to him by Philip, wherein that King profer'd him all his Forces to attack Richard and seize upon him in the night, if he would at the same time fall upon him likewise. Richard believed the Letters to be real, and made a great stir about it. Thus the two Kings were mightily exasperated against each other; Richard for the design contrived against his Life: Philip for the reproach against his Honour.

Towards the end of the Winter Richard makes known to Philip that he cannot live his Sister for certain Reasons, which he will not discover, (perhaps it was because old Henry his Father had kept her too long) and declares to him he had betrothed Berengaria Daughter of Garcis King of Navarre, and that his Mother Alienor was bringing her thither to Consummate the Marriage.

Philip was not Transported, but wisely suppressing his Anger, left him to his liberty of quitting his Sister, provided he would surrender those Lands he had given him for her Dowry, and would at the first convenience go along with him to the Holy-Land. Also he consented to a Truce for those Countries during all the time they should remain abroad. Richard accepted of the Truce willingly, but refused to go fo far. These were the chief causes that changed the mutual affection of these young Kings into a cruel hatred.

James d' Avesnes with some Flemish Forces and the remainders of the Emperor Frederic's had already besieged the City of Acre* (it was otherwise called Ptolemais) very considerable for its Port and its strong Walls. King Philip parted from Messina in the beginning of March, and landed near this place, took his Quarters about the Town, raised his Batteries and made a wide breach.

In the mean time Richard putting to Sea, was driven by Tempest on the Coasts of the Island of Cyprus, It was then in the possession of one Isaac* a Grecian Prince, who having abused and pillag'd his weather-beaten Soldiers, whereas he ought to have relieved them, provoked his just wrath, in so much that he seized on that Kingdom, and carried away an immense quantity of rich Plunder together with the said Isaac and his Wife, both of them bound in Chains of Gold.

He got not to Acre till two Months after Philip, and far from promoting the taking thereof, he retarded it by the continual disagreement between them. The Siege lasted five Months in all, and caused a great many Princes and brave Men to perish there.

In the end the City surrendered upon Composition, importing that the Besieged should obtain of Saladin the release of all the Christian Prisoners in his hands, and the true Crois which he had taken in Jerusalem, for which their Lins and Lives were to be Security till performed, at the Mercy and discretion of the Conquerors. They were therefore, together with all the Spoil, equally shared betwixt the two Kings; and as Saladin would not perform the first of these two Conditions, and the second was not in his power, because the true Crois was not to be found, Richard too passionate and choleric took seven thousand of them to the edge of the Sword who were his Prisoners, and reserved not above two or three hundred of the Principal.

In this Siege were slain a great number of People of quality, Ratrous Earl of Perche, Thibault Earl of Blois, Great Seneschal and Uncle to the King, and Alberic Clement Lord du Mez his Marechal, Son of another Clement who had executed the same Office.

"Our Kings of France in those times had but one, and these Clements were the first who raised or improved this Office by their favour, and extended it to the Soldiery; whereas before them, it had nothing to do but with such as belonged to the Kings Stables.

The contagious distempers destroy'd yet more of their Men, then the Sword. Philip d' Alsace Earl of Flanders, ended his days in the Month of June. He had no Children, but only one Sister whom he had Married to Baldwin Earl of Haynault, from whom were sprung two, Elizabeth who was Married to King Philip, and a Son of the same Name as the Father.

King Philip being likewise seized with a long fit of Sickness, which was suspected to proceed from some ill moriel, because his Nails and Hair fell off, resolved to return into France: but to remove the jealousy Richard might conceive at his departure, he made Oath he would not in the least meddle with his Lands, till forty days after he were certain of his being returned into France.

He likewise left with him near Six hundred Horse, and Ten thousand Foot, with their inance for their three years, under the Conduct of Hugh III. Duke of Burgundy. After that, having taken leave of his Lords, he puts to Sea; and being Convoy'd by three Gallies only, which the Genoese furnished him withal, landed in Puglia. When he had somewhat recover'd his Health, he sets forward on his journey with a small number of followers, visited the Sepulchre of the Apostles at Rome, and having received the Popes Blessing, parted from thence, and arrived in France in the Month of December. He pass'd his Christmas Holy-days at Fontaine* Eblaud, and from thence came to his dear City of Paris.

After his departure, all the Forces put themselves under the Command of Richard, who did so many prodigious acts of valour, that they surpass the belief, as well as the ordinary strength of Mankind. In a word, he had regained the Holy-City, if the jealousy of Hugh, Duke of Burgundy, had not obstructed his progress.

And indeed he had a design in his Head of forming a great Kingdom in those Countries; and that none might dispute the Title with him of King of Jerusalem, he purchas'd it of Guy de Luzignan, giving him in exchange for it, the Kingdom of Cyprus, which the House of Luzignan held, till the year 1473. as we shall observe in its due place.

We find frequently enough in History, the apparitions of Meteors in the Air, representing Battles, Firing, and as it were engaging one another: but this year a most wonderful thing, some were seen to descend upon Earth near the City of Nogent in Perche, and fought in the Fields, to the great terror of the Inhabitants of that Country.

In the mean time Philip being returned into France, remembered very well, that Philip d' Alsace Earl of Flanders, had promised upon his Marriage with Queen Elizabeth his Niece, Daughter of the Earl of Hainault, to give him after his death, the County of Artois. He consider'd likewise, that to the Queen belonged some part of the inheritance of the said Uncle. To this end therefore he goes very well attended into Flanders, and forced him to give up all the Countrey of Artois, with the homage of the Counties of Boulogne, Ghisnes, and St. Pol which till then had ever held of the Earls of Flanders, and extended as far as Neuf-Eglise. This was the first leaven of that mortal hatred, and obstinate feud and wars, between the Flemings and French.

Now the misunderstanding that was between Richard and the Duke of Burgundy, the perpetual jealousy that King lay under, left Philip in his absence should seize upon his Lands, and withal the indisposition of his Body, which had been twice or thrice sorely shaken with Sickness during his stay in that Countrey, would not let him remain any longer in the East. Of a sudden he grew so impatient to return, that he sacrificed all the fruits of his heroic Valour to that longing and pressing desire. For on condition of a three years truce, he renders to Saladin all those Places he had Taken or Fortified in this last Expedition.

Some few days before Hugh Duke of Burgundy died of a fit of Sickness, to whom Odo, or Eudes III. his Son succeeded.

After Richard had left what Forces he had yet remaining, and such places as the Eastern Christians had still in Syria, with Henry Earl of Champagne his Nephew, he embarked the 10th of October with little attendance; and because he durst not pass thorough the territories of the King of France, his declared Enemy, he went and

K k

Emperor Isaac Angelus, and Henry VI. Son of Frederic I. Reigned seven years, about the end of 1190.

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1191.
* Acre, or Acon, in Latin, Ptolemais.

1191.
* Or Isaacian.

1191.

1191.

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* Vulgarly
Fontaine-blanc.

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and 92.

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landed near *Aquila* to pass thorough *Germany*. But the Lords of those Countreys, especially *Lepoldus* Duke of *Austria*, whom he had highly offended at the Siege of *Acre* or *Acon*, caused him to be so narrowly watched, that notwithstanding he went disguised, and travelled thorough unfrequented Roads, he fell into the hands of that Duke. He delivered him safely up to the Emperor *Henry*, who kept him prisoner Fourteen Months.

When *Philip* heard of his Captivity, he dispatched Messengers into *Germany* to negotiate with the Emperor to detain him as long as possibly he could. Some Months after he sends to declare a War against him, incites under hand his Brother *John*, a Prince without Honour or Faith, to seize upon the Kingdom of *England*; and he at the same time falling into *Normandy*, takes *Gisors*, and some places in *Verdin*. Some reckon this last event in *Anno* 1192. and by consequence before the imprisonment of *Richard*.

However it were, in the month of *February* *Anno* 1193. he took the Town of *Evreux* which he gave to *John*, keeping the Castle himself, and went to besiege *Reims*, but lost his labour there.

Queen *Elizabeth* his Wife had been dead about two years, he demanded in Marriage the Princess *Isenbourg*; * Sister of *Cann* King of *Denmark*, a beautiful and chaste Princess, but one that had some secret defect. And indeed the first night of the Nuptials, they being Married at *Amiens*, in the beginning of the month of *August*, he took such an aversion that he would never touch her.

He kept her notwithstanding some time; and afterwards growing weary of that unnecessary Expence, he co convinced it, that the Arch-Bishop of *Reims* the Popes Legat with some French Bishops, gave sentence of Divorce or Separation. He did it upon the testimony of some Lords whom he produced, who asserted they were of kindred within the Fifth and Sixth Degree. In effect *Isenbourg* and *Philip*, had both of them for Great, Great, Great, Grand-Father *Jaroslav*, or *Jarislod* King of *Russia*. This *Jaroslav* was Father of *Ann*, who was the Wife of King *Henry* I. and of *Jaroslav* II. whose Son was *Voldemar*, that had a Daughter named *Isenbourg*, wife of King *Casimir* IV. This *Casimir* begot *Voldemar*; and from *Voldemar* came *Cann* V. and our *Isenbourg*.

Richard having in fine got himself out of Captivity, in despite of all the obstacles *Philip* had made use of, endeavour'd to revenge himself by force of Arms; but having drained himself of Moneys to pay his Ransom, his Exploits did not answer his Intentments.

During two years, the two Kings reciprocally destroy'd eithers Countreys with Fire and sword, demolished a great many places, and then made a Peace about the end of the year 1195. restoring on either side what they had taken from each other, unless it were the *Verdin* which remained to *Philip*.

It happened in this War, that as *Philip* was passing by *Blois*, the English who had hid themselves in Ambuscade, took all his Baggage, amongst which (as the Grand Seigneur does to this day) he made them carry all the Titles, or Papers belonging to the Crown. Thus they were all destroy'd or lost, to the great damage of the Kings affairs, and the French History. He caused Copies to be collected where ever they could meet with them, to compleat and furnish the Treasury of his Charters or Paper-Office.

In the Month of March of the year 1196. the great overflow or inundation of *Water*, especially the Seine, were so terrible and frightful, that Paris, and the Isle of France feared a second Deluge. We take notice of it, because it was the greatest of any whereof the Historians of France make mention.

The Peace betwixt the two Kings lasted hardly six Months. *Philip* commences the War against *Richard* for two reasons: One, because he had built a Fort in the Island of *Andely* on the Seine; And the other, because he had taken the Castle of *Vierzon* in *Berry*, from the Lord to whom it belonged, who claimed Justice of the King their Sovereign Lord.

The next year *Baldwin* XI. Earl of *Flanders*, grudging in his heart that *Philip* had taken from him, the half of his Succession left by his Uncle, Leagued himself with *Richard* against him; as did likewise *Renauld*, Son of the Count of *Dammartin*, notwithstanding *Philip* had assisted him in getting the Heiries, and the Earldom of *Beauvoise*.

Amongst all the events of this War, which amounted only to Burnings and Plunderings, is to be observed what hapned to *Philip de Dreux* Bishop of *Beauvais*, Cousin german to the King. This Bishop being taken in the War Armed and Fighting,

1193.
* Or Isenbourg, some name her Isenille.

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by some of *Richard's* Soldiers, was detained a long time in an uneasy prison. The Pope would interpose his recommendation to *Richard* for his deliverance, and in his Letters he call'd this Bishop *His most dear Son*. But *Richard* having sent word back, in what posture and manner he was taken; and having sent his coat of Maille all Bloody, with order to him that carry'd it, to ask him, Behold *Italy's* Father, whether this be the Coat of your Son? The Pope had nothing to reply, but that the Treatment they shewed to that Prelat was just, since he had quitted the Militia of *Jesus Christ*, to follow that of the World.

Death of the Emperor *Henry*. As he had manifested himself as rude an enemy to the Popes as his Predecessors; and besides, was very odious for his cruelties; Innocent III. strongly opposed the Election of *Philip* his Brother, excommunicating all his Adherents, and stood up for *Otto*, Son of the Duke of *Saxony*, and a Sister of *Richard's*, who was Crowned at *Aix la Chapelle*: so that there was a Schism in that Empire, which had often occasioned one in the Church. The King of *England*, the Earl of *Flanders*, and the Arch-Bishop of *Cole* supported *Otto*, and King *Philip* on the contrary made a League with his Rival.

The same year died in the City of *Acre*, or *Acon*, the generous *Henry*, Earl of *Champagne*, Titular King of *Jerusalem*; his Nephew *Thibault*, or *Thibault* III. of that Name, Earl of *Blois*, inherited those Lands he had in *France*, in prejudice of his two Daughters. The eldest was named *Alix*, and was Queen of *Cyprus*, and by her was born a Daughter of the same Name, whom we then find making War against *Thibault* IV. The Second was called *Philippa*, who was Married to *Erard de Brienne*.

These bloody and obstinate Wars, the particulars whereof cannot be brought within the compass of an Abridgement, caused much mischief in *France*; but the greatest was, that *Philip* grew extremely covetous, and became too greedy in heaping up Treasure, under pretence of the necessity of raising and maintaining great numbers of standing Forces; which are truly very proper to make Conquests, and new Acquisitions; but some times become oppressive to the Subjects, and destructive to the Laws of the Land.

As he was the First of the Kings of *France* that kept Men in pay, and would have Soldiers always ready, to employ them in what he pleased; he set himself likewise upon making great exactions upon the People, ranfoming or taxing the Churches, and recalling the Jews, who were the introducers of Usury and Imposts. But, however he was very frugal, and retrencht himself as much as possible, knowing and considering that a King who hath great designs, ought not to consume the substance of his Subjects in vain and pompous expences.

At the end of two years War, the Pope by his intercession, procured a five years truce between the two Kings: during which, *Richard* as covetous of Money as he was proud, having intelligence that a Gentleman of *Limousin* had found a vast Treasure, and carried it into the Castle of *Chalus*, he went presently and besieged him: he was wounded there with a Cross-bow; and his debauchery having envenom'd his wound, he died of it the Eleventh day of *April*, in this year 1199.

He had introduc'd the use of Cross-bows in *France*; before that time, Sword-men were so generous and brave, that they would not owe their Victory but to their Lances or Swords: they abhor'd those treacherous weapons, wherewith a coward might or conceal'd, may kill a valiant Man at a distance, and thorough a hole.

He had no Children, therefore the Kingdom of *England* and the Duchy of *Normandy*, belonged of right to young *Arthur* Duke of *Bretagne*, as being the Son of *Geoffrey* his Brother, elder then *John*, without Land: but *John* having seized the Money, gained *Richard's* Forces, and stept into the Throne.

In the mean while the Earl of *Flanders* with his Allies, regained the Cities of *Aire*, and *St. Omer*. It hapned that the Kings party took his Brother *Philip*, Earl of *Namur*, and *Peter*, Bishop Elect of *Cambray*. The King refusing to release this last, the Popes Legat puts the Kingdom of *France* under a prohibition; so that after three Months time he was constrained to set him free.

The day of the *Ascension*, in the year 1200. Peace was concluded at a solemn Conference between the two Kings, between *Vernon* and *Andely*. It was warranted by Twelve Barons on either party, who made oath to take up Arms against him that should break it; and moreover, confirmed by the Marriage of *Blanche*, Daughter of *Alphonso* VIII. King of *Castile*, and *Alenor*, Sister to King *John*, with *Lewis* the eldest Son of *Philip*; to whom King *John*, in favour of this Alliance, yielded up all the Lands and Places which the French had taken from him.

Emp.
Alexis Ange-
lus, and
Otto IV.
Duke of Sax-
ony, R. 21
year.
Philip his
competitor
1197.

1197.

1198.

1199.

1200.

Arthur on his side attacks Poitou, the Earls of la Marche, and d'Eu, Geoffrey de Lusignan and their friends being joyned with him. His Grand-Mother Alienor had put her self into Aigrebeau; he beleages her there: King John hastens thither with so much diligence, that he surprizes him one fair Morning napping in his Bed, takes him prisoner, and sends him to the Castle of Falaise.

Normandy and Poitou being shaken in this manner, comes a Legat from the Pope, who ordains the two Kings to assemble the Bishops and Lords of their Countreys, and by their Consultations, put an end to these Disputes. John would readily have consented to this Order, but Philip who was not willing to give over so fair a Game, obliged his, who were assembled at Mantes, to throw in an Appeal from the Sentence of the Legat to the Pope himself, which was to gain time, and continue his progresses.

The respect for Queen Alienor had still with-held King John from staining his hands in the Blood of the unfortunate Arthur: Soon after her death, he caused him to be brought to the Castle of Rouen (he kept his Court in that City: and in a very obscure night he drew him forth from thence, and led him to such a place, that afterwards he was never seen.

It being justly presum'd that he had murder'd him. Constance, the Mother of that young Prince, demanded Justice of King Philip for that parricide committed in his Territory, and upon the person of one of his Vassals. He caused John therefore to be summoned before his Peers or Pairs; where not appearing, nor sending any to excuse him, he was by judgment of that Court, Condemned, as attainted and convicted of Parricide and Felony, to lose all the Lands he had in France, which should be confiscated and forfeit to the Crown, and all such as should defend them, reputed Guilty of Lèse-Majesté.

In prosecution, or rather execution of this Decree, Philip partly by force, partly by intelligence, took from him this year, almost all the higher, or upper Normandy, whilst this unworthy lazy Man, pass'd away the time with his Wife at Caen, as if all had been in a profound Peace.

We may imagine that if he would have taken some care of his Affairs, Philip could not so easily have conquer'd so many places, since the single Castle de Gaillard near Andely, situate on a Rock, both very high and steep on all sides, endured a Five months Siege: but both Heaven and Earth had declar'd against him, his friends betray'd him, his Subjects became unfaithful, and he meanly abandon'd himself.

The following year Philip made himself Master of all the Cities of the Lower Normandy, almost without a blow. Rouen it self, which was the Capital of the whole Province, environ'd with a double Wall, and very affectionate to her natural Dukes; After a Siege of forty days, being informed by the Deputies sent to King John, that no Relief or assistance could be had from him, surrendered to the Conquerour, upon condition he should maintain the Citizens in their Franchises and Privileges: which he agreed to, and they obtained Letters, or a Charter to secure it; a precaution as feeble against an absolute Power, as Paper is against Steel.

Two or three other places which yet defended themselves, followed the example of Rouen; and so it was that in less than three years he gained all Normandy, which had had Twelve Dukes of that Nation (whereof John was the last) who had Govern'd them about Three hundred and sixteen years.

At the same time William des Roches who had quitted John's party to joyn with Philip, secured the Counties of Anjou, du Maine, and de Touraine; and Henry Clevoent, Marechal of France, conquer'd all Poitou for him, excepting only Niort, Tonnais, and Rochel.

The next year the King himself having gotten a great Train of Artillery, forced the Castle des Loebets, and some places that remained in the hands of the English in Touraine.

The French and the Venetians failing to Constantinople with only 28000 Men, forced the Harbour, and afterwards the City, though there were above Threecore thousand Fighting Men there, deliver'd Isaac out of prison, and caused the young Alexis his Son to be Crowned. The Tyrant Alexis and his Brother-in-law Theodorus Luscaris having made their escape over the Walls, retir'd to Adrianople.

Whilst this Army of the Crois wintered about Constantinople, and Isaac and his Son endeavour'd to make good what they had promis'd them for their reward; the people upon whom they Levied very great sums of Money, mutinied. One certain Alexis Ducas, surnamed Murzisse, Great Master of the Wardrobe to young Alexis headed the

the sedition, seiz'd on that Prince, whilst Isaac was in his last Agonie, and strangled him with his own hands. Then caused himself to be Declared Emperour, and went forth with the City Militia against the aforesaid Army, but they were presently beaten back, Constantinople besieg'd, and within Sixty days taken by Storm, swimming in Blood, and a great part consumed by Fire.

The Conquerours gave power to Twelve of the chief amongst themselves, to elect an Emperour, upon condition, That if he were a French man, the Patriarch should be a Venetian, and so on the contrary. The intrigues of the Venetians, for whose interest Boniface Marquis of Monferrat was not so convenient, though he seem'd most worthy of the Empire, manag'd it so, that the Electors conser'd it upon Baldwin Earl of Flanders, and the Patriarchat upon Thomas Morosini a Venetian.

After they had settled things in order within the City, they easily conquer'd all what the Grecian Empire posses'd in Europe, and formed several Principalities there, of which the Marquis de Monferrat, who married Isaac's Widow, had Thessaly for his share, with the Title of a Kingdom: upon which condition he gave up the Island of Candia to the Venetians. The Grecian Princes preserv'd Asia to themselves, where they established divers Sovereignities, Theodorus Lascaris attired himself with Imperial Robes at Nicea in Bithynia, and had the largest Dominion for extent. Of the Family of the Comnenes, Michael had part of Epirus, David Heraclea, Ponticus and Paphlagonia; and Alexis his Brother the City of Trebisond on the Pontus-Euxinus.

There was the Empire of Trebisond formed, which still remained separate and distinct from that of Constantinople, till the Turks devoured both the one and the other.

Baldwin enjoy'd not the Empire two years; for going to besiege Adrianople, Jean-niz, or Cakjan King of Bulgaria, coming to assist the Greeks, drew him into an Ambuscade, made him prisoner, and having carried him into Bulgaria, cut off his Arms and Legs, and cast him into a Precipice, where he languish'd for three days. It was thus given out; but many are of opinion that he escaped from that imprisonment. However it were, his Brother Henry succeeded him in the Empire. He left two Daughters, the eldest Married Ferrand, Brother of Sancho, King of Portugal, who by this means was Earl of Flanders, the youngest had Children by Boucard & Ansquier.

King John not attributing his misfortunes to his crime, his cowardize or sloth, but to the ill-will of his English Subjects, particularly the Clergy who had not assisted him in his necessities, sets himself upon molesting and vexing them by all manner of exactions.

Guy de Tonnais who Govern'd Bretagne, being Husband to the Dutchesse Constance, had turn'd to Philip's party, and assisted him not a little in his late Conquests. He had likewise brought over to him the Vicount Tonnais his Brother; but this year both of them were at variance with him. Guy would Cantonize himself in Bretagne, the King begins him in Nantes, and compels him to return again to his Service; how-ever, the Vicount remained for the English interest.

That King having Levied vast sums of Money, and a powerful Army in England, comes and Lands at Rachel: the Vicount Savary de Maulcon, and some other Lords joyn with him; Philip finding himself too weak, contents himself only with providing and strengthening his Towns in Poitou with all speed, and then retires to Paris. John marches into Anjou, takes Angers, dismantles it, and presently after, remembering that it was his Ancestors native City, causes the Walls to be rebuilt.

At the same time there were some Bretons, who seizing upon the Promontary de Garpille, built a Fort there, to favour the approaches of the English upon thole Shallows.

These were all the Effects of the great Prowess of King John; for being soon tir'd, he caus'd a Truce to be propounded, by the interposition of the Pope, who threatned Excommunication in case of refusal. Philip agrees it for two years, against the opinion of the French Lords, who proffer'd him all assistance, and engaged not to forsake him, although the Pope should proceed against him by censures.

"The two contenders for the German Empire, Otto and Philip had agreed, An 1207. in such sort, that Otto who had the approbation of the Pope, but was the weaker, should leave the Empire to Philip, whom if he hapned to die with-
"out

Emp.
Baldwin and
Otto.
1204.

1205.

Emp.
Henry the
Brother of
Baldwin and
Otto.
1205.
1206.

1208.

"out Children, *Osbo* should succeed him, and in the interim Marry his Daughter. "Now this year *Philip* being Murdered in his Sick Bed by *Osbo* Palatine of *Vien-*
"spack, the Empire fell to his Competitor, who the following year went into *Italy*,
"and was Crowned at *Rome*. Immediately after he had a quarrel with the Pope,
about some Enterprize upon the Lands belonging to the Church, and those belong-
"ing to *Frederick* King of *Sicily*, Feodary to the Holy See, for which he was Ex-
"communicated, *An. 1210*.

He was elect-
ed at the age
of 35 years.

* *Maison de*
Cîteaux.

Innocent III. was then Pope, a Prelat of great courage, rare merit, and who be-
ing in the strength of his age, was stirring in every place, and concern'd himself in
every thing, driving all things to the height, where he met with a weak or divided
party. *England* made an unhappy Experiment. King *John* being absolutely resolv'd
not to accept of Cardinal *Stephen Langton* for Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, whom the
* White Friars had Elected to the Popes liking, but without the Kings consent, and
the Pope standing stiffly up to maintain and justify this Election, the content grew
so hot, that the Pope sends to three of the *English* Bishops, a Sentence of Interdi-
ction to be laid upon the whole Kingdom. *John* was so enrag'd, that he consec-
rated the Estates of all the Clergy, and resolv'd utterly to abolish Episcopacy in
the Nation, Commanding them immediately to depart; and to secure himself a-
gainst any personal effects of the Excommunication, wherewith he was threatened,
he took Hostages of the Towns and Nobility.

The Pope not being able to reduce the Heretics of *Languedoc*, who had almost
gained the whole Province, falls upon *Raimond* Earl of *Toulouse*, because he
was their chief promoter and encourager, and had caused one of his Legats to be
their chief promoter and encourager, and had caused one of his Legats to be
maffacted; it was *Peter de Chateau-neuf*, a Monk of *Cîteaux*, or White Fryer, and
the First that exercised the Inquisition. He Excommunicated that Earl, Absolv'd his
Subjects of their Oath of Fidelity, and gave his Lands to the first Occupier, but
without prejudice to the right of the King of *France* his Sovereignty.

Such an apprehension seiz'd on the Earl, that being come to *Milon* the Popes
Legat at *Valence*, he intirely submitted; gave up eight places of strength to the
Roman Church to perpetuity, as a pawn of his Conversion; and the following year
to obtain Absolution, suffred himself to be scourged with Rods at the Gate of
St. Giles's Church, where *Peter de Chateau-neuf* lay buried, and thence dragg'd to
that Friars Tomb by the Legat, who put the Stake about his Neck, in presence of
Twenty Arch-Bishops, and an infinite multitude of People. After which he like-
wise cross'd himself, or put on the badge of the Crofs, and joynd the next year
with those that took his, and the Towns of his Allies.

It was not his penitence that humbled him to undergo so horrible a shame;
it was the fear he had of a dreadful Storm, just ready to break and fall upon
his Head. For the Pope having turn'd that fervent Zeal which animated the Peo-
ple so much, to go in defence of the *Holy-Land*, had this very year order'd a
Croisade to be Preached against the *Albigenses*, and many Lords, Prelats, and
great numbers of common People, had list'd themselves in this Militia; the
King himself set out Fifteen thousand Men, that were to be maintain'd at his own
charge.

"These bore the Crofs upon their Breast, to distinguish them from such as
"went to the *Holy-Land*, who wore that badge upon their Shoulder.

"Amongst these Heretiques, there were some whom they called the *Poor*, others
"who nam'd themselves the *Humbled*. The First made profession of an Eange-
"lical poverty; the Second undertook to Preach wherever they came. To con-
"tradict or countermeine these, two Religious Orders were instituted: viz. The
"Friars *Minours* or *Cordeliers*, and the Preaching Friars, or *Jacobins*. The First
"Foundation of that was laid in *Italy* by *St. Francis d'Assisi*; of the other in *Lan-*
"guedoc by *St. Dominique* of the Noble Family of the *Guzmans* in *Spain*, and *Can-*
"non of *Osina*, who came into this Province with a Bishop, to Convert the *Al-*
"bigenses.

1208. King *Philip* would have been himself in this Expedition, or would have sent his
Son; (for these Sectaries had committed some Hostilities in his Territory, ac-
knowledging his Enemy King *John*) had he not feared a Landing of the *English*
in *Bretagne*, under favour of the Fort du *Garphi*. He went not therefore beyond
the *Loire*, but Commanded the Nobility that held of him to arm themselves, and
take that Fort, as in truth they did this year.

The

The Bishops of *Orleans* and *Auxerre* who had been sent thither with their Vassals
upon this Expedition, being return'd again without leave, pretending not to be
oblig'd to march with the Army but when the King was there in Person: the King
commanded their Regalia to be seized, that is to say, what they held in Fief of him,
nor their Tithes, Offerings, and other dues necessarily belonging to People of that
Function. They made complaint, by their Envoys, to Pope *Innocent III.* then went
themselves. The Pope having examined the matter, found they had failed and
transgress'd against the Customs and Laws of their Kingdom, so that they were fain
to pay a Mult to the King to re-enter upon their Temporals.

The number of these New-Cross'd Soldiers were not less than 50000 Men,
(not all Combatants as I believe) amongst whom there were five or six Bishops, the
Duke of *Burgundy*, the Earls of *Nevers*, *St. Pol*, and *de Montfort*. The general
Rendezvous was at *Lyons* about the Feast of *St. John*. Thence going into *Languedoc*,
they assault the City of *Bezierr*, one of the strongest held by the *Albigenses*, forced it,
and put all to the edge of the Sword, there being slain above threecore thousand
Persons. Those in *Carcastonne* terrified with this horrible Slaughter, surrendred upon
Discretion, thinking themselves very happy to escape naked, or only in their Shirts.

The Lords in this Army having called a Council, elected *Simon* Earl of *Montfort*,
chief Commander in this War, and to govern the Conquests they had and should
make upon those Hereticks. That done, the Earl of *Nevers* returned with a great
Party of those Soldiers, and soon after the Duke of *Burgundy* with another; so that
Simon was left ill attended, yet he maintained himself by a more than Heroick Val-
our, and Conquer'd *Mirepoix*, *Pamiers* and *Alby*. In so much as in a little time he
made himself Master of the *Albigis*, the Counties of *Bezierr* and *Carcastonne*, and
above an hundred Castles.

"In these times the School at *Paris* flourish'd more then ever. They gave it the
"name of University, because all sorts of Sciences were universally taught there, al-
"though in effect the desire to Study or Learn, and the assention of Scholars were
"much greater then their Doctrine. A certain Priest of the Diocess of *Chartres*
"nam'd *Almaric*, beginning to Preach up some Novelities, had been forced to recant,
"for which he died of grief. Several after his Death following his Opinions were
"discover'd and condemn'd to the Fire, he Excommunicated by the Council of *Paris*,
"his Body taken out of the Grave, and his Ashes cast on the Dunghill. And because
"they believ'd the Books of *Aristotles Metaphisicks* lately brought them from *Con-*
"stantinople, had fill'd their heads with these Heretical Subtilties, the same Council
"prohibited either the keeping or reading them upon pain of Excommunication.

Guy Count d' *Auvergne* for the violence and injustice he committed against the
Clergy, particularly the Bishop of *Clermont* whom he had imprison'd, was deprived
of his County by King *Philip*, and could never be restor'd again.

The Emperor *Osbo* grew stubborn in the defence of the Rights of the Empire,
and prepared to go into *Italy* wholly to subdue it with a mighty Army, which he
raided with the Money his Nephew King *John* had sent him, upon condition that
from thence he should fall upon *France*. Thereupon he was thunder-struck with Ex-
communication by Pope *Innocent*; and a little after a great part of the *German*
Princes elected *Roger-Frederick II.* Son of the Emperor *Henry VI.* about the Age of
Seventeen years, and who in his Fathers Life-time had already been nam'd King of
the *Romans*. The Pope consented to this Election, and the following year *Frederick*,
who was then in his Kingdom of *Sicily*, pass'd into *Germany*.

Every other while there came new Bands of Soldiers of the Crofs to the Earl de
Montfort, even from *Flanders* and *Germany*, but slipt away again within six weeks or
two Months. With these Recruits he carried all the Places and Castles nor only of
the Hereticks, but likewise of other Lords. The King of *Aragon*, of whom divers
in those Countries held their Lands in Under-Fiefs because of some Lordships he was
possessed of, wrote to the Pope about it, and the Earl of *Toulouse* went even to *Rome*
to make his Complaints, where his Holiness receiv'd him well enough, and promis'd
him Justice.

But at his return they propounded an Agreement with *Montfort*, if he would let
him have all he had already taken. He could never consent to it, and *Alphon* the
Popes Legat Excommunicated him in the Council of *Avignon*, because he levied cer-
tain new Tolls upon his Lands. The King of *Aragon*, came in Person to another
Council which was held at *St. Gilles*, to endeavour to accommodate Affairs, and

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restore the Earl of Foix and the Vicount de Bears who were dispossessed as favourers of Hereticks: but he could not obtain any thing.

1211. The *Toulouzain*, after so many mean and ruinous Submissions, takes the Bit in his Teeth and put himself in a posture to defend his own. Then is he openly Excommunicated, and his Lands exposed to any that could Conquer them. *Montfort* besieges *Toulouse*, but the garrison and Recruits that were come with him stealing away in a little time, he is forced to raise the Siege. The Earls of *Toulouse* and de *Foix* with their Confederates pursue him and besiege him in *Chasteauneuf*; a thing incredible, above 50000 Men could not overpower or force three hundred, are beaten and shamefully retreat.

1211. The young Princes *Frederick II.* and *Lewis* eldest Son of King *Philip*, delegated by his Father, confer at *Vauconeurs* upon the Frontiers of *Champagne*, to renew the Alliance between *France* and the Empire, and to unite themselves more closely against *Orto* and against King *John* his Uncle, two irreconcilable Enemies.

* Or Reynold. *Renaud* * Earl of *Boulogne* had served *Philip* very well since his Reconciliation, and had likewise been very well recompensed, by a great deal of good Land bestowed upon him in that Country. Nevertheless the King suspecting him of holding Correspondence with the King of *England*, demands his strong Holds of him; and upon his refusal to deliver them, he attacks them, and pressed upon him so briskly that he durst not defend them, but went away to the Earl of *Bar* his Kinsman, and from thence to *Flanders*.

1212. Although King *John* had been Excommunicated the precedent year by the Popes Legat, he scoff'd at those Censures. But he was hugely astonished when he understood, that by a more terrible Sentence the Pope had absolv'd his Subjects of their Allegiance, and expos'd his Kingdom as a Prey, and that King *Philip* made great preparations to invade it, having already a prodigious number of Vessels ready at the mouth of the *Seine*.

The Legat by secret Informations increases his fears, and disturbs him to that height as he promises to make his Kingdom hold of the Holy See, and to pay a thousand Mark of Silver as a yearly Tribute, besides the *Peter-Pence*.

When the Legat had wire-drawn all he desired from him, he tries to persuade *Philip* to waive his Enterprize: but he was too far engag'd in Honour and Expence to break off so.

1213. All the Lords of the Kingdom in a Parliament held at *Soissons* the Morrow after Palm-Sunday, had promis'd to assist him with their Lives and Fortunes. There was only *Ferrand* * Son of *Sancho I.* King of *Portugal*, Earl of *Flanders* that refused to accompany him in this Expedition, unless he would restore the Cities of *Aire* and *St. Omer* which he had gotten from him, to have his consent that he might Marry the Heiress of *Flanders* who was the eldest Daughter of *Baldwin V.*

The King thought that his approach might bring him back to his Duty, when he should see him on those Coasts ready to Embark. Therefore when he was at *Boulogne*, he sent him order to come and meet him at *Graveline*: The Earl made them wait for him, but he appeared not: so that the King resolv'd before he took Shipping to put him in a Condition not to be able to hurt him.

1213. The Towns of *Ipres*, *Cassel*, and all the Country to *Bruges* submitted to his Sword, His Naval Force consisting of One thousand seven hundred Sail, having cast Anchor at *Dam*. While the greatest part were in the Road with scarce any Men, comes the *English* Fleet Commanded by the Earls of *Boulogne* and *Salisbury*, who took and sunk a great many, and laid Siege to the place. *Philip* decamping from before *Obent*, routs those they had sent on shoar and slew two or three thousand. Nevertheless they keeping the Seas, and his Vessels not being able to get out without falling into their hands, he took out all their Furniture, and caused them all to be burnt, and the City of *Dam* afterwards.

1213. Then having wasted and plundered the Territory of *Bruges*, squeezed great Sums of Money from those Citizens, as likewise from the Inhabitants of *Ghent* and *Ipres*, sack'd and dismantled *L'Isle*, he left his Son *Lewis*, and *Gaucher* Count de *Saint Pol* in that Country with a strong Body of Horse, and Garisons in the Cities of *Doway* and *Tournay* only.

When he was retir'd out of *Flanders*, the Earl *Ferrand* re-entred, and soon Master'd *Tournay* and *L'Isle* which *Lewis* was beginning to repair, as in revenge *Lewis* sack'd and burnt *Courtray*. *Philip* for the second time goes into *Flanders* to secure his Conquests, and presently *Ferrand* withdraws: but as soon as *Philip* was gone, *Renaud* Earl of *Boulogne* took the Field with some Forces he brought out of *England*; But without

without doing any Exploit, only after he scowled about the Country once or twice, and attempted two or three Sieges in vain, he forced *Henry* Earl of *Lowain* and Duke of *Brabant*, who had Married one of the Kings Daughters to join with him.

On the other side King *John* landed at *Rechel* with a great Army, and having patch'd up again with the Earls of *la Marche*, d' *En*, d' *Angoulême*, de *Lezignan*, and other *Poitevins* who assisted him with their Forces, crosses *Poitou*, made himself Master of some places in *Anjou*, and began to rebuild the Walls of *Angers* his Native City.

To hinder this Progress, the King recall'd his Son out of *Flanders*, and sets him in opposition. This Prince takes his head Quarters at *Chinon*, and was seconded with the Forces of *Bretagne* by *Peter de Dreux*, who this year had Married the Heiress of that Dutchy. It was *Alix* or *Alice* Daughter of the Dutchess *Constance* and *Guy de Tonars*.

In the mean while the *English* wrought diligently about the fortifying *Angers*, and enclosed that part towards the River of *Maine* with a Wall. His Soldiers made excursions to the very Suburbs of *Nantes* on the other side of the *Loire*, surpriz'd *Robert* the eldest Son of the Earl of *Dreux* in an Ambuscade, who was got over the Bridge to attack them, cut his Men in pieces, and made him Prisoner.

Peter King of *Aragon* having gotten into his League and under his Protection, the Earls of *Toulouse*, de *Foix* and de *Comenges*, the Vicount de *Besiers* and others whose Lands *Montfort* had usurp'd, sent his Heralds to desire him. *Montfort* had left a strong Garison in *Muret* to make waste in the Neighbourhood of *Toulouse*. This King lays Siege to it in the Month of *September*. His Army consisted of an Hundred thousand Men almost: *Montfort* who was at *Castellenaudry*, having hardly drawn together a thousand or twelve hundred, got into the place. From whence making a furious Sally upon the King, who fighting so small a number, fell down to eat at the beginning of the Fight, cut all his Army off, threw him on the ground, where his Throat was cut by a private Soldier, took his Royal Standard which was carried in Triumph to *Rome*, and cover'd the Field with dead Bodies, without the loss of above eight Men.

The weighty blow of this Club made the Earl of *Toulouse* and the Inhabitants of that great City fall down at the Legats Feet; they offer'd to submit to whatever Conditions he would impose: but they could not get off with words, it was resolv'd they should be plum'd of all.

This year 1214. *France* was shrewdly attack'd by King *John*, and on the *Flanders* side by the Emperor *Orto*, and the Counts *Ferrand* of *Flanders*, and *Renaud* de *Boulogne*: but both in the one and the other part his Arms remained victorious. Prince *Lewis* having drawn his Forces together at *Chinon*, march'd resolutely against King *John* who besieged the Castle de *La Roche-au Moine* upon the *Loire* between *Angers* and *Nantes*. Being within a days Journey of that place, that King was frightened, repasses the River in such great haste that he left all his Warlike Engines behind, and part of his Men who were kill'd or drowned upon the Retreat. Never after durst he shew his head in any place where he knew *Lewis* could come, and abandoned all *Anjou* to him, and his new Fortifications of *Angers* which were presently demolish'd.

Before the Month was expir'd after *Lewis*'s Victory, King *Philip* his Father gained a much more signal one nigh the Village of *Bouvines* which is between *L'Isle* and *Tournay*, against the Emperor *Orto* and his Confederates. They had an Army of 150000 fighting Men, his was weaker by one half, but strengthened with the flower of the Nobility, and many Princes of the Blood, viz. *Eudes* Duke of *Burgundy*, *Robert* de *Courtenay*, *Robert* Earl of *Dreux*, and his Brother *Philip* Bishop of *Beauvais*. The Battle was fought the 2th of *July*, and lasted from Noon till Night. *Guerin* Knight of the Order of *St. John* of *Jerusalem*, and a little before elected Bishop of *Sens*, to whom the King left all things, drew up the Army in Battalia, *Matthew* Baron of *Montmorency*, *William* des *Barres* Seneschal to the King, *Henry* Earl of *Bar*, *Bartholomy de Roze*, *Gaucher* Count de *Saint Pol*, and *Adam* Vicount de *Melun*, had the greatest shares in the Danger and in the Victory. *Guerin* fought not with his hands, because of his Quality of Bishop, nor did *Philip* Bishop of *Beauvais* imitate with the Sword, but a Wooden Club, believing that to beat out Peoples Brains was not shedding of Blood.

The King ran a great hazard in his own Person, having been beaten down, trod under the Horses Feet and wounded in the Throat: but in fine his Enemies were woried every where, *Orto* put to flight, his great Standard, being a Dragon with

an Imperial Eagle over it, and the Chariot which bore it broken all to pieces, and five Earls, amongst whom were *Ferrand* and *Renauld*, with two and twenty Lords that carried Banners, taken Prisoners.

The Fortune-tellers had assured the old Countess of *Flanders*, *Ferrandi's* Aunt, that there should happen a great Battle, that the King should be overthrown, Horfes tread over him, and that *Ferranda* should enter in Triumph into *Paris*. The first part of this Prediction held good without Equivocation, the second was likewise true, but after another manner than they imagined; for indeed, they carried him into *Paris* in Triumph, but in quality of a Captive, laden with Chains, and linked fast in a Chariot drawn by *Ferrand* Horfes; that is according to the Language then used, of an Iron-grey-Colour.

The *Parisians* made the King a most pompous Entrance, and Celebrated his Victory with Solemn Joy for eight days together. *Ferrand* was shut up in the Tower of the *Louvre* without the City Walls, and *Renauld* in the new Tower of *Peronne* with Shackles on his Legs; and a Chain that fastned him to a great piece of Timber. *Philip* had made a Vow in the midst of his Joy for this most happy success to build an Abby in honour of God and of the Blessed Virgin, his happy Success performed it by founding that of *Notre-Dame de la Visitation*, near *Saintis*.

The Lords of *Poitou* that had favour'd the *English*, finding that *Lewis* was Victorious, sent to tender him all manner of Submission. He would not truit to their words; but went into the Country with his Army to bring things to a full period. The Vicount de *Touars*, the most considerable of them all, obtained the Kings Pardon without much ado by the intercession of *Peter* Duke of *Britaigne*: the rest were utterly lost, and King *John* who was then in *Parthenay*, could not have avoided being taken, if he had not bethought himself of interposing the Popes Legat to demand a Truce. That power was so formidable, that the King durst not deny him, and agreed to it for five years.

1215. When that was done Prince *Louis* or *Lewis*, whether out of devotion, or jealousy of the Power of Count de *Montfort*, took up the Cross on him against the *Albigens*, and made a Voyage to *Languedoc*; *Montfort* came to *Vienne* to meet him, and the Legat to *Valence*. *Montfort* who accompanied him received Bulls from the Pope, 1215. which in Consequence of the Decree of the Council of *Montpellier* held some Months before, gave him the *Tolosan* Territories in guard or keeping, and all those other that had been Conquer'd by the Adventurers of the Cross, upon Condition to receive Investiture of the King, and render him Feodal Duty. So that we may say, the Pope named, and the King Confer'd upon his Nomination.

From thence *Lewis* was at *Montpellier*, then at *Beziere*, where he gave order the Walls of *Narbonne* and *Tolose* should be demolish'd. Mean while the *Lituran* Council, notwithstanding the pitiful Remonstrances of the Count de *Tolose*, who was there in Person with his Son, adjudged the propriety of his Lands to *Montfort*, reserving only those he had in *Provence* for his Son, and four hundred Marks of Silver yearly for his Substantance; to be understood if they shew'd themselves obedient to the Holy See. From that time *Montfort* took on him the Quality of Earl of *Toulouse*, and came to receive Investiture from the King in the City of *Melan*.

While *Lewis* was yet in those Countries, the *English* Lords sent to offer him the Crown of *England* and demand Assistance against the Tyrannies of *John* who was Excommunicated by the Pope, and who had robb'd them of their Liberties and Privileges, for which cause they had taken up Arms to Dethrone him. They had the City of *London* and some other places for them: nevertheless their design did not go on well, and their despair forc'd them to seek their safety by some Foreign Assistance.

12. 5. & 16. The Tyrant seeing his loss infallible, fluck not to abate the Dignity of his Crown to gain the Popes Protection. He satisfies him therefore, and becomes his Vassal and Tributary of a thousand Mark of Silver: but this abatement added scorn to the execration his Subjects had for him. Now the Holy Father resolv'd highly to protect his new Vassal, Excommunicated the *English*, and sent a Legat into *France* to divert *Lewis* from that Enterprize, and desired King *Philip* to put a stop to it.

Philip makes protestation of all Respect and Obedience to the Holy See, but said he could not impose upon his Son that necessity not to pursue the Rights of his Wife, who was Niece to King *John*. So that *Lewis* accepted the Crown of *England*, and landed with a great Equipage in the Isle of *Thanet*, thence went to *London*, where he was solemnly Crowned.

John

John being excluded from his Capital City retired to *Winchester*, and by his flight gave him full leisure to receive the Hommage of all the Nobility and secure all about *London*. The Legat not being able to put a stop to *Lewis* by any Arguments or Persuasions, Excommunicated him and all his Adherents, but he appeal'd to the Pope, (they had not yet found out the way of appealing to the Councils) and notwithstanding goes on and reduces *Suffex*, and all the Southern parts, excepting *Windsor* and *Dover*.

The Ambassadors pleaded his Cause earnestly at *Rome*, they shewed that *John* was justly degraded for his Tyrannies, and because he had been condemned to death for the Murder of his Nephew *Arthur* by the Pairs of *France*, and made it out that the Kingdom, since he was Excluded, belonged to his Niece the Wife of Prince *Lewis*.

Whilst they disputed their Masters Rights, he successfully employs his Sword in Conquering *Essex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*. Having reduc'd them, he returns to besiege *Dover*, his Father reproaching him for having imprudently left that place behind him.

The Pope offended at his Progress confirmed the Sentence of Excommunication against him, and although *Philip* protested he gave him neither Assistance nor Advice, proving even, if the Church did so ordain, to confiscate his Lands: nevertheless he commanded the Bishop of *Septs* to denounce him Excommunicate likewise, and to put *France* under an Interdiction; but the *Prelats* assembled at *Melan*, declared the Popes Intentions.

Mean while King *John* who wandered about the Country hating all his Subjects, hapned to dye by Poyson, which as it was believ'd, a Monk had given him. He left three Sons very young, *Henry*, *Richard*, and *Edmond*.

The hatred of the *Englishmen* towards him expired with his Life, and their Affection for his Son *Henry* revived, being their Natural Lord, and one whose Innocence and Tender Age called for their Compassion; so that the young Kings Affairs began to prosper, and *Lewis's* to decline. He perceiving the *English* forsook him one after another, and his own People affrighted with the thundering Excommunications from *Rome*, inclined to make a Truce with *Henry* for some Months.

During this Suspension he returns into *France* to Consult with the King his Father, but he fearing to exasperate the Pope, refuses to see his Son, and would not Confer with him but by the interposition of others. *Lewis* upon his return into *England*, found his Enemies Party were the stronger; his Army was afterwards defeated near *Lincoln*, and he besieged in *London* after that rout.

Wherefore to free himself from farther danger, and retire with Bag and Baggage, he was forc'd to Treat with *Henry*, promising amongst other Conditions, to surrender all the places he held in *England*, to submit his Pretensions to the Judgment of the Church, to use his utmost endeavour to oblige his Father to restore all what he had taken from King *John* in *France*, and if he could not prevail, to do it then himself when he came to the Crown. Which was to promise more than he would or could perform.

Henry Emperor of *Constantinople*, and Brother to *Baldwin*, who had been so likewise, died *Ann* 1216. having Reigned Eleven years. *Peter de Courtenay* Earl of *Auxerre*, who Married his Sister *Tolant*, went this year from *France* to take that Crown. Passing thorough *Italy* he was Crowned at *Rome* with his Wife, took Shipping eight days after and arriv'd in *Greece*: but as he was crossing *Thessalie* having Pals-ports from *Theodore Comnenus*, he was made Prisoner by that perfidious Man, who slew most part of those Lords that went with them, and having detained him three or four years caused him cruelly to be Murdered. *Tolant*, a Heroick Woman, govern'd the Empire two years after his death, in which time the Lords sent to profer the Empire to *Philip* Earl of *Nevers* his eldest Son, but he refused to accept it; and yielded up willingly that perilous Honour to *Robert* his younger Brother.

When young King *Henry* was fully settled in his Throne, his Council sent Ambassadors into *France* to challenge *Lewis* of his Promise, and re-demand were answer'd with the Confiscation that had been ordered by the Judgment of his Pairs.

Whilst

1217, & 18.

Whilst the Earl of *Montfort* in vain besieged the City of *Beaucaire*, Count *Raimond* brought some Forces from *Aragon*, whither he was retir'd, with which he regained several of his places, and especially *Toulouse*, which he presently fortifi'd with Intrenchments and Pallisado's. *Montfort* went and laid Siege to it, but after he had held it besieged seven whole Months, he was slain in a Sally. He had three Sons, *Amaury* who succeeded him in the Rights of his Conquests, *Guy* who was Married to *Perronella*, Heiress to the Count of *Bigorre*, as being Daughter of *Etiennette*, the Daughter and Heiress of Count *Centulle*, and *Simon* Earl of *Leichestre* in *Britany* by the Grandmother.

1219.

Amaury was not strong enough to maintain his Conquests; the King assisted him first with Six hundred Men, then with Ten thousand Foot, who not being yet enough to compels that business, Prince *Lewis* upon the Popes earnest Request undertakes that Expedition the second time. He happily succeeded in the taking of *Marmanda* on the *Garonne*, and some other places in *Angoumois*, but not in the Siege of *Toulouse*, because his Father recalled him, fearing the Troubles that were begun in *Britagne* might be created by the *English*, on purpose to set *France* in a greater flame.

1219, 19, and 20.

The business was that the Earls *Salomon* and *Coman*, whom Duke *Peter* had unjustly thrown out of their Estates, being retir'd into the Forests, ravaged and wasted his Country with some Bandits they had got together, and at the same time the Barons revolted against him, because he would arrogate to himself the Guardianship or * Wardnoble of Gentlemen Orphan-Sons till they had attained to Twenty years of Age. They had Combined in a League, and with *Amaury* Lord of *Craon*, very potent in Friends and Alliance, who had declared War against him about a certain Castle that Duke had usurped from him. This Quarrel complicated with several Interests lasted above two years, and ended not but by a great Battle fought near *Chasteau-briand*, where the Duke, much the weaker in numbers of Men gained the Victory, and made *Amaury* Prisoner. The Barons were not brought to low by this bloody loss, but they continued the War for some Months; and that was only to obtain the better Conditions.

* Garde-noble.

1220.

The Truce with the *English* being prolong'd, *France* enjoy'd a Calm for three or four years, during which *Philip* employ'd himself about the Walling, Enlarging, Fortifying, building Bridges, making Causeys and the like conveniences in all the Cities that were of his Demeains, or belonging to the Crown, which Expenses though for the publick good, was out of his own proper Fund, not rais'd or exacted upon his Subjects, but paying very justly for all those Grounds and Houles belonging to private Persons which were necessary for him to have towards carrying on these Publick Works.

1220, 21, and 22.

A prodigious Comet appeared in the Heavens shortly after: and whether it were the Sign, or were the Cause, or perhaps neither the one nor the other, a Quartain Aque seized King *Philip*, which continuing and wasting him near a years time, did in the end bring him to his Grave.

Amaury de *Montfort* had profer'd to give up all his Conquests in *Languedoc* to Prince *Lewis*: But *Philip* knowing the Constitution of his Son was too delicate and tender, could not give consent he should undertake so toylsome a War: notwithstanding the Pope and the Clergy press'd mightily to have them make an utter destruction of those Hereticks, who without any respect still aimed at their Persons and Estates principally. They had therefore at *Paris* called a Grand Assembly of Prelats and Lords to compleat this business. *John* King of *Jerusalem* and the Popes Legat were Assitants, *Philip* sick as he was would needs be amongst them, and went expressly from *Chasteau de Pacy* on the *Epte*, where he had diverted himself. When he arriv'd at *Maner*, the Dissemper lo encreased upon him that he was forc'd to stop there, and some days after gave up the Ghost the Twenty fifth of *July* in the year 1223.

1223.

The length of his days was Fifty eight years, that of his Reign from his Coronation Forty four. His Monument is at *St. Denis*, whither his Corps was convey'd with great Ceremony. By his Will made the year before, he ordained and appointed that 50000 * Livers, or 25000 Mark of Silver at 40 Solz to the Mark, should be put into the hands of his Executors, to be restor'd and paid to those from whom it should appear he had detained, or unjustly taken any thing. He bequeathed likewise Ten thousand Franks * to Queen *Isenburge*, to *Lewis* his Son, to employ for the defence of the Kingdom and no other use; 53500 Mark of Silver to the King of *Jerusalem*, 2000 to the Templars, and as much to the Hospitaliers (of

* A Liver is twenty pence.

* Twenty pence, the same as a Liver.

St. John) towards the Recovery of the Holy Land, 21000 Livers *Paris* to the Poor, to Orphans, to Widows, and Leprous People, and 20000 to *Amaury* de *Montfort* to redeem his Wife and Children out of the hands of the *Albigos*.

He Married three Wives, *Isabella* Daughter of *Baldwin* IV. Earl of *Hainault*, *Isenburge* Daughter of *Waldemar* the Great King of *Denmark*, and *Agnes* Daughter of *Berold* Duke of *Merania*. Of the first he had no Child remaining but Prince *Lewis* who Reign'd; by the second he had none, but he had two by *Agnes*, these were *Philip* who had the Earldom of *Boulogne*, by marrying the Heiress, which was *Mabaud* or *Matilda*, Daughter of the unfortunate *Renauld* de *Dammartin*, and *Mary* who was first joyned in Marriage Anno 1206, with *Philip* Earl of *Namur*, and afterwards Anno 1212, with *Henry* IV. Earl of *Lowain*, and Duke of *Brabant*.

He had also a Natural Son named *Peter* *Charlat*, who was Treasurer of *Tours*, and afterwards Bishop of *Noyon*.

Of all the Kings of the Third Race, he annexed most Lands to the Crown, and most Power to those that succeeded him, wresting *Normandy*, the Counties of *Anjou* and *Maine*, *Touraine*, *Berry*, and *Poitou* from *John* Without-Land: he did not a little contribute on his part towards the lessening or pulling down the Earl of *Toulouse*: and by ruining those two Princes, took away the Counterpoise that balanced his own Power in the Kingdom. After which he brought the *Grandeas* more easily both to had done under his Predecessors. The *French* gave him the name of Conqueror, founded so well to all that have written since, that they have follow'd and continued it, and have almost forgotten the other.

He was well shap'd and without any Corporal defect, excepting that one of his Eyes was half obscured by an Amblyopia, for which some *Italian* Authors * have called him One-eyed. He was a brave Cavalier and excellent Captain, laborious Counsel, and executed with celerity and heat; sometimes a little Cholerick and overway'd with Passion, but bating that, a great Politician, who knew where it Punish; somewhat more inclined to Severity than Mercy; Splendid and Magnificent; low in Religion, taking as much care to preserve the purity of Faith by rooting out all Heresie, and defend the Goods and Liberties of the Church against Usurpers, as to by the Clergy and People, as the Defender of the Church, and Father of his Country.

* Villany and Boccace.

It is to be observ'd, that in his Reign, and in his Fathers and Grand others, there were five great Officers of the Crown, that is the Grand-Senechal, in *Latin* were in the Kings Gift, who might both place and displace: I do not know what the Formalities were he us'd, or whether the *Grandeas* and Parliament, or General Assembly of Prelats and Lords had any part in the nomination: but I know they Offices; that nevertheless their Function was so necessary, that whoever held those Places, signed all Acts and Writings of importance, so that if any one of these were vacant, it was ever noted down at the bottom of such Writing or Act. The Author of the Lives of the Ministers of State, hath very curiously observed, that the Office Chamberlain was a Member taken from the Grand-Senechal, and that of Great Command in the Armies till about the year 1218. after *Philip Augustus* had long left it had too great Power. He likewise proves very plainly, that the High-Chamberlain the lowest of the five great ones we have specified; and that the Office of Chancellor, was *St. John* of *Jerusalem*, and afterwards Bishop of *Senlis*, having that Place conferr'd on it to a higher pitch of Honour and Degree then ever.

* Chamberier;

* They put down, *Faciente Cancellaria*, or *Dapifero*, *Busicallero* & *maile*.

Towards the end of this Reign Families began to have fixed, certain and hereditary Surnames. The Lords and Gentlemen, took them most commonly from the names of

of their Lands and Estates they had in possession; Men of Learning from the places of their Nativity, and *Jews* when they were Converted, as likewise the Wealthy Merchants from the place of their abode. As for what has given Surnames to the *Plebeians*, some had it from the colour or cut and fashion of their Hair, the habit or defects of their Bodies, from their Dress or Age, Profession, Office, or Trade; some from their good or ill Qualities, others from the Province they dwelt in, or the Town or Village where they were born. But for the most part they were called by some proper name which was current in the Family, or even some Nick-name, which descended to their Generations. Whoever shall take the pains to examine these Heads thoroughly and distinctly, will find that there are few others can be made out.

Through all this Age there were two great and cruel Evils predominant in France, but which were not new, the Leprosie and Ufury: the one infecting the Bodies, the other confuming the Estates of most Families. Those that were tainted with the first were secluded from all Society, and shut up in places far distant from the Habitations of other People, but yet upon or near the greatest Roads. The number increased so fast that there was not one City or Burrough that was not forced to build some Hospital for their Retreat. They were called *Lazar-houses*, and the Leprous *Lazaris*, from St. *Lazarus*, the Patron of the Poor and the Sick, whom the Vulgar by corruption called St. * *Ladre*. Now the publick Foundations, the Gifts of the Relations and Kindred of the Infected, the Alms of particular People, and with these the Immunities and Privileges granted by the King and the Clergy to these miserable Wretches, made them live so much at their ease, that in length of time they became rather Objects of envy than of pity, at least in respect of the meaner sort of People. They were taxed of leading Lives guilty of great Disorders, and sometimes of Crimes. But when they were convicted of any they were burnt alive, that so the Fire might at the same time purifie and purge the infection both of their Bodies and Souls. I have read that there were some Men so apprehensive of this villanous, loathsome and shameful Disease, that they guelt themselves to avoid it, and be preferred from it.

Ufury was very common, and yet more execrable, the *Jews* practis'd it with so much cruelty, that they did not seize upon Peoples Goods only for satisfaction, but likewise upon their Persons and reduced them to slavery. The Popes oftentimes endeavour'd to suppress them, but it was in vain: for the Princes, and especially King *Philip* upheld them, receiving Tribute from them for suffering their Exactions, and withal rely'd had it in their power to squeeze these Blood-suckers whenever their occasions required it.

Church of the Eleventh Age. Since the first Birth of the Church there had not been any Age wherein she was so much shatter'd and rent with Schisms as she was in this fame. I speak not of the Schism caused by the Emperor *Henry IV.* for that was more in the preceding Age than this, though it did never end but with the Life of that Emperor, who died at *Liege*, Anno 1106. after he was unfortunately deprived of his Empire by his own Son. I must note however that his Tyrannical and Scandalous Deportment, gave a fair opportunity to *Gregory VII.* whose Life was irreproachable, and exemplary, to constitute himself his Judge, to summon him before his Tribunal upon the universal complaints of his Subjects, to Excommunicate him and depose him from his Empire, and after all this to wrest from him the disposition of great Benefices. Which seemed the more favourable, because that Prince made a most infamous and shameful Traffick of it, giving them to the worst, and investing them with the Ring, &c. before they were Consecrated. But after this Schism there were three more, two occasioned by the Quarrels that the Emperor *Henry V.* Son of the abovenamed *Henry*, and then *Frederic II.* surnamed *Barbrossa*, had with the Popes: and a third, which hapned between these two through the ambition of Cardinal *Peter Leonis*. That of *Henry V.* began in the year 1118. the Emperor having caused one *Maurice Bardis* Archbishop of *Brags* in *Portugal* to be elected, and ended Anno 1122. the Anti-Pope, named *Gregory VIII.* falling into the hands of *Calistus*, and *Henry* afterwards obtaining Absolution of that Pope. The Schism that *Frederic* caused lasted from the year 1139. under three Anti-Popes, *Othavian*, *Guy de Crema*, and *John Abbot de Strame*, who assumed the names of *Victor IV.* *Paschal III.* and *Calistus III.* and did not cease till the year 1185. For although *Frederic* were absolv'd at *Venice*, Anno 1177. he was not fully reconciled with these Popes till six years afterwards.

The

Church.

The Schism of *Peter Leonis* began in 1139. (for in that year he got to be Elect'd to the Papacy, concurrently with *Alexander III.* taking the name of *Anaclet* (and Seven years, and then was disturbed by the Rebellion of the City of *Rome*. *Arnould*, Clerk of the City of *Bresse* stirred it up, in the year 1145. The people of *Rome* by publick. These disturbances ceased Anno 1155. for that incendiary being expell'd the City, went to the Emperour *Frederick*, who sacrific'd him to his Interests, delivering him up to *Adrian*, who caused him to be hang'd and burnt.

During the troubles of these Schismes, and the combustions *Arnould* promoted in *Rome*; there were Five Popes that sheltered themselves in France, *Paschal II.* An. 1106; *Gelasius IV.* An. 1118. *Innocent II.* An. 1130. *Eugenius*, An. 1147. and *Alexander III.* An. 1161. without reckoning *Calistus II.* who sojourn'd there some time after his Election, which was made at *Clugny*, An. 1119.

The Son of the unfortunate *Henry IV.* of his Fathers Name, and who had compell'd him to resign the Empire, made it plainly appear he did not rebel against him out of any zealo Religion, since so soon as he thought himself well settled in the Throne, he began to tread in the same steps, and the very next year following 1107. he made it known to Pope *Paschal*, and the Council of *Troyes*, that he intended to enjoy the Apostolique privilege of instituting Bishops, which he intended had been given to *Charlemain*. This question was refer'd to a general Council, to be held at *Rome* in the year 1110. *Paschal* therefore returns: but *Henry* coming thither with an Army, seizes on his person, and forces him to Sign an agreement, wherein he allows him the investitures, obliging both him and his Cardinals by the most Sacred Oaths to observe it. All the Prelats in *Europe* cried out against this agreement, which by leaving such Elections in the power of Temporal Princes, caused great disorders in the Church. They held many Councils in several Provinces to damneit, Excommunicated the Emperour, and gave out, it was an Heresie to say, that Investitures could be made by the Laity, not considering that this proposition made the Pope himself an Heretique, since he had newly granted it to the Emperour.

The same question of Investitures had also troubled *England*; the Kings *William* and *Henry* maintaining it was a Right and Prerogative of their Crown, and in all times possessed by their Ancestors. For which cause, *Anselme* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* had lost his See; but at last that difference was compos'd, Anno 1107. upon condition the King should for ever relinquish the Investitures in the Church, and that reciprocally the Bishops should render him Homage.

This was to speak properly nothing but the changing of terms, for he that doth Homage is a Vassal, and receives, and holds of him to whom he renders it. And indeed the Popes could have wished that the Bishops had not done it to Lay-Princes; and they had expressly forbid it to those in France: but the resolution King *Leois the Gros* and his Successors shew'd in this point, oblig'd them to relaxe. They durst not at the same time contend both with this great Kingdom and *Germany*; they must leave some place of shelter in time of need, and besides, they did not so much trouble their Heads to lessen France, with whom they had no contests for Dominion; as to pull down the Emperours, who being very powerful in Italy, had fill an aim of restoring their Imperial Throne in the City of *Rome*. Besides, France was better united, and by consequence more difficult to be subdued than the Empire, where the Subjects (as well those of *Germany* as those of Italy, and the Kingdom of *Arles*) being divided amongst themselves, and having all different Interests, have at length ruin'd that vast body by their Jealousies and Rebellions. It was for this reason the Popes made it their business so much to lessen that power; and it is certain, that all other Princes of *Europe*, growing jealous of it, as the most formidable then in being, joyned willingly with the Popes to suppress it. The defence of the Holy See, and the Authority of the Church, admitting a specious pretence to side with them. This reflection is now useless.

Now to return to our Narrative, *Henry V.* sunk under all this weight, as his Father had done before. In the beginning his Presence made things prosper in Italy: but when after various success he was driven thence, his burden was left to the mercy of *Calistus*, who confined him to a perpetual imprisonment. Then he himself tir'd with the daily Admonitions and Remonstrances from all parts, and not able to wade through the many Conspiracies and Rebellions which hourly threaten'd to overwhelm him, yielded the Cause at last: He utterly renounced the Investitures, and

M m

promised

* Whence the Hospitals in French are called *Ladre-ries*.

Church of the Eleventh Age.

Schismes.

Church.

promised to leave the liberty of Elections to the Ecclesiasticks. This was in *Anno* 1122.

The scandal and persecutions which these Schismes caused in Christendom, gave occasion, in my opinion, for that false prediction which was spread abroad in those days. That the world was near its end, and the Kingdom of Antichrist was then begun. *St. Norbert*, and some other persons of an irretractable Sanctity, preach'd it as a most certain Truth; which was but little doubted, and begot so much terror, that Pope *Paschal*, who fled into *France* to avoid persecution, staid some time in his journey at *Florence*, to see what the event of this dreadful report would come to.

Soon after the agreement, *Henry V.* being dead without Children, the Empire was given to *Lotharius Duke of Saxony*, and after him to *Conrad*. Those two Princes left the Popes in quiet, and made no breach of Peace with them. So that there was no more fear of Schisme on that side. The Church having rested in tranquillity for eighty years, began to be disturb'd again by another most dangerous division: for after the death of *Honorius II.* which hapned in the year 1134. two contrary Factions, or Interests, in the Sacred Colledge, elected each a Pope on the same day; One the Cardinal *Gregory*, who took the name of *Innocent II.* The other the Cardinal *Gregory*, who called himself *Anaclet*. This last had been a Monk at *Clugny*, a scurrilous commendation for him to the Order of the *Cisterciens*, which was then become the most predominant in *France*. His Right, if examined in due form, appeared the best; but his ambitious and haughty proceeding spoil'd his Title; the great Gifts he made of things belonging to the Church, to make himself Master of *Rome*, gave just cause to believe there was somewhat of Simonie in his promotion, and that he deserved not the Popedom; since he bought it. Many good people were of opinion (so says *John of Salisbury*) that in the like contests, they ought to have owned neither of those contenders, but have elected a Pope anew, who had not privately made any interest for the Popedom; which is of such a nature, as well as all other Benefices, that whoever bribes for it, renders himself unworthy of it. And indeed King *Levis VII.* was vexed for sometime betwixt both parties, and assembled the Council of *Epampes*, to resolve him which of the two was the Legitimate. The perquisitions of *Henry II.* King of *England*, had already a little inclined him towards *Innocent*: the Council of *Epampes* fully determin'd it, that Council having been satisfied by the discourses of *St. Bernard*, who with much zeal and vehemence, set forth the Right and Merits of that Pope. After to solemn a decision, most of the Princes in *Europe* declared for him; there was only *Roger, Duke of Apulia*, and *William Duke of Aquitain*, that supported *Anaclet*; The Fifth, that he might have a Pope convenient for him, and more easie to be managed than his predecessors: the Second, having been perverted by *Gerard*, Bishop of *Angoulême*, that his Election was Canonical. It was thrown in *Gerard's* Teeth, that at first he had been of the contrary party; but his spleen, because he was not continued in his Legation of *Aquitain* by *Innocent*, drove him to side with *Anaclet*, who indeed confirm'd it to him. It was one of the handiomeft, and indeed most profitable employments the Court of *Rome* could bestow: for besides the three *Aquitains*, both *Touraine* and *Bretagne* were comprehended in it.

I divide *Bretagne* from *Touraine*, because the former had its Arch-Bishop apart, this was the Bishop of *Dole*, who since the insurrection of *Neumene*, took upon him to be the Metropolitan. The often reiterated complaints of the Metropolitan of *Tours*, and the solicitations of the Kings of *France* in the Court of *Rome*, could not obtain a Judgment in this matter for a long while: but *Philip Augustus* tyr'd with their long delays, prosecuted it with so much resolution, and talked so high, that *Innocent III.* determin'd it by a definitive Sentence, in *An. 1138.* which restored *Dole*, and the other Bishopsricks of *Bretagne*, to the Metropolis of *Tours*.

We find in the Life of *St. Bernard*, how he withdrew Duke *William* from espousing the party of *Anaclet*, so that there was none for him but *Roger Duke of Apulia*, on whom *Anaclet* conferr'd the Title of King of *Sicilia*, upon condition to pay an acknowledgment of Six hundred Crowns yearly to the See of *Rome*. The Kingdom of *Sicilia* comprehended the Island so named, *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and some other neighbouring Countreys which *Roger* held in *Italy*.

Now although *William Duke of Aquitain* had suffer'd himself to be brought back to the Obedience of *Innocent II.* in the year 1125. yet *Gerard* nevertheless stood up obstinately for *Anaclet* to the end of his days; but some while after he was found dead in his bed, horribly black, and blew, and swollen. About three years after, viz. in *An. 1138.* *Anaclet* died also; his Relations placed another Cardinal in his stead, to whom they gave the name of *Victor*. In fine, *Innocent* found it better to buy his Peace

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peace of them, then to leave these Divisions smothering and smoking any longer; and when they were agreed, *Victor* laid down the *Tiara*, and cast himself at his Feet. Notwithstanding *Roger* held out still some time, not owning him for Pope, because he would not own him for a King, till having taken him prisoner in War, *An. 1133.* he came fairly to an agreement with him, and got the Title of King confirm'd to him.

Frederick I. being come to the Empire, young, haughty, and ambitious as he was, undertook to recover its dignity, to which the calinels of Pope *Augustus* seem'd to chalk out a way; but Pope *Adrian IV.* who succeeded *Anastafius*, resolv'd to obviate his designs, and keep him under as his dependant. Hence proceeded a mortal enmity betwixt them, which however came not to an open rupture; but made *Frederick* more plainly sensible that it was necessary to have a Pope at his Devotion, *Adrian* being dead, *An. 1159.* it hapned that all the Cardinals, excepting three, elected Cardinal *Roland*, who took the name of *Alexander III.* but whilst he was shewing some kind of unwillingness to accept the Popedom, those three that were not for him, Elected immediately the Cardinal *Ötavian*, who was named *Victor*. The Emperour having notice of it, favour'd him first underhand, thereby to frighten *Alexander*, and bring him to his bent; then openly, when he found he could not lead the other as he pleas'd. So he causes his Election to be authorized by the Council of *Pisa*, which he had call'd by his own authority, after the example of former Emperours, and employ'd all his Interest to persuade other Princes to adhere to him. The Kings of *France* and of *England*, who had been at war, having now agreed, assembled their Bishops, Abbots, and Barons; the one at *Beauvais*, and the other at *Nemmark*, to discuss the right of the two concurrents: the Legats both of the one and other side having been heard; *Alexander* was approved by all, and *Victor* Excommunicated. This hapned in the year 1161. The good Title and Right of the former was this year confirm'd by a great number of miracles, as many Authors write; and yet there is one affirms likewise, that God wrought some in favour of *Victor* after his decease. In the mean time, this last being most powerful in *Rome*, *Alexander* seeks his refuge in *France*, and remained there three years: at the end whereof, his Affairs going in a better method in *Italy*, the Clergy and People call him back to *Rome*, *An. 1164.* To defray the Expences of his journey, he was forced to impose a Collection on the *Gallican* Church.

The same year *Victor* his Rival died in the City of *Luca*. Some Prelats of his Faction being assembled at the same place, gave the Popedom to one of those two Cardinals that had elected him, which was *Guy de Crema*. He lived five years, and deceased *An. 1170.* Those of his party substituted another, I cannot tell what Abbot, not known but by his debauches; they call'd him *Calistus III.* and *Frederick* supported him, as he had done the two others.

At the same time there were great stirrs in *England*, King *Henry* sticking to preserve certain pretended Rights, which he call'd *Customs of the Kingdom*; and *Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury* not to suffer them, as being contrary to Ecclesiastical liberty. It would be thought strange in these days, if a Bishop should hold his Head up so high against his Prince for the like cause: but then the best of Men were perverted, that such Liberties were the pillars of Religion. The contest lasted seven or eight years, and ended not but by the death of the Archbishop, who was murder'd in his Cathedral in the year 1170. and the Kings penitence, which was so great and so publick, that the Church was edified more by such an example, than it had been scandaliz'd by his offence.

The Emperor *Frederick* was not more fortunate than the two *Henrys*, so that being shatter'd by the Popes Thunder-bolts, and more severely yet by his ill fortune, driven out of *Italy*, and apprehending the sudden Revolt of *Germany*, he could find no other way to save himself, but to ask pardon of the Holy Father, and prostrate himself at his Feet, to gain his Absolution, which was done at *Venice*, in *An. 1177.* His Anti-Pope *Calistus* did as much the following year, throwing himself at the Feet of the same *Alexander*. Afterwards *Frederick* had again some Disputes with the Popes *Lucius*, *Urban*, and *Clement III.* of that name; but he was reconcil'd to *Clement*, and lived well crown'd with the See of *Rome* to the time of his death. *Henry VI.* his Son was crown'd by *Celestine III.* in the year 1191. He undertook nothing directly against the Popes, but yet he suffer'd himself to be Excommunicated, for detaining *Richard King of England* prisoner, and for not restoring the Money he had extorted from that Prince to purchase his liberty. He died without Absolution, *Anno* 1197.

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Heretics.

Let us now speak of Heresies. About the end of the Twelfth age, the opinions of one named *Rosselin*, had made a great deal of noise. He said the three Divine Persons were three separate or distinct things, as three several Angels were; but in such sort nevertheless, that all three had but one and the same Power, and one and the same Will: and that if custom would permit it, one might say that they were three Gods; or otherwise it would follow, that the *Father* and the *Holy Ghost* had been incarnate. These Sophistical impieties were condemned in a Council held at *Suffol*: notwithstanding the Author did not refrain Teaching in private; and perhaps he might have made a greater progress, if there had not been some watchful persons, amongst the rest, *Tues de Chartres*, who broke his measures. I cannot tell whether it were the same, against whom *St. Anselm*, when he was *Abbot du Bec*, wrote his Treatise of the Incarnation of the Word, which he sent to Pope Urban II. to examine, *An. 1094*.

About the year 1125, one *Tanchelin*, the most profligate of all Mankind, infected *Brabant* and the neighbouring Countreys with his Errors: he asserted that the Ministry of Bishops and Priests was a cheat, and that the Communion of the Holy *Eucharist* availed nothing to our Salvation. He drew people after him by the magnificence of his Feasts, and the pomp of his dress and garb, being attir'd in Cloth of Gold, and his Hair pleated, or wove with strings of the same; those that follow'd him were to bewitch'd, that they drank his Urine, kept some as Treasures and Relicks, and took it as a particular favour, that he would in their presence abate their Wives and Daughters.

At the same time another Innovator wandered through *Provence*, *Gascogne*, and *Languedoc*, named *Peter de Bruys*, Preaching, that Baptisme was ineffectual before the age of Puberty; that they ought to pull down the Churches, such places not being necessary for Christians to worship in; That the sacrifice of the Mass was nothing; That the Prayers of the Living did not avail the Dead; and above all things he pretended we ought to have the Cross in abomination, because our Lord had been most ignominiously nailed to it. Himself burnt a large heap upon *Good-Friday*, and with that Fire-boiled several pots with Meat, of which he made a publique Meal, and invited the people to eat with him. But *Peter de Clugny* going into that Countrey to hunt him thence, the people seized on his Person, and burnt him alive in the City of *S. Gile*.

His Sect was not blown away with the Wind like his Ashes; one of his Disciples named *Henry*, made himself their head; this was a Monk that had mew'd his Frock, who becoming a vagabond, because his Apostacy had left him no place of security, set himself to preach up these Heresies from place to place; to which he added some others of his own invention. *Peter de Clugny* refuted him in an excellent Treatise. *St. Bernard* in a journey he made into that Countrey, confounded him by his sound Doctrine and moving Sermons, justified with many miracles, informed the poor People he had seduc'd, and follow'd him so close, that at length he was taken and deliver'd up to the Bishop, bound Hands and Feet, *An. 1147*. They called these Innovators *Petrobrusians* and *Henricians*, the names of their two principal Doctors.

The same *St. Bernard* had likewise to deal with another sort of Heretics, who gave themselves the name of *Apollinians*, bragging they were the only people that followed exactly the Doctrine of the Apostles, and were the true mystical Body of *Jesus Christ*, none other Christians having the true Belief like them. They held many of the extravagancies, as those who since have been called by the name of the *Unmuzzed*, or *Enlightened*.

We may well reckon amongst the Heresies those over-bold, and too subtil propositions broached by *Peter Abailard*, touching the Trinity, since they were condemned as such in the year 1140, at the Council of *Sens*, which was confirmed by the Pope, though it appears to some, that if there were too much presumption on his part, there was also a little too much heat, and some want of understanding on theirs. However it were, his Humility repaired his fault, for having appeal'd to the Holy See, he was easily perswaded to stop at *Clugny*, by *Peter* the Venerable, and there spent the rest of his days. His Wife *Heloise* had all put on the Holy Vail. The History of their Lives and their Loves is well enough known; this is not a place to mention it in.

The Preachings of a certain Monk named *Rodolph*, were something worse than Heresies. I find that in the times of the *Crusado*, or *Crusado* in the year 1146, having assembled I know not how many thousand Men to go into the *Holy-Land*, he preached

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preached, that they ought before they went to kill all the *Jews*, who were much greater enemies to *JESUS CHRIST*, than the Mahometans. *St. Bernard* had much ado to save those miserable creatures from the fury of the common people, who are never so easy to be moved, as when some act of cruelty is propounded, and to get the Monk to return into his Convent.

The Popes were persecuted by other Hereticks, whom we might call *Politiques*, because they would not allow the Church-men should have any dominion nor jurisdiction in Temporals. The *Romans* stirred up, as we have related, by *Arnaud de Breffe*, designed amongst themselves to take it from the Pope in their City, and leave him only the Spiritual; So that *Eugenius III.* flying from their persecution, was forced to retire into *France*, *An. 1147*, whilst he was there he called a Council at *Reims*, where they examined the propositions of *Gilbert Foret* or *Force*, Bishop of *Poitiers*: who having for Thirty years together profest Philosophy in the chief Cities of the Kingdom, spoke of God and the persons of the Trinity, rather according to the Topics of *Aristotle*, then conformably to the language of the Holy Scripture: He said the Divine Essence was not God: that the proprieties of the Three Persons were not the persons, that the Divine nature had not been incarnate; that there was no merit but that of *JESUS CHRIST*, and that none were truly Baptized unless he were to be saved. His *Arch-Deacons* themselves, moved with Zeal or Enmity, became his Accusers. *St. Bernard* stoutly Seconds them; the business was debated in two conferences, the one at *Auxerre*, and the other at *Paris*, and at last determined in a Third, which was held after the Council of *Rheims*; the Pope being unwilling before so great an Assembly, to censure a Bishop of so much Learning, and who besides protested he would submit to what his Holiness should think fit to judge of it. His propositions were condemned, he received this judgment with all possible submission, but some of his Disciples were still so confident as to maintain them.

That we may know how prone our humane nature is to be deluded, and led into the most extravagant novelties, we need but consider and mention a wretched fanatical Dotard, who was presented to the Pope in the beginning of this Council. His name was *Eon de l'Etoile*, a Gentleman of *Bretagne*; he was so ignorant, that having heard them Sing at Church, *Per Eum qui venturus est judicare vivos & mortuos*, he fancied to himself, and affirmed to others, that it was, he should judge both the quick and the dead. It is almost incredible, how many people were infatuated with this ridiculous extravagancy: they follow'd him as a great Prophet; sometimes he march'd with a stately Train, sometimes he hid himself, then he appear'd again more Glorious than before. They said he was a *Magician*, and made sumptuous Feasts to allure the World, but that it was but illusion, and that the Meats they eat at his Table, and the Presents he bestowed were only charms that alienated the Mind. The Arch-Bishop of *Rheims* having taken him, presented him to the Council, and to his Holiness. His Answers full of frantick Conceits and Whimseys, made them look upon him as a mad-Man, or rather a Fool; but yet they clapt them into close imprisonment, where he died shortly after. Many of his Disciples more senseless yet then he, chose rather to be burnt to death then renounce him.

There was certainly some remainders left of that Leaven of the *Petrobrusians* and *Henricians*, which infecting many people, did again inspire them with new and dangerous Questions and Propositions; but besides all these, another sort of poison came out of *Italy* into *France*, bringing along with them the most pernicious venom of the *Manichians*; and these were they in my opinion who first infected the Diocess of *Alby*, for which reason those Hereticks were named *Albigensians*. They were convinced at a Conference in that City at the Bishops, who was chosen Arbitrator by both parties, in presence of many Lords, Prelats, and *Constance* the Wife of *Raimond* Earl of *Toulouse*, and Sister to the King of *France*; *Gozelin* the Bishop of *Lodeve*, refuting their errors by arguments and proofs drawn out of the New Testament.

This Conquest could not wholly destroy these unwholsome Seeds, they multiplied every day more and more, and soon mastered *Toulouse*, the capital City of *Languedoc*. The Kings of *France* and *England* were almost resolv'd to make use of Fire and Sword to destroy them, however, they thought fit to send some Preachers first amongst them, to labour and endeavour to convert them, or confound them, and to cut them off from all communion with the faithful, that they might corrupt no more of them. The Popes Legat went thither in *Anno 1178*, accompanied with Four or Five Bishops and several other Clergy-men; they discover'd many of these people in *Toulouse*: amongst the rest the oldest and the richest; and as I may say, the cock of all the others, who let them have his Towers to Mest and Preach in.

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* The chief
Citizens of
Toulouse, and
Avignon had
Towers or
Turres to
their Houses.

in. They forced him to submit to a publique penance, pull'd down his Towers or Turres, * and excommunicated and banished several of those Heretiques, who retired into *Albigens*; that was it which their Fort or Citadel, because *Roger* Earl of *Alby* favour'd them, and made use of them to keep the Bishop of his City a prisoner.

These Countries of *Languedoc* and *Gascogne*, as well because of their distance as their situation, and likewise the fiery warlike disposition of their people, were filled with another sort of wild Beasts, and such as delighted in Blood; I mean Troops, or Herds of Bandits, who hid themselves to any one that wanted them to take revenge upon their Enemies, or else roved all about to seek prey for themselves. They sought not only after Money and Goods; but took their Persons or their Lives away, sparing neither condition, nor age, nor sex. They were of no Religion, but help'd the Heretiques, thereby to have some pretence to rob Churches and Church-men; some of them were called *Irabanders*, *Arragonians*, *Navarrois*, and *Basques*, as coming from those Countries: Others *Cotereaux* and *Triaxerains*, a Nick-name, whose original I do not know: and their Horse-men *Routiers*, from the German name *Ruter*. The General Council of *Lateran*, which was held in *Anno* 1179. Excommunicated both the one and the other, forbid the burying them in Holy Ground, and exhorted all Catholics to fall upon them, seize upon their Goods, and bring their Persons into slavery, allowing all those that took up Arms against them, Indulgences and Relaxations of penance, proportionable to their Services, and at the discretion of the Bishops.

Amongst these Heretiques, there were some that were called *Popelicans*, who held a great many strong Castles in *Gascogne*, where they had canoniz'd themselves, and made up a body ever since they were cut off from the Church. *Henry*, who being Abbot de *Cleroux*, had been made Bishop of *Albe*, having in quality of Legat, gathered a good force together by his Preachings and Exhortations, went to visit them with a strong hand in *Anno* 1181. They feigned to avoid this storm, they would absjure their errors; but the danger being over, they lived as before. This contagion spread it self in many Provinces, both on this and the other side of the *Loire*; one of these false Apostles, by name *Terric*, who had kept himself conceal'd a long time in a Grout at *Corbigny*, in the Diocese of *Nevers*, was taken and burnt. Divers others suffer'd the same death in several places, particularly, two horrible old Women in the City of *Troyes*, to one of whom, as it was said, they had given the name of *Holy-Church* *, and to the other, that of *St. Mary*, that so when they were examin'd by the Judges, they might swear by *St. Mary*, they believed no other than what was the belief of *Holy Church*.

These *Popelicans*, amongst other things, did openly repugne the reality of the Body of Our *S. J. C.* in the Sacrament, for which cause there were divers miracles wrought in those times to confirm people in the faith of that mystery. They were condemned in the Council of *Sens*, of the year 1198. as were likewise the *Vandais*, the *Patarins*, and the *Cathares*. The name of *Patarins* came from the Glory they took in suffering for the Truth patiently: that of * *Cathares*, because, though falsely, they professed great purity of Life. These last were called in *Flanders*, *Pistors*, and in *France* *Weavers*, because the most part of them lived by the labour of their hands, which they employed in that Trade. It would require a whole Treatise to enumerate and particularize all these Sects, their several Names, and their Opinions, which agreed in some points, and were quite different in others: but in my judgment, they may be all reduced to two, that is * *Albigensis*, and *Vandais* * and these two held almost, or very near the same Opinions, as those we call in our days *Calvinists*.

There arose, if not an Heretic, at least some great doubts, touching the resurrection of the Body, in the time of *Maurice* Bishop of *Paris*, by reason whereof to testify what his Faith was concerning this Article, he ordain'd they should engrave upon his Tomb the first Response, which we find in the Office for the deceased. After his example, many other Ecclesiastiques gave Order before their death, that these words should be affixed upon their Breasts in writing, and put into the Graves with them.

These Schismes and Errors thwarting the power of the Pope and the Clergy, confirmed and increased it the more. For First, the Popes gained the whole advantage upon the Emperours, concerning those Disputes about Investitures. Then when they had gotten that liberty of Elections, they would needs extend it likewise to the persons and Goods of the Ecclesiastiques; they said the Church owed no Contribution but to her own Head, who is the Vicar of *JESUS CHRIST* on Earth, and that the Clergy could not be corrected but by their Superiours, which they founded upon that

* *Credo* quod
resurrectio
est
vivit, &c.

Power of the
Popes.

Church.

Maxim, *That the life Noble or Worthy, ought not to command the more Noble or Worthy; nor the inferior be judge of him that is above him.* However, this point striking at, and diminishing the Authority of all other Temporal Princes, as well as the Emperours, could not pass for current, but in the Countreys of those that were weak, and on the other side of the Mountains.

The third subject of the differences they had with the Emperours, was, they pretended it belonged to them to dispose of, or give the Empire; and that the election of the Grantees belonging to it, could make but a King, unless their own Authority would honour it with the Title of Emperour. This belief was grounded upon what they had done for *Pepin* and *Charlemain*, whom indeed they first dignified with the Title of *Patrician*, and afterwards conferred that of Emperour upon *Charlemain*. As for this point they carried it clearly against the Emperours. The example of *Henry VI.* puts it out of all doubt; for when he took the Imperial Crown at *Rome*, in the year 1191. Pope *Celestine III.* who was upon a Scaffold, and sitting, holding it between his Feet, threw it down upon the ground, to shew, it lay in his power to overthrow it, and the Cardinals having caught it in their hands, put it upon the Emperours Head, who was below, and on his knees, waiting that favour with submission.

But the Popes could not so easily gain a fourth point, which was to hinder the Bishops from paying Homage to their Temporal Sovereigns. They opposed this submission, because they thought it unworthy that those Sacred Hands, which were employed in the operations of the most Holy Mysteries of Religion, should be touched or pressed by Hands profane. Now although Sovereign Princes, especially the Kings of *France* had a great reverence for all that came from the Holy See, they could not for all that yield them this point, nor that concerning the franchise of Goods and Persons. For King *Lewis VI.* would not suffer *Rodolph* to re-enter the Arch-Bishoprick of *Bourges*, till he had done him Homage; which *Ties de Chartres* excused to Pope *Jafchal*, upon the apprehension of a greater inconvenience. And that Pope having granted a Bull, at the requisition of the Clergy of *France*, which prohibited, upon pain of Excommunication, all Bayliffs and Prevosts * belonging to the King, the exacting any Loan of poor Clerks; the said King wrote Letters full of heat to *Ties*, threatening he would take the Goods of any Clerks wherever he could find them, if that Bull were not revoked: I cannot lay what hapned upon this.

* *Collectors.*

There was a Maxim set up in those ages, which gave the Popes an indirect Dominion over Princes, and right of animadversion on their Government; which was, that although they did not believe the Princes depended upon them for things Temporal, they thought they had good ground, considering the Spiritual, to judge whether their actions were good or evil, to admonish them, to correct them, to forbid them things they held unlawful, and command them to do what they thought was just. When two Princes made War, they concern'd themselves to bring them to a Truce, to refer their business to Arbitration, and oblige them to debate it in their presence. King *John* pressed upon by *Philip Augustus* had recourse to *Innocent III.* who wrote thereupon, that being propoled to the Government of the Universal Church, he found himself obliged by the command of God, to proceed in that Affair, according to the Rules and Forms of the Church, and to pronounce the King of *France* to be an Idolater and a Publican, if he did not make his Right appear before him or his Legat. For although, said he, it did not belong to him to judge of the Fact, yet he had right to take cognizance of the Sin; and it appertained to the Holy See to correct all persons of what quality soever they could be, and if they proved refractory to his Commands, to employ the Power and Arms of the Church. These were the Excommunications, and also the Interdictions, cruel remedies, which took away the use of the Sacraments, and the Divine Services from the Living, and sometimes the very Burials from the Dead. They were perfwaded it was part of their Duty to provide against all publique scandals; of their paternal care, to help and protect all the oppressed; and of the grandeur of their Tribunal, to do justice to the whole World. So they received the complaints of all that were under oppression; nay, they would go to meet them, as it were, and take cognizance of what injustice Princes used towards their Subjects, and of their new exactions. They sometimes denounced *Anathemas* against those that levied them; and sometimes exposed the Goods and Estates of these they Excommunicated as a Prey, and gave Command to seize their Persons, and bring them into slavery. The Sovereigns were not exempted or secure against these Thunder-claps: for whether by virtue of an opinion, commonly received in those days, but in my judgment not to be maintained or made out, that the Excommunicate have lost all Titles to their Estates, or whether they did not believe the

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Government of Catholique people, was not to be left in the hands of Princes revolted from the Church, they proceeded even to the deposing them, declaring their Subjects Absolv'd of all the Oaths they had taken, and forbid them longer to obey them. *Gregory VII.* began to exercise this Authority against the Emperor *Henry IV.* He would have practis'd the same towards *Philip I. King of France*: For he once wrote to all the Grandes of the Kingdom, to hinder the excess he committed, especially towards those Merchants that went to great Fairs: And another time he threatened to dissolve those Bonds and Obligations of Fidelity, which tied his Subjects to him, if he did not forbear the sale of Benefices, and suffer the elect Bishop of *Moscon* to enter upon his Bishoprick. *Victor II.* did in effect, Excommunicate him in the Council of *Clermont*. Other Popes Excommunicated and deposed the Emperours *Henry V. Frederick I.* and *Frederick II.* and have attempted the like things against divers other Crowned Heads.

It is admired that Popes who had so great a reputation for their goodness, particularly *Gregory VII.* and *Alexander III.* should have undertaken such things, which seem so contrary to the Maxims of the Ancient Fathers, and the Innocency of former ages. We must therefore know, that these supposed Letters of the First Popes, upon which they founded a new Canon right, had made their Predecessors believe, even from the end of the Eighth Century; that their Authority and Power over the Faithful had no limits; that in quality of universal Pastors, they had Power to lay Commands, or to forbid any of the Faithful, in any thing that concerned their Salvation, and the promotion of Religion; to admonish them, and afterwards punish them if they did not obey. That if the Predecessors of *Gregory* had not made use of this power against Emperours; it was because those Princes were then more regular, and the Popes of those times involved in great troubles: but on the contrary, *Henry IV.* had made himself execrable by his infamous Vices; And *Gregory* was venerable through all Christendom for his Virtues.

I shall presume to add that there was even some things in the preceding Ages that might give some colour to what that Pope did undertake. For in the Sixth, the Church had assumed power to exclude those who were enjoyed publique penance, from exercising any function Civil or Military, or even from Marriage, that it might be the more humble and perfect. *S. Leo* the Pope had only advis'd it, his Successors made it a Law, and the Councils of *Toledo* reduced it into practise towards their very Kings; witness *Vamba*, one of the most illustrious, and most renowned of their Monarchs: who being ordained Penance, while he was in the agonies of death, not with his consent, for he was deprived of all understanding, but according to the custom of those times, was yet obliged upon his recovery, to renounce his Kingly Office. Observe, if you please, that these Councils of *Spain* furnished the Popes with great advantages and precedents, to bring other Sovereigns under their Command and Disposal. For the *Visigoth* Kings being elective, the Bishops had a great share in their Election, and their Councils were as so many Assemblies, where the Grandes and the Kings themselves were present. There they corrected all the disorders of the Crown, and imposed Laws upon them under the penalty of *Anathema*, or Deposition if they infringed them. The Bishops of *France* undertook the same thing by deposing *Louis the Debonnaire*; and though it was a perfect Faction, that Prince however did not refuse the Crown, but by the authority of another Assembly of Bishops. *Foulk*, Arch-Bishop of *Rheims*, threatened *Charles the Simple*, he would withdraw his Subjects from their Obedience, if he made any Alliance with the *Normans*, who were then Barbarians and Unbelievers. Now the Popes believed it as an Article of Faith, that their power was much greater than that of all the Bishops; and that it had no other limitation than was express'd in the Canons of the Councils, and the Decrees of the Apostolique See, which never had forbid them to Depose Kings, because it cannot be imagined, the thoughts of such a thing could ever enter into their brains. *Gregory II.* in *Anno 730.* having thundered his *Anathema* against *Leo Isaurius*, suspended at least the payment of all Tribute, and Obedience of his Subjects, or perhaps wholly Absolv'd them, as some pretended. Moreover, taking upon them, as they did, the Authority of creating Kings, which was allowed by the ambition of such as desired that Title: they imagined they might well take away the Crown from those that were unworthy, since they could bestow one upon such as did deserve it.

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There were besides all this many occasions which served not a little to confirm this opinion. Amongst others the Prohibition of contracting Marriage between Kindred, even to the Seventh Degree, and betwixt Allies to the fourth and fifth; The cognizance they took of all great Causes, not only amongst the Ecclesiasticks, but Temporal Princes; and the Crusado's. For as to the first they could easily find enough of Parentage or Alliance to dissolve a Princes Marriage, and by this means made themselves formidable. And for the second, they were not less considerable for the power they had to judge of all Causes, because all Parties have naturally a fear and a respect for their Judges; and they having by this incredible affluence of all those that had an ambition to be made use of by them, or such as had the curiosity to be fashion'd, or instructed in that most famous School of the whole Universe. In effect all the greatest Wits of *Europe* flock'd thither to gain Employments; and as we have still an Affection for those by whom we are advanced, when they went from thence, after they had done their Business, or made their Fortune, they claimed the Grandeur of the Popes in every Country, with an ardent desire to set up their Maxims.

The Crusado's or Holy War made them likewise very powerful. For in all the Expeditions to the Holy-Land, they enjoyed Princes to lift themselves, they held the Sovereign Command of those Armies by their Legats, and in a manner made themselves Lords of all those Adventurers: not only because they exacted obedience from them, but which was more, because they took them under their Protection till their return; which was, as it were an Order of State to stop all Proceedings both Civil and Criminal. In other Crusado's which were undertaken against Schismatics and Hereticks, they made it a Law, That whoever were convicted of those Crimes, should forfeit all their Goods, Honours and Dignities: In pursuance whereof, they deprived those that were guilty, or caused them to be deprived by Councils assembled by their Legats; then gave the Spoil to such as had served well in those Expeditions, without consulting the Sovereign Lords of whom they held those Estates, because they durst not refuse Investiture to those whom so holy a Power had provided in that manner for.

But their greatest Power or Force consisted in that of the Clergy and Religious Orders; Those great Bodies being in those times very firmly united for the maintenance of his Franchises and Liberties, which they positively believed to be *Jure Divino*, looking upon the Pope as a Chief Head, and Potentate that would never fail them at need. Indeed his absolute Authority lay heavily upon the Bishops Shoulders: but when it pressed too hard, they had recourse to that of the Prince, as Protector of the Goods and Liberties of the Clergy. Reciprocally they made use of the Power of the Pope, to shield them from the Attempts of their Princes: and qualifie the one by the other.

However they had cause to complain that the Popes took from them a good part of that Authority belonging to them, as Successors to the Apostles; as by drawing immediately to their Tribunal, the Cognizance of all Causes, not leaving them any thing almost to judge of Primarily, or Originally. By obliging them to give them their Oaths according to a certain Form to which *Gregory VII.* had added some Terms which amounted to Fealty and Hommage; By imposing the necessity for their going to *Rome*; By arrogating to themselves the Right of Consecrating Metropolitans; By granting Dispensations for not observing the holy Canons, as if the whole Ecclesiastical Discipline depended only upon their absolute Authority; By allowing Exemptions to Inferiors to withdraw them from their Obedience to their Superiors. They complained moreover of their having reserved to themselves alone the power of receiving Coadjutories, and that of dissolving the Spiritual Marriages of Bishops, that is, of separating them, or putting them away from their Churches, by Cession, or Translation, or Deposition; and their taking upon themselves the disposing of most Benefices.

Let us say something more particular upon the chiefest of these points; The differences between particular People were handled only in the Court of *Rome* in the Twelfth Age: however when the Cause was very important, or concerned the whole Church, or a whole Kingdom, they refer'd it to the judgment of a Council. Thus *Gregory VII.* when the Quarrel betwixt him and the Emperor *Henry V.* came to be renew'd, promised he would assign a Council, in a place of safety, where every one might come Friend or Foe, as well those of the Clergy as the Laity, to

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judge whether he, or the Emperor had broke the Peace, and to consider of some means to restore it again. *Gelasius II.* said the same thing, and that he would acquiesce in the Judgment of his Brothers the Bishops, whom God had Constituted Judges in his Church, and without whom a Cause of that Nature could not be determined. *Innocent III.* wrote word, That he durst not decide any thing concerning the Marriage of King *Philip II.* without the determination of a General Council: and that if he should do it, he might run the hazard of his Order and of his Office; very remarkable words, for that they seem to insinuate that a Pope may be deposed not only for Herefie, but likewise for abusing his Power.

In those times they were likewise obliged to govern the Church by Advice of the Cardinals; whose Power was raised to such a height, since the year One thousand, that they were the Collaterals and Coadjutors of the Pope, saith *St. Bernard*; that their Privileges or Rights were greater then those of the Patriarchs and the Primate, and that they had the Power of giving Authentick Censures against the Popes themselves. The assistance and ability of so many great Men chosen out of all the Western Churches, as fill'd this sacred Colledge, did not a little help the Popes in bearing the great burthen of Affairs, and maintaining and encreasing their Authority in the remotest Countries. But when they were once become great enough by their assistance, they freed themselves from their dependance, and now they only ask them their opinions, and do not think themselves at all obliged to follow what they Advise or Counsel.

As for the disposing of Benefices, they had gotten the greatest into their own power, as the Archbishopsricks, Bishopsricks and Abbies, by making themselves Masters of the Elections, under pretence of judging those Differences that hapned betwixt opposite Parties; and the Jailer as the Dignitaries and Canons of Cathedral and Collegiate Churches; by their recommendations to the Chapters in favour of those Clergy-Men that follow'd their Court. When having often obtained the thing desired, they at length turned such Recommendation into an absolute Command by the infliction of Excommunicators and interred People; and then that was follow'd with Reservations, and affect with Expectatives, the abuse whereof went on increasing still, notwithstanding the Pragmatick of *St. Louis*, and the Remedies *Philip le Bel*, or the *Fair*, would have applied, and lasted till the time of the great Schism, when King *Charles VI.* and after him *Charles VII.* set roundly upon it, and brought back all Elections, Collations and Presentations to the same method and order as had been Decreed by General Councils, without any regard or respect to those pretences and claims the Court of *Rome* had taken up and exercised.

In the Fifth Age not only the Bishops, but almost all the Church-men on this side the Mountains, had taken up that pious Custom, of going to *Rome* to visit the Sepulchres of the Apostles, *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, as it were to pay their Hommage, and testify they held the same Faith which those Apostles had preached. At the same time they paid their Respects to their Holy Fathers, who in length of time converted this Voluntary Devotion into an indispensable Obligation, in so much as they highly reproached such as omitted it.

Dispensations were utterly unknown in the first Ages, and when they did begin to give them, it was not to allow them to infringe the Canons, but rather to absolve those that had infringed them. After the Eleventh Age the use grew very frequent. I observe four or five causes; The continual Wars between private Persons as well as between Princes: The multiplicity of Decrees, which were so numerous, it was difficult to avoid breaking some or other of them; The corruption of Manners, and the little regard they had for Ecclesiastical Orders or Rules: in so much as they obliged to obviate that scorn by granting Dispensations, and they thought to hide or conceal the Transgression by permitting it. The Popes however did not dispense in things against our Faith, nor against good Manners, but in those that were only forbidden or permitted by positive Law. As for the Divine Law, they did not directly dispense with that, but by Interpretation and by Declaration.

As for the Exemptions of Monasteries, we have observed in the Sixth Age, how they began by the concessions of the Bishops, and how all the Grandees affected to obtain them for such as they founded. The first we find that were allowed them was only to free the Monks from Temporal Payments and Duties. Afterwards they obtained some kind of Privileges to be added; amongst others, That they should chuse their own Abbots; That they should be Masters of their own Discipline, and that the Bishops should Ordain Priests for them, at their Request. In fine, they found out means to extend them to the Spiritual Jurisdiction, and free themselves

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themselves from any dependance upon Bishops: to which three things were required, the Bishops Consent, the Authority of the Holy Chair, and the Pragmatick Sanction of the King.

The number of these Exemptions encreasing day by day, the Pope arrogates to himself the power of giving them, and of submitting the Monasteries to the Holy See, maugre the Bishops Diocessans. He did the very same in relation to some Bishops and some Chapters, subtracting these from their Bishops, and the Bishops Disorders: their Writings mention it yet: *St. Bernard* though a Monk and very zealous for the Holy Chair, highly condemned them. For to exempt the Abbots from the Jurisdiction of the Bishops, what was it else, said that great Saint, but to command them to Felony and Rebellion? and was it not as monstrous a deformity in the Body of the Church, to unite an Abby or a Chapter immediately to the Holy Chair, as in a Human Body to joyn and fasten a Finger to the Head?

These favours were not bestow'd gratis at *Rome*, the Abbots and Monks tript to the Holy See, of many Silver Marks which they made them oft-times Tributary to the Holy See, of many Silver Marks which they paid yearly.

The Abbots notwithstanding these Exemptions were still obliged after their Election to render Obedience to their Bishops, and by a Writing: but the most part refused it, so that the Council of *Rheims* was forc'd to make a Decree to compel them, and yet they did over-much care to submit to it; which Disobedience was so far carried into a common Right, that *Henry II.* King of *England* made bitter complaints to Pope *Innocent II.* for that *Hugh* Archbishop of *Rowen* exacted this said Duty of the Abbots of *Normandy*. The Pope perceiving with what heat the King wrote to him, sent to the Archbishops that he should for a time forbear to ask that Right too rigorously, for fear of greater inconvenience.

The need the Popes had of the Credit of the Order of *St. Bonnet* during their Quarrels with the Emperors, inclined them, as I believe, to bestow upon the principal Abbots of those Congregations, the Ornaments which had belonged only to the Bishops: Those were, the Miter, the Surplice, the Gloves and the Sandals; some have since added the Crozier. But such as loved the Hierarchy, detested this abuse, and those Abbots that were but somewhat humbly Religious, did not often make use of those Tokens of Honour, believing that what is the Mark of Jurisdiction in a Bishop, is a stain of Ambition in a Monk. *Peter de Blois* wrote to his Brother, an Abbot in the Kingdom of *Naples*, to whom the Pope had made a Present of these Pontifical Ornaments, that he should send them back again, or rid himself of his Abby. Pope *Urban II.* beholding the happy *Peter* Abbot of *Cayes* bare-headed in a Council, sent a Miter to him to cover it; This holy Man having received it with great Respect, would not however put it on, but kept it still upon his Knees. But *Hugh* Abbot of *Clugny* did not refuse those Ornaments from that Popes hands, who gave them to him and all his Successors. *Calixtus II.* desiring to gratifie that Abby, because he had been Elected and Consecrated there; gave likewise the Title of Cardinal to the Abbot *Ponce de Melguil*, to enjoy it, both he and all the Abbots of that House.

The Popes Originally had Right to confirm only the Elections of the Metropolitans of the *Roman* Diocess. The sending the Pall to those of the *Gallican* Church, chak't out the way to usurp it upon them also. In the beginning *St. Boniface* Archbishop of *Mentz*, engaged them to seek that Honour, to bring them by that means to the greater dependance, then when they were accustomed to deck themselves with those Ornaments, which in their opinions distinguished them much from Bishops, the Popes obliged them to receive them always from him, as a thing very necessary, and forbid them all Exercise of their Function till they had received them.

Bishops could not change, or take another Bishoprick, unless they were turned out of their own by the Barbarians, or upon some very urgent necessity; and that by Sentence of the Metropolitan and Bishops of the Province: the Popes notwithstanding permitted it without restraining them to all those Forms. Which was introduced in this Twelfth Age, not all at once, but by little and little, as it were founding the Foord.

The ancient form of Elections was yet preserved as the Soul of the Hierarchy, that is to say, they were made by the Clergy and by the People, afterwards they were examined by the Metropolitans, assisted with the Counsel of his Suffragans. If he judged them good he approved them, and if he found any default, he annul'd it and sent them back to proceed to a new one: that is to be understood, if they had

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not knowingly and designedly, elected one that was unworthy, or lay under some Canonical impediment; For in such case the Metropolitan and his Suffragans, elected one themselves. The Bishops were not obliged to be personally present at such Elections and Judgments; but sent some Clergy-men who represented their Persons.

The Consecration of Bishops in France was performed by the Metropolitan and his Suffragans, the Pope or his Legat having no right to it; but if the Metropolitan refused to Consecrate the Elect, the Electors appealed to the Pope, who sometimes did Consecrate them himself. When the Metropolitans were suspended from their Episcopal Functions, the Legats, as representing the Holy Father, pretended that that same belonged to them.

The Elections, and the Right the Metropolitans had to Consecrate the Bishops, were not directly overthrown during this Age, but suffer'd great breaches and diminution. For the new Right founded upon the supposed Epistles of the first Popes, having perverted all the Canons, and reduced all Elections to the litigious forms of Proceedings, as there most commonly happen'd divers Contentions between the opposite Parties electing, or difficulties in the Judgment given by the Metropolitans, one of the two Cabals seldom failed of making an Appeal to Rome, which was an inextricable labyrinth of perplex Proceedings; and if there were any omission of formality in the Election, the Pope declared it null, and reserved to himself alone the right of providing the Bishop, and of Consecrating the Person whom he chose. Though it were forbidden to take any thing for that, notwithstanding the Officers of the Court of Rome exacted furiously, under pretence of their Salaries, and Paper and Ink: afterwards the Popes themselves, who had so highly condemn'd all Exactions, converted to their own proper benefit those abuses which they could not hinder. I find that the Bishop of *Mans* gave for his Ordination seven hundred Mark of Silver. In time they fetter'd this Exaction at a years Revenue moderately Taxed, which they and their Cardinals shared amongst them.

The power of the French Bishops was likewise great proportionably. For besides that they were the most considerable Member of the State, and had most power in the great Parliaments, or General Assemblies, the Kings rested much upon their Counsels, submitted to their Remonstrances, and were Crowned by their hands upon every Solemn Feast in the year. So that when any King was Excommunicate, as was Philip I. the Bishops refused to do this Office, and held in a manner, as in silence, not the Royalty, but the Respect of his People. By the Popes example they sometimes made use of Interdicts, often of Excommunications; which by being so often employ'd upon trivial occasions, became so odious, that the Secular Judges appearing against them, caus'd those to be apprehended that carried them, tormented them in their Estates, and the Estates of their Relations, and vexed even such as obey'd those Fulminations, or who refused to hold Communication with such as were Excommunicated; And therefore in the year 1274. the Council of *Lyons* one of the most famous that hath been held in France, Ordained in presence of King Philip the Hardy or Bold, and the Emperors of the East and West, That those that did so hereafter should be cut off from the Communion of the Church, and if they persevered two Months in their Contumacy, should not be absolv'd but by the Holy Chair. Which was allow'd in France, provided those Excommunications were just, and did intrench upon the Rights of the Crown. Now for as much as it depended upon his Officers to judge herein, they eluded them most commonly, and seized upon the Temporals as well of those that pronounced it, as those that submitted, and even caus'd their Houses to be pulled down.

The reason why they fore-armed themselves so strongly against these Censures, was because that in those times so soon as a Man was Excommunicate, he forfeited the benefit of his Goods, Honours and Dignities, that any one had a right to pillage him, that they denied him the Sacraments and Burial, and he could not be absolved but upon very hard Conditions, and by doing Publick Penance, the Mortification whereof is more cruel than Death it self to such who have much more concern for the shame of this World, than fear of God before their Eyes. And indeed the Clergy reveng'd their Injuries, how great soever, no other ways then by the Spiritual Sword, and were so jealous of their Sentences, that if a Secular Judge would according to the Laws of his Prince have chastis'd an Excommunicated Person for killing an Ecclesiastick, they would have oppos'd it, as an attempt upon their Jurisdiction. And therefore the Murderer of a Layman was punished with Death, and of a Priest, nay even a Prelat, had oftentimes no other Punishment but Excommunication.

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The most part of the Bishops were taken out of Monasteries: for as it went by Election, and those Houses were taken for Schools of Piety and Wisdom, such as aspired to this Dignity or that of an Abbot, which was not so honourable, but much more convenient, thrust themselves into the bottom of a Cloister, and affected a and hiding themselves that they might be sought out. Then when their Hypocritism, had dazzled the Eyes of those silly Folks till they were chosen, they laid aside that mask of austerity and made much of themselves.

But often times those good Prelats who were not zealous for a Bishoprick out of any other Motive than the call from God, when they found their strength decay and grow too weak for that great Office quitted the Bishoprick, and made their retreat into some Monastery to recollect and prepare themselves to render an account of their Administration to their Sovereign Judge.

They had yet the power of declaring to the People whom they might Honour and Pray to as Saints, which is that they call Canonizing; This was ordinarily done in a Council, or in an Assembly of the Fraternity; The Bishop in whose Diocess the Party died that merited this Honour, gave account of the great Vertues he had made his Life illustrious, and the Miracles that were wrought on his Grave, according to publick Fame and the evidence of many particular People; and thereupon the Assembly giving their Judgment by Acclamations rather than in Writing, they all went to take up the Holy Body, put it into a Shrine, expos'd it to the Devotions of the People, and ordered his Festival should be Celebrated.

It had been a very ancient and abusive Custom in the Eastern Churches, that Clerks should rob and plunder the Bishops Goods as soon as ever Death had clos'd his Eyes. In France, from the year One thousand, at least for as much as I can observe, the Laity took the same Licence as well towards Bishops, as all other that were Beneficed, grounding their so doing upon the Consideration perhaps, that the Goods of the Church belong to and are the Portion of the Poor, and therefore they might justly take them again, when the Pastor to whom they were given for that purpose had kept it so long from them. However it were, this abuse continued notwithstanding all what the Popes and Councils could do to prevent it. Now the Sovereign's who think that all Rights of their Subjects are eminently theirs, because they are head of them, made a Right of this Custom to themselves, and in a short time made it extend to the whole Revenue of vacant Bishopricks, and afterwards to the collation of Canons and all other Benefices depending thereon, excepting such as have the cure of Souls. This Right is called Regalia. This Custom was before the Reign of Philip Augustus, though in his time, it were not approved of by all the World. *Yves de Chartres* redeemed it of King Philip I. for his Bishoprick, and *Levis VII.* permitted *Peter* Archbishop of *Bourges* to dispose of the Fruits of that Church by Will, when he died.

The Custom of the Kingdom which obliged the Bishops to follow the Kings because of their Fiefs, was not much unpleasant to such amongst them as delighted more in the Court than in the Church. Nevertheless those that desired rather to have the reputation of good Pastors, then great Statesmen retir'd from Court: but sometimes the Kings interpreted such retreat a want of Duty. We find that *Louis* the Gros was dissatisfied with the Archbishop of *Sens* and the Bishop of *Paris*: and that Philip Augustus caus'd the Goods of the Bishops of *Paris* and *Auxerre* to be seized, because they came not to his Army. In the end the good and virtuous Bishops gained this point of the Kings that they dispensed with their Personal Attendance in the Wars, provided they sent those numbers of Men to which they were obliged by their Fiefs.

The Parochial Churches of Burroughs and Villages had for a long time been served by Canonical Priests whom the Bishops sent thither, and recalled again when he pleased to his Cathedral. The Lords having erected Chappels in the Country Oblations, First-Fruits and Collections, for they had not then the Tythe of the Fruits of the Earth and increase of Cattle, but the Lords themselves took those. 'Tis a great question by what Title, I think they were part of their Demesnes, and others the Eleventh, the Fifteenth and the Twentieth part. However it were, when once they had suffer'd themselves to be persuaded, that of Divine Right they belonged to the Ministers of the Church, and that they were bound to restore them; they gave a good part to the Benedictine Friars, who in those days did the Church very Great Service, and gained the love of the Nobility, their Monasteries being like

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open Inns for Gentlemen and other Travellers, and Free-Schools to instruct their Children. Upon condition of these Grants they ordered some Priests of theirs to serve in those Chappels; and finding such Funds and Incomes very sweet, as accruing to them without labour, they hooked in as much as possibly they could. The Regular Canons obtained likewise some. In so much as there remained very little for the Secular Priests.

Now these Benedictine Monks thus dispersed through all the Country Villages wandering from the strictness of their Rules, and growing corrupt out of their Monasteries, as the Fifth perishes out of the Water: The Council of Clermont in the year 1095, ordained that they should quit those Employments and leave them to the Secular Priests. This Decree was not altogether observed, no more than that of the Council of Poitiers in the year 1109, which prohibited them all Parochial Functions: they held these Cures till Anno 1115, the Latran Council took them all wholly away from them by a general Constitution. However they left them a right of Prefaturation, and the Tythes likewise, unless it were some small or moderate proportion for the Curate that Officiated in those Churches.

* Angulim.

By this Constitution the Regular * Canons were excepted, upon condition they should have a Companion to converse always with them, that they might not turn absolute Brutes by daily frequenting of rude Peasants, worse then solitude it self. This Companion was but his second, and by consequence the other who Officiated was first in respect of him; for which reason they called him Prior; and hence comes it that those Benefices were named Priories, though in effect they are but simple Cures, no more then those held by the Secular Priests.

There are several proofs in the Acts of the Councils and elsewhere, that Pluralities were forbidden; an Abuse that must be for ever condemned by true Churchmen, who look upon their Benefice as a Charge of Souls, but ever practised by such as consider them only as a Revenue.

The Princes of those times did easily give way to great Revenge, and run into extreme Violence: but when the first heat of their fury was spent, they were easily persuaded to Repentance, as well by the Sentiments of Christianity imprinted in their Hearts, their Religion not being only meer Policy, but true Faith, as by the good Instructions and Arguments of their Bishops and others of the Clergy. For those godly Pastors not knowing how to sooth and flatter Vice in any one, much less give way to Crimes in Ruling Potentates and Grandees that ought to be Exemplary to inferiors, boldly reprov'd them for their faults, which otherwise they knew themselves must answer for at the Tribunal of the King of Kings. They first made use of Admonitions, which they did by word of Mouth if there were opportunity of access, or else by Writing. If afterwards they found the Vice incurable, the Scandal continue and increase, they added reprehensions, and those sometimes publick, and in the end let loose the Censures of the Church upon them. By this Evangelical liberty assisted with the Holy Spirit; they often mollified the hardest hearts, and gained respect by their Apostolick constancy, whilst others were but slighted and contem'd; as not having the courage to open their Mouths against the greatest Sinners.

When any Church was wronged in her Liberty or Goods, the Priests took down the Shrines and Images of their Saints, and set them on the ground, either to turn the hearts of their Persecutors and bring them to Repentance, or to inflame the indignation of the People against them.

Those that did not believe the reality of the Body of Jesus Christ in the Holy Sacrament, were Hereticks: but the too curious started several Questions touching the manner and the circumstances of that incomprehensible Mystery. Some not being able to conceive what could become of the Sacred Body of Our Lord, after they had eaten it, said it pass'd with the rest of our Digestion. Rupert Abbot de Tuit, was of that opinion, that the Bread and the Wine remained with the Body and the Blood of Jesus Christ. And it appears that Peter de Blois, believed, that the Cup could not be consecrated without Water, and that it was no Sacrament without the Chalice, because it is a Mystical Repast; and in a Supper there must be somewhat to drink as well as to eat.

In those times they yet Communicated in both the Species, but divers, and amongst others the Monks of Clugny, to prevent the Profanation in case the Cup should happen to be spilt, or some small drop should remain sticking on the Beard of the Communicant, administered the Bread dip't in the Wine, and that Bread was round and about the thickness of a Crown. Now this method not seeming conformable

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to the institution of the Sacrament by our Saviour, was often reprov'd and condemn'd by the Popes themselves, who at length nor being able to rectify this abuse, took the Cup wholly from the Laity. Such as impugn the real Preference, however, are mistaken in saying that the word *Transubstantiatio*, was introduced by the Council of Latran, which was held in Anno 1215 for we find it in Peter de Blois, who wrote some years before; but it is true that that Council authorized that Term of *Transubstantiation*.

The use of publick Penance was yet very common, the Penitents could not come into the Church, nor Communicate, nor receive the Blessing or the Salutation of Peace, nor Shave his Beard, nor cut his Hair, nor put on any Linnen, nor Christen a Child; they eat nothing but Bread, and drank only Water, on *Mundays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays* in each Week. But this severity was much abated by the freely bestowed Indulgences or Relaxations of Punishments allowed by the Canons. The Popes or against Hereticks and Schismatics; The Bishops likewise when they Consecrated any Church were not sparing to such as would come to visit them, upon condition they would come the day before, and give their Alms or Contribution towards the upholding and maintaining of the Fabrick.

They had then a particular fancy to build Subterranean Chappels. I have observed that at the building their Churches, they would in the Foundations often times bury Vessels full of Silver, that so when either Time, or other accidents should come to happen'd to fall to ruine, they brought the Relicks of that Saint that was most honour'd by all the Neighbouring Countries, to invite People out of Devotion to contribute largely towards another Edifice. It was impossible but they should be rich, for there was no one died that did not leave them some Legacy. I shall observe by the way, that by their Wills they ever affianched some certain number of Slaves according to their Qualities, and we may reckon this amongst others for one main cause which hath by little and little abolish'd Slavery or Servitude in France.

Those Persons that had committed great Sins, though they were not such whom the Canons ordained to do publick Penance, yet they omitted not, especially being at the point of Death, to make a publick Confession; and divers great Princes would needs die flat upon the Ground, lying upon a Cross of Dust and Ashes; some even with a Rope about their Necks, others in the Habit of a Monk, or Friars holy Frock and Cowle, believing that Sacred Livery would shelter them against the Torments in the other World.

Auricular Confession had ever been practis'd in the Church; Gratian examining in the second part of the Decree, whether it were of absolute necessity or not, after he hath mustred the Reasons on either side, according to his Method, seems to leave every one his Judgment free, assuring us that Persons both very Devout and Pious were many for it, and many against it. But the Church hath determin'd it in the affirmative.

The Monks did not Administer the Sacraments to the Laity, nor did they hear Confessions unless it were from those of their own Coat, it being forbidden them by the Councils to exercise any Curial Function. A certain Abbot of St. Riquier undertook to Confess some Seculars, and to Preach without leave of the Ordinary, of which him, but he pleaded his Cause so well, that the Holy Father allowed him both the Badge of a Preacher.

The Clergy busied themselves mightily in multiplying the Ceremonies, the Ordinaments, and practise of Devotions, and in making a great many frivolous Disputes upon each of these.

The profession of Physick, and that of Law, were hardly exercised by any but the Churchmen, the Laity being very little addicted to Study: and as they were very profitable, the Monks and Regular Canons had likewise an itch to practise them. The Council of Latran under Innocent II. did expressly forbid their meddling with either of them.

The Mortifications and Austerities, the Sackcloth, Shirt of Hair, knotted Girdle, and voluntary Fustigation, which they called Discipline, was much in practise, at least in the precedent Age, since Peter Damianus mentions it as a thing that was very common. When they desired to appease the Wrath of God, or obtain some particular favour from his Bounty, the Pope, and sometimes the Bishops of their own Heads

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Heads would ordain new Fasts. Thus in the year 1187. Gregory VIII. sorely afflicted for the loss of *Jerusalem*, thought fit thereby to animate the Christians to Arm themselves powerfully for its Recovery, to command all both Men and Women to fast every Friday for five years successively, with the same strictness as in *Lent*, and to abstain from Flesh the *Wednesdays* and *Saturdays*. He enjoyn'd all the Cardinals and their Families to do the same, and imposed it upon himself and all his.

As for the Fast of *Lent* it was then very strictly observ'd; they eat but once in the whole day, and that after Sun-set, all the Divine Service, and Masses being then over. We may see some fondness of it remaining to this day, in that they say Vespers with the Mass before Noon. Some gave themselves the liberty of eating at the hour of Noon, which is Three hours after Twelve, or Dinner time. The Friars fasted but till that hour from the *Septuagesima* to the *Quadragesima*; but from the *Quadragesima* till *Easter* they nor any of the Faithful did eat till after Vespers. The Princes and great Persons did not omit this abstinence, nor fasting neither, which did not so much impair their Health as it abated their Concupiscence: and in these Holy Times, the least Devout were obliged at least in Honour, to give Alms every day.

The Functions of those in holy Orders were yet different and distinct; the Priest seldom did the Office of a Deacon or Sub-Deacon. Many out of humility remained Deacons still, or at least a long time, not taking upon them the Order of Priesthood till near the end of their days. We read that *Celestine III.* at the time he was elected, Pope was but a Deacon, and had lived Sixty five years in that Order without aspiring to be a Priest.

They sometimes tolerated the Marriage of Sub-Deacons, but it was *scandalous* in a Deacon.

Baptism was commonly not Ministr'd or Confess'd but at the time of *Easter*, if those that were to receive it, were not in danger of Death. They plung'd them three times in the Sacred Font; to shew them what operation that Sacrament hath on the Soul, washing and cleansing it from Original Sin.

After they had given the extreme Unction to the Sick, they ordinarily laid them upon a Bed of Straw, where they gave up the Ghost. Some would needs die upon a Bed of Alms, with their Heads lying on a Stone.

In those times the Clergy called all those Martyrs of their Order that were kill'd, though it were neither for Religion, or the maintaining of Christian Doctrines. We find in the Decretals, some Apostolical Letters of *Alexander III.* which forbids they should honour the Prior of the Monastery of *Grijan* as a Martyr. The History is strange and odd enough. The Monks of that House distributed to the People: I know not what sort of Water which they hallowed with certain Prayers, and by that invention got store of Alms, wherewith they made good Cheer. It hapned one day that their Prior being drunk, wounded two of his Friars with his Knife, who immediately beat out his Brains with a Staff that was at hand by chance. The rest of their Fellows instead of concealing this Scandal, had the impudence to make advantage and profit of this accident, and feigned divers Miracles upon his Corps, by virtue whereof they Crowned him with the Laurel of Martyrdom, and the silly people gave credit to the Cheat.

They had been mightily puzzled in the other Age to bring the Priests to Celibacy. There were some yet that could not agree to it. The Popes *Calistus II.* and *Eugenius III.* compell'd them by divers Punishments, and amongst others deprived them of their Benefices, and Excommunicated all such as went to hear them say Mass. Now it not being allowed them to make use of the rights of Nature by Marriage, there were some, though but few in number, who made use of things against Nature, burning with such flames of Lust, as ought not to be extinguish'd but by Fire from Heaven. As for the greater part of the rest, the Law of God, that is to say his Church*, forbidding them to have Children, the Author of all Confusion substituted great Throngs and Crowds of Nephews in their stead; and from thence follow'd great Disorders: for if those Nephews were Ecclesiasticks, they perpetuated the Benefices in their Families by Coadjutories or otherwise, and possess'd as by Right of Inheritance the Sanctuary of the Lord: If they were of the Laity, and thrifty People, they made their Uncles grow Covetous, Usurers and Extortioners to heap up Riches for them, or else they endeavour'd by all ways imaginable to alienate the Lands of the Church, and joyning them to their own, appropriate all to themselves. Often times they became Masters of their Parents House, and living there with too great a Train, squander'd away the Patrimony of the Cross and the Poor, in Feasting, Equi-

* Cumque flos
verum privatorum
famine Clericorum.
ad satietatem
vitiis succubant
turba negotiorum.

page

Church,

page of Hounds and Horses, and sometimes in things much worse. We might quote a great many Examples of this scandalous Nature, I shall instance one which is of the Nephews of an Archdeacon of *Paris*, who committed extraordinary Violences and Exactions in his Place: whereof *Thomas* Prior of *St. Vitor* having often given him warning, they Murder'd this holy Holy Friar in the very Arms of the Bishop himself near *Gournay*, as he returned from a Visit.

Councils:

The Councils of the *Gallican* Church having now but little Authority, because their Decisions were often annull'd at *Rome*, without hearing their Reasons, the Bishops took not so much care to call any. I cannot tell in which it was where an old Bishop appear'd with ill Cloaths, a Crozier half broken, and a Mitre out of order, to let them see by that Equipage to what a vile Condition those holy Assemblies were reduc'd. Most of those held in *France* during this Age, were call'd either by the Popes themselves or by their Legats. The Popes were Personally present in Six, that confess'd Benefices were Excommunicated. *Gelasius* held one at *Vienne* in the year 1119. where he thundred his Anathema against the Emperor *Henry V.* and his Anti-Pope. *Calistus II.* his Successor (*Guy* Archbishop of *Vienne*) did the same thing in that of *Rheims* the following year, which had been denounced by *Gelasius*. Those that made sale of things Sacred, and took Money for burying the dead, for the Crisome and Baptism, were likewise Excommunicated. *Innocent II.* held one at *Clermont* in *Anno* 1130. and another at *Rheims* in *Anno* 1131. where he fulminated the Anti-Pope *Anacletus*, and his Adherents. *Eugenius III.* did Celebrate one at *Rheims* in the year 1137. where divers excellent Regulations were decreed. And *Alexander III.* one at *Tours* in *Anno* 1163. where he gave an account of his Election, and proved the nullity of *Ottavian's* his Rival.

These are a good part of those called by the Legats. One at *Troyes* in *Anno* 1104. in which the Bishop of *Sens* was accused of Simony by some ill designing People, but the Bishops rejected them as no good Evidence. He desired nevertheless to purge himself from that suspicion by Oath before the Legat, to which he was admitted. Two Cardinal Legats assembled, one at *Poitiers*, in *Anno* 1109. to reform the Manners and Habits of the Clergy: They were forbidden to take any Benefice from the hands of the Laity: The Abbots to use Gloves, Sandals or the Ring; Monks to Exercise Parochial Function, as to Baptise or to Preach; which nevertheless was allowed to the Regular Canons. There was one at *Vienne*, *Anno* 1112. where *Godfrey* Bishop of *Amiens* was President, in Quality of Legat, because the Archbishop *Guy* had no very fluent Tongue. The Emperor *Henry V.* was Excommunicated there: As were also those guilty of Simony, and such of the Laity as gave the Investiture of Benefices.

There were three in the year 1114. one at *Saiffons*, one at *Beauvais*, and another at *Rheims* to Excommunicate *Henry V.* and *Burdus* his Anti-Pope. One at *Toulouse* in *Anno* 1124. which condemned certain false Brothers or counterfeit Monks who declaimed against the Temporal Riches and Incomes of the Church, and against the Sacraments. One at *Troyes*, *Anno* 1127. where the Order of the Templars was confirm'd; The Abbots *Stephen de Cîteaux*, and *Bernard de Clairvaux* were assisant there, and the latter drew up the Rules of that Order of Knights Templars. There was one Assembled at *Estampes* in the year 1130. to condemn the Anti-Pope *Anacletus*. One likewise at *Jouars* the same year, to avenge by Canonical Punishments the Murder of the B. *Thomas* Prior of *St. Vitor*. Another at *Saiffons*, *Anno* 1136. which condemned the Errors of *P. Abailard*. One at *Sens* four years after for the same business: King *Lewis* the Young was present there. Another at *Vezelay* in *Burgundy*, in the year 1145. for the Expedition to the Holy Land. That of *Paris* in the year 1147. consult'd the Opinions of *Gilbert* Prior Bishop of *Poitiers*, who Recanted before Pope *Eugenius* at *Rheims*, after the Council was dissolved which had been held in that City.

That of *Fleury* in the year 1151. was to annul the Marriage of King *Lewis VII.* and *Alienor* of *Aquitain*. In that of *Auracher* in *Normandy*, *Anno* 1173. the Legats gave for the second time, the Absolution for the Murder of *St. Thomas* of *Canterbury* to *Henry II.* King of *England*. That of *Alby*, which was in *Anno* 1176. condemned the Heresie of the *Albigens*. In that of *Dijon* which was held about *Michealmas* in the year 1197. the Legat from Pope *Innocent III.* put the whole Kingdom of *France* under an Interdiction, to compel *Philip Augustus* to quit *Agnes de Merania*, whom he had Espoused in prejudice of *Hemberge* his Lawful Wife.

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I must tell you here, (if I have not mentioned it already) that the Will of the Parents made the Monk, as well as his own choice. The Father might put his Children into the Monastery without acquainting the Mother, and even against her will. He had that power over them till they were Ten years of Age, afterwards that Term was enlarged to Thirteen, says *Yves de Chartres*; and then to Fourteen, as we find it in *Gratian*. When the Father had resolv'd and defined his Son to Monachism, he offer'd him to God in the Church belonging to the Convent, wrapped all over, or sometimes only the Arm in the Altar Cloth, and by that Devotion obliged him to folly, that he could not gainstay it. But *Clement III.* and *Calistus III.* changed that too unnatural Right and Power, and declared, That those Children ought not to be compell'd to Monastic Life, unless they did by their own free choice oblige themselves when they had attained to years of Discretion.

Cardinals.

The Dignity of Cardinals was in great lustre, their Colledge was numerous, and their Vertue and Birth most eminent. France had as great a share at least in this Advantage, as Italy. *Duchefne* who has written their Lives very exactly, hath noted in this Twelfth Age above Fifty that were Frenchmen: the greatest part of them having been bred in Monasteries, particularly in the Congregation of *Clugny*, and Order of *Cîteaux*; These last were almost all of them the intimate Friends or Disciples of *St. Bernard*. *Galon* Disciple of *Yves de Chartres*, Bishop of *Beauvais* then of *Paris*, Guy Brother of *Stephen* Earl of *Burgundy* Archbishop of *Vienne*, and afterwards Sovereign Prelate by the name of *Calistus II.* *Pontius* de Melgueil Abbot of *Clugny*, *Stephen* Son of *Thierry* Earl of *Montbelliard*, *William de Champagne* successively Archbishop of *Sens* and of *Rheims*, Uncle to King *Philip Augustus*, and very powerful in the Government of the Kingdom, *Rodolph de Nelfe*, *Henry de Sully*, and *Albert* Brother of the Duke of *Brabant*, were all of illustrious Birth, and withal of extraordinary Vertue, excepting *Ponce*, or *Pontius*, who was singular for the Disorders of his Life; which were scandalous after his re-entry perforce into the Abby which he had once renounced, that going to *Rome*, whither he was cited by the Pope, he was confin'd to a perpetual imprisonment, where a Month after he died. And nevertheless a certain Martyrologist quoted by *Duchefne* does call him Saint.

The end of *Albert* was also Tragical, but the Cause being brave, his Memory is the more glorious. He had been Elect'd Bishop of *Liege* upon the Solicitation of *Henry* Duke of *Brabant* his Brother; The Emperor *Henry VI.* who hated both of them, would not give his consent to this Election; The Pope however confirms him, and *Albert* comes to *Rheims* to be Consecrated, which was then the Metropolis of *Liege*. The Emperor took this for an outrageous affront and slighting, and dispatches some *German* Cavaliers after him to take his Revenge. These Russians having craftily insinuated themselves into a familiarity with the Bishop, who then sojourn'd at *Rheims*, found an opportunity one day to get him out of Town to take the Air and walk, and Murder'd him with Nineteen Wounds, then made their escape to *Verdun*, and from thence into *Germany* to the Emperor. Four hundred and twenty years after, that is in the year 1612. the Arch-Duke *Albertus* of *Austria*, and his spouse the Infanta *Clara Eugenia*, obtained leave of the Most Christian King *Lewis XIII.* to take his Corps up out of the Cathedral Church at *Rheims*, where it had been deposited till that time, and caused it to be convey'd to *Brussels* in great Pomp. *Paul V.* completed his Crown of Honour by Canonizing him as a Martyr for the liberty of the Church which is the Spouse of *Jesus Christ*.

I observe Eight or ten other Cardinals, who had no other Nobility but what their Vertue acquir'd: as one *Robert de Paris*, who with some others so press'd Pope *Paschal*, that he had made him break the Treaty by which he had yielded up the investitures to the Emperor *Henry V.* *Foulcher de Chartres*, *Mathew de Rheims*, and *Alberic de Beauvais*, the first of whom had been Secretary to *Godfrey de Bullion* in his Expedition to the Holy Land, the second Prior of *St. Martin des Champz*, or in the Fields, and the third a Monk of *Clugny* and Abbot of *Vezelay*; *Stephen de Chalon*, *Bernard de Renner*, (these two had likewise been Monks) *Roland d'Aranchois*, and *Mathew d'Angers*; all which took their names from the places of their Nativity, according to the Mode of Men of Learning who were of mean Extraction.

There were divers others besides whose Parents are unknown to us, as one *Yves* a Canon of *St. Victor* rais'd by his Learning to that Dignity, and one *Martin* who came from the Abby of *Cîteaux*, and was Bishop of *Osia*, a Prelat of an Apostolick Contenance and Frugality. It is related that he being sent as Legat into *Denmark* for the Conversion of those Infidels, he came back so poor that he Travel'd on Foot as far as *Florence*, herein much more like the humble Apostles of *Jesus Christ*, than the

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other Legats of those times, who coming very beggerlike into those Provinces whither the Popes sent them, went thence again laden with Spoil, as from a Country Conquer'd by them, and returned back to *Rome* with an Equipage fit for a King. The Bishop of *Florence* seeing this good Man on foot, made him a Present of a Horse not out of generosity, but hopes to oblige him to be his Friend in a Process he had at *Rome* ready to be determined; but when it came to Judgment, and this good Man to deliver his opinion, he Addresses himself to him, and said freely he did not know he was to have been his Judge, and therefore pray'd him to go to the Stable and take his Horse again, that his Vote might be without partiality.

Neither did France want for Bishops, whose Learning, Merits, Zeal, and Piety acquir'd the Titles of Great Men, and of Saints. Not to mention again that *Galon*, Guy of *Burgundy*, *William de Champagne*, and *Albert de Brabant* whom we lately ranged amongst the Cardinals: France had amongst others seven great Archbishops, *Hildebert de Tours*, *Peter de Bourges*, who was of the Family of *la Chastre*, *Odoard de Cambrai*, *Arnold Amaury de Narbonne*, *Henry de Rheims*, *Ratrou de Rouen*, and *Hugh de Vienne*. *Arnold* had been Abbot of *Clerveaux*, and was the first Inquisitor to root out the Heresie of the *Albigens*; *Ratrou* was Son of the Earl of *Warwick*, near of Kindred to the King of *England*, as *Henry* was to the King of *France*, *Louis* the Gros; but both of them more eminent for their Christian Humility, then high Birth. *Hugh* endured rather to be expell'd from his See by the Emperor *Frederic I.* then to renounce *Alexander III.* whom he believed to be the true and Legitimate Pope. I should never come to an end, if I undertook to give an account of all the Bishops of this Age who deserve Immortality and Renown. But can we forget *Yves* and *John of Salisbury* who governed the Church of *Chartres*, the first in the beginning of this Century, and the last towards the end? *Godfrey d'Amiens* of whom we shall speak hereafter, *Peter of Poitiers*, who courageously oppos'd *William VIII.* Duke of *Aquitain*, who would force him to absolve him of the Excommunication wherewith he was fetter'd; *Gilbert Pore* who held the same See as *Peter*, but Twenty five years after; *Arnold* Bishop of *Lisieux*; *Robert de Beauvais*, he was the Son of *Hugh* Duke of *Burgundy*. *John* surnamed de la Grille who transfer'd the Bishoprick of *Quidaleit* to that place now call'd *St. Malo's*; *Simon de Noyon*, and *Guerin de Senlis*. In the time of *Simon*, whilst he was at *Jerusalem* with King *Louis VII.* (in the year 1146.) the Church of *Tournay* was cut off from that of *Noyon*, to which it had been joyned in the days of *St. Medard*, and had for their first Bishop *Aufseme* who was Abbot of *St. Vincent* of *Laon*, *Guerin de Senlis* was very great in the Reign of *Philip II.* and of *Louis VIII.* Keeper of the Seals under the first, Chancellor under the second.

I shall conclude with four Bishops of *Paris*, whose Memory ought to be dear to that great City, and the whole Gallican Church. *Stephen de Garlande*, *Peter Lombard*, *Maurice* and *Odon*. These two last bare the name of *Sully*, *Maurice* because he was a Native of that place, but of very poor Parents, *Odon* because he was of that illustrious House, Issue of the Earls of *Champagne*. *Stephen* had been Chancellor of *France* under *Louis VI.* *Peter Lombard* was call'd the Master of *Sentence*, from that Book so well known through all Christendom, and which was the Foundation of all School-Divinity. *Maurice* had a noble Soul, liberal and magnanimous: He founded the Abbies of *Herivaux*, and de *Hemier*, as likewise two Monasteries for Virgins, *Gif* and *Hieres*, and laid the Foundation of the Church *Nytre-Dame*, one of the greatest Buildings to be seen in *France*. *Odon* his Successor finish'd it, and founded a Monastery for Women of the Order of *Cîteaux* at *Port Royal*, being assisted in that Pious Work by the Liberality of *Matilda* Daughter of *William de Garlande*. He laboured also to root out an ancient but ridiculous Custom which had been suffer'd in the Church of *Paris*, and in divers others of the Kingdom. It was the Holy-day or Feast of Fools; in some places they call'd it the Festival of Innocents. It was observ'd at *Paris*, principally upon the day of the Circumcision, the Priests and Clerks went in Matquerade to Church, where they committed a thousand Infidelities, and from thence rode about the Streets in Chariots, mounted upon Theaters or Stages, singing the most filthy Songs, and acting all the tricks and postures the most impudent Buffoons are wont to shew to divert the Rascally and Sordid Populace. *Odo* or *Odon* endeavour'd to put down this detestable Mummery, having to that effect obtain'd an order of the Popes Legat, who made his Visitation there: but we may well believe that his desire had not its full accomplishment, that Custom lasting Two hundred and fifty years afterwards, for we find that in the year 1444. the Masters of the Faculties of Divinity at the request of some Bishops, wrote a Letter to all the Prelats and Chapters, to damn and utterly abolish it, and the Council of *Sens* which was held

Church. held in Anno 1460. does yet speak of it as an Abuse which ought to be Rectified.

The Bishops labour'd assiduously to edify and instruct the Faithful by their Works and Doctrine: most part of them have left their Writings, whereof many have been published, the rest as yet lie hid in several Libraries. And truly as this Age was not ingrateful to Persons of Merit, the liberty of Elections giving them opportunities to reward them, there were more Men of worth and parts to be found, then had been heard of in a long time, who improved the Sciences with good success, and drew an incredible number of Students to learn Philosophy and Divinity at Paris.

Human Learning, or *Les belles Lettres*, made some Attempts and Essays to raise it self, which were not altogether in vain. It appears in the Writings of *Hildebert*, of *John of Salisbury*, and *Stephen de Tournay*. Peter Comestor or the * Eater, Dean of the Church of Troyes, and afterwards a Monk of St. Victor, compiled the Ecclesiastical History; and he was called the Master of it; and *Elinand* Native of Beauvais, a Monk of Froimont, wrote the Universal History to the year 1212. in Forty eight Books.

We have three Latin Poets or Versificators, who are not to be despised, *Galterus*, *William le Breton*, and *Leonius*. The first made a Poem of *Alexanders* famous Exploits, which he intitled *Alexandreides*. *Le Breton* in imitation compos'd the *Philippides* containing the History of *Philip Augustus*; and *Leonius* made himself known by several Copies, which though not very long, are gentle and full of Wit. He was Canon of St. Victor.

I shall not set down all those whom in this Age the Church put into her number of Saints; but only the two *Bernards*, the one being the first Abbot of *Tiron* of St. *Bernier's* Order, and the other Abbot of *Clervaux*, whose Wit and clear Judgment, his Zeal and Piety, his Conduct and Capacity in business of the greatest weight, made him appear with more lustre than any other in his time. Three Institutors of new Religious Orders, *Robert* Abbot of *Moleme*, that of the *Cisterciens*, *Stephen* that of *Grandmont*, and *Nobert* that of *Premontre*; Five Bishops, *Aseline* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whom I place amongst the French, though he were a Native of the Valley d' *Asyl*, because he Studied in France, and was Abbot du Bec; *Peter* Abbot de la Celle, then Bishop of *Troyes*; another *Peter*, Bishop of *Poitiers*; *Aldebert* de *Brabant* Bishop of *Liege*; and *Godfrey*, Bishop of *Amiens*.

They relate an action of this last which our times would sooner wonder at, then imitate. It was the Mode then, for such as would be Gallants, to wear long Hair, curled and tressed: this courageous Prelate one time refuses to admit any to the holy Table who came tricked up in that fashion; and that refusal put them to such shame and confusion, that they all cut it off themselves, chusing rather to lose that vain Ornament of their Heads, then the Comfort of eating the holy Bread of Angels. When he found them so well disposed, he admitted those as Men and Christians whom he before had turned away as dissolute Women, or Men wholly effeminated.

About the year 1180. the People Reverenced a certain Maiden as a Saint, whose name was *Elpide* or *Alpaida*, dwelling in the Village du *Cudot*, in the Diocess of *Sens*, who for Ten years together would swallow nothing but the Sacred Host; and though a simple Country Girl, had great light and knowledge of things Natural and Divine. This debility hapned after a severe fit of Sickness, which had turned all her Body into a corrupt and stinking purulent Matter extremely infected. I cannot say how long she survived after the year 1180. but there is yet to be seen in the Parochial Church of that place her Monument, and her Effigies also in Stone, which over-head is crowned with Flowers; The People of that Country assure us, That God by divers Miracles hath approved the Devotion they have towards her.

Lewis

Lewis VIII. King XLII.

POPE,

HONORIUS III. All along this Reign,
and beyond it.

LEWIS VIII. Surnamed the Lyon, and the Father of St. LEWIS,
King XLII. Aged Thirty six years compleat.

Philip Augustus had not caused his Son to be Crowned in his Life-time, whether he had a jealousy of him, or thought his Family so well Establish'd that he had no need of such precaution to secure the Crown to him. He was therefore Crowned at Rheims with his Wife *Blanch de Castille*, the Tenth day of the Month of August.

The King of England did not assist at his Coronation as he ought to have done, in Quality of Pair of France: but sent Ambassadors to summon him according to the Oath he had made at London, to surrender Normandy to him with all those other Countries that had been taken from King John his Father. They receiv'd for Answer, That they had been Consecrated by Judgment of the Pairs, and that they pretended to have the remainder likewise which he held, so far were they from giving back what he demanded.

As the People of *Languedoc* did easily return again to their Natural Lord *Raimond* Earl of *Toulouse*, *Amazury* finding himself too weak to stay in those Countries, came and resigned and yielded up all the Right and Title he had into the hands of the King; who for Recompence made him High Constable.

It was then but an Employment, lasting no longer then the War; So that we sometimes find such Lords on whom it hath been conferr'd two or three several times.

Raimond Earl of *Toulouse* having made his Address to Pope *Honorius* with all imaginable submission, the Holy Father sent to his Legat to call a Council at *Montpellier* to reconcile him with the Church. After which *Raimond* before an Assembly of the Clergy in *Languedoc*, promis'd and sware entire Obedience to the Roman Church, sufficient security to the Clergy for restitution and the enjoyment of their Goods and Profits, and the extirpation of Hereticks throughout all his Country. Upon this satisfaction the Pope received him to Mercy, and owned him for Earl of *Toulouse*.

But as the resistance and opposition of his Subjects hindered him from making good his Promises, the Pope sent a Legat to the King, it was *Romain* a Cardinal that had the Title of St. *Angelo*, to persuade him to undertake that Expedition; which he did the more readily because it suited with his zeal and with his Interests.

The two Kings, *Lewis* of France, and *Henry* of Germany, eldest Son to the Emperor *Fredric*, had a Conference at *Vaucouleurs*, where they Treated about several Differences between the two Crowns, and made divers Propositions, but came to no conclusion.

At his return from thence, pursuant to a Resolution had been taken to drive the English wholly out of France, *Lewis* enters *Poitou*, gains a Battle there over *Savary de Maulon* General of the English in *Guyenne*, makes himself Master of the Cities of *Niort* and of St. *John d'Angely*, and generally over all the Places even to the *Garonne*, and receives the Homage of all the Lords of those parts.

There

1224.

There was nothing left but *Rochelle*, where *Savary de Mauléon* defended himself for a long time expecting Relief from *England*. In fine, being basely disappointed and deceived by the King of *England*'s Ministers who sent him Chells full of old Iron in stead of Silver to falsifie the Garison, he was forced to surrender the Town the 28th day of *July*; and afterwards pretending, whether true or false, that he had been Treated in *England* as a Person whose Faith they suspected, he quitted his old Master, and went to the King of *France*.

After the taking of that important City, the Kings to secure it the better to themselves, had as it were outvied each other, in gratifying it with many great Priviledges, by which means it was raised to a high pitch of Renown, for its Wealth and Liberty: but through their ill management of those Advantages, she hath utterly lost them all in these latter times.

1225.

The rest of *Guyenne* had been gained by the *French*, if *Richard* Brother to King *Henry* had not landed at *Bordeaux* with a great Army, which raised up the drooping Spirits. He took *St. Macaire* near *Bordeaux* by Storm: but *La Reoule* gave him a great Repulse; and being inform'd that the *French* Army was at the River *Garonne*, he Ship'd himself again and left order with *Aimery* Vicount de *Touars* to procure a Truce.

There wandred a certain Person about *Flanders*, near this time, who said he was that *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, and Emperor of *Constantinople*, that had been taken Prisoner by the King of *Bulgaria*. He related how he made his escape out of Prison, and put them in mind of several Tokens and Circumstances to know him by. The *Flemings* who mightily loved *Baldwin*, gave Credit to this Man, and put him in possession of all *Flanders*.

1226.

The Countess *Jane* Daughter of *Baldwin* finding her self at a los (for her Husband *Ferrand* was still a Prisoner at *Paris*) had recourse to the King, who sent word to this pretended *Baldwin*, that he should come to him at *Peronne*. He came boldly thither: but disaining or not being able to answer the Questions put to him, which he must needs have known if he were not a Cheat, the King commanded him to depart his Territories within three days, and gave him a safe Conduct. Being afterwards forsaken by all the World, he endeavour'd to escape away in a disguise, but he was taken in *Burgundy* and carried to the Countess; who after she had made him undergo divers Tortures, sent him to the Gibbet as an Impostor. His Execution did not hinder malicious People from believing that the Daughter had chosen rather to hang her Father then to restore him to his Sovereignty.

1225.

This same year the King being in *Touraine*, the Legat went to him and obliged him to prolong the Truce with *Aimery* Vicount de *Touars*, the only Nobleman that opposed the King yet in *Poitou*. This Vicount shortly after came to *Paris* to render Hommage to the King in presence of the King of *England*'s Ambassadors.

1226.

The City of *Avignon* having refused the Army passage, was besieged the 14th of *June*. It defended it self obstinately. *Guy* Count de *Saint Pol* one of the bravest of the Besiegers was slain there, the Plague got amongst the Soldiers, and the Earl of *Champagne* Male-content went away without leave. The King nevertheless swore he would not decamp till he brought the Besieged to Reason; in so much that on the * Assumption-day they were reduced to a Capitulation. They gave up two hundred Hostages, their Walls were pull'd down, their Moats and Grafts fill'd up, and three hundred Houses with Turrets demolish'd. These were Inns belonging to Gentlemen, who had the like at *Toulouse*, and other great Cities in those Provinces.

Going thence, the King went into *Provence*, and all the Towns surrender'd to him within four Leagues of *Toulouze*. The Season growing bad, and he somewhat tender of Constitution, he takes his way back towards *France*, leaving the Conduct of his Forces and the Government of those Countries in the hands of *Imbert* de *Beaujeu*.

1226.

Upon his return one of the Grantees of the Kingdom, whom History has not dar'd to name, caused some Poyson to be given him, whereof he died at the Castle of *Montspencier* in *Auvergne*, upon a Sunday being the *Obasse* of All-Saints. He had lived Thirty nine years, and had Reigned three, and about four Months. He is buried at *St. Denis* by his Father.

1226.

The Clergy because of his Piety and his Chastity, reported that his Sickness proceeded from his too great Continence; (for his Wife did not go with him) and that he chose rather to dye then make use of an unlawful Remedy they presented him for Cure.

* Our Lady-day in Har-
vest.

As he foreaw things in a posture that threatend great troubles after his death, he took the Oaths and Seals of Twelve Lords that were about him, that they should cause his eldest Son to be Crowned, and if he failed, they should put the Second in his stead.

By his Wife *Blanche* de *Castile* he had nine Sons and two Daughters; there were but five Sons alive, *Lewis*, *Robert*, *Alphonso*, *Charles*, and *John*. According to his Will and Testament *Lewis* Reigned, *Robert* had the County of *Artois*, and propagated the branch of that name; *Alphonso* had that of *Poitou*, and *Charles* that of *Anjou*. From him sprung the first Branch of *Anjou*. *John* dyed at the age of 14 years. Of the two Daughters, only *Isabella* wasteth, who having been promised to divers Princes, and grown to be an old Maid, took on the Holy vail, and shut her self up the year 1260. in the Monastery of *Langechamp*, between *Paris* and *St. Cloud*, which the King her Brother founded for her.

P p

Saint

Saint Lewis, King XLIII.

Aged Eleven years six Months.

POPE S.

HONORIUS III. Five Months.

GREG. IX. Elect in April, 1227.
S. Fourteen years, Five Months.

CELESTINE IV. Elect in
Sept. 1241. S. Eighteen days.

Vacancy of Twenty Months.

INNOCENT IV. Elect in June
1243. S. Eleven years, Five Months
and a half.

ALEXANDER IV. Elect in
Decemb. 1254. S. Six years, Five
Months.

URBAN IV. Son of a Cobler of
Troyes, Elect about the end of
August, 1261. S. Three years, Thir-
ty four days.

CLEMENT IV. Elect in Feb.
1265. S. Three years, and about
Ten Months.

Vacancy of Thirty five Months,
from Dec. in the year 1268. the Car-
dinals not agreeing amongst them-
selves in the Conclave, about the Ele-
ction.

1226.
in November.

THIS is the Third Minority in the Capetine Race; and the First wherein a Woman had the Regency. *Blanche de Castille* a stranger, but courageous and able; undertook it, and carried it, being assisted by the Counsels of *Romain*, the Cardinal Legat, who had great power with her, and grounded upon the Certificates of some Lords, who attested that her Husband being on his Death-bed, had ordered that he would have his eldest Son with the Kingdom, and all his other Brothers, be left to her Guardianship and Government.

Immediately before the Lords had time to contrive any obstacles to her Regency, she drew all the Forces she possibly could together, and with them, went and caused her eldest Son *Lewis*, to be Crowned in the City of *Rheims*. The Episcopal See being vacant, the Bishop of *Soissons*, who is the Suffragan, performed the Ceremony. It was on the First day of December.

The Lords of the Kingdom had been invited thither by Letters, but the greatest part refused to come; amongst others, *Peter Duke of Bretagne*, *Henry Earl of Bar* his Brother-in-law, *Hugh de Luzignan*, Earl of *la Marche*, *Thibault Earl of Champagne*, *Hugh de Châtillon*; Count of *St. Pol*, and divers others. They were forming a League amongst them, demanding, that the Regent who was a Stranger, should give security for her good Administration, that whatever had been taken from the Lords during the two last Reigns, should be restored to them, and such as were prisoners should be released, especially *Ferrand Earl of Flanders*.

After her departure from *Rheims*, notwithstanding the severity of the Winter, she marched towards *Bretagne*, where lay the strength of the League. The Confederates being not yet ready, avoided what mischief they could by a Retreat; but she followed so close at their heels, that the Earl of *Champagne* fell off from the party;

Saint Lewis, King XLIII.

party; then the others entered into a Treaty, and promised to appear in full Parliament, which was to be held at *Chinon*, and which at their request was removed to *Tours*, then to *Vendôme*.

In that Parliament which was held in the Month of *March*, a Peace was patched up between the Regent and the Lords; but the same year they being assembled at *Corbeil*, plotted to surprize the King as he was coming from *Chastres* to *Paris*: their design had infallibly succeeded, if the Queen Regent had not been informed, and cast her self with the King into *Montlebery*. The Citizens of *Paris* having taken up Arms, went thither to guard him, and brought him back with joyful acclamations to their City.

The Earl of *Champagne* was the man that had given this private intelligence to the Queen. This young Prince had a pretence of Love or Gallantry for her, rather out of some Court-like vanity, than for the power of her charms, she being a Woman of above Forty years of age; she knew how to make her own advantage of his folly, and wished him to continue amongst those discontented People, that he might betray all their intrigues to her.

The King of *England* would needs concern himself in this quarrel, and promised them his assistance; and the Earl of *Toulouse* taking his opportunity, during these Brouilleries and Strife, had got possession again of all his Places. The Queen Regent fearing this Flame might be blown too high, renew'd a Treaty with the Princes of this League, whom by that means the kept from farther proceeding all this year; and in the mean while, she confirm'd the Alliance with the Emperor *Frederick*, made a Truce with the *English* for a Twelve-month, and came to an agreement with the Duke of *Bretagne*, who gave his Daughter to be Married to a Son of hers, named *John*.

Thus the Earl of *Toulouse* was left alone. *Imbert de Beau-jeu* having received a notable re-inforcement, bethought himself, instead of taking the Castles one by one, it would do better to spoil and ruin the whole Country about *Toulouse*, pull down the Houses, root up the Vineyards, and burn the Corn; which so disheartened the *Toulousains*, that both they and their Earl, were forced to submit to what conditions he pleased.

The Treaty was chalked out at *Meaux*, and compleated at *Paris*, the Earl and Deputies of *Toulouse* being present: The Earl was deprived of all his Lands, excepting some little fragments they for meer pity left him. It was order'd they should all devolve to his Daughter *Jane*, who should be Married to *Alphonse* the Kings Brother, into whose custody she was put forthwith; That the Earl should pay Seventeen thousand Marks of Silver, part to the King, some to the Monks of *Cîteaux*, and the rest for a Foundation of Doctors in Divinity at *Toulouse*; That the Walls of that City, and of Thirty more should be demolish'd; for performance whereof he should give Hostages, and in the mean time remain prisoner; That there should be an exact search after Heretiques, at his charge; and that for pennance he should go and make war five years against the *Saracens*.

These Articles Signed, he and those of his company that had been Excommunicated, were at *Notre-dames* of *Paris* upon Good-Friday bare-footed, in their Shirts, to receive Absolution of the Popes Legat. That done, the Earl returned prisoner to the Tower of the *Louvre*, till he had given his Hostages. About the Feast of *Pentecost* the King gave him the Order of Knighthood, and sent him into his own Country. The Legat went with him, and setled the Inquisition, which exercised great severities, and was again the cause of many troubles and Massacres.

The Male-contented could not digest that the Government should be in the hands of two Strangers, a Spanish Woman and an Italian Cardinal; they therefore took up Arms again, drew to their party, *Robert Earl of Dreux*, elder Brother to the Duke of *Bretagne*, and *Philip Earl of Boulogne*, the Kings paternal Uncle, to whom they promised the Crown: so that the King feared a second time to be involved by this conspiracy, and had been surprized, if the Earl of *Champagne* had not run feasonably to him with 300 Horse-men to bring him off.

In Spring the Conspirators turned all their Force against the Earl of *Champagne* and *Brie*. They demanded those Counties of him for *Alix* Queen of *Cyprus*, Daughter of his Uncle *Henry*, who died in the *Levant*; and more than that, called him Traytor, and accused him of having poisoned the deceased King, proffering to convict him by Duel; a reproach that made him so black and loathsome amongst his Vassals, that they joyned in League with his Enemies against him.

1227.

1227.

1228.

1228.

They were
called *Militari*.
1228.

The Count finding so heavy a burthen on his Shoulders, and his City of *Troyes* besieged, implores the assistance of the Queen Regent, who caused the King to march to his relief, and commanded them, if they had any thing to say against the Earl, they should come and require justice upon him in her Court.

But they who would not acknowledge her Regency, as if the Kingdom had been vacant, elected in a private Assembly or Cabal, the Lord de *Cancy* for King, who was in great reputation for his Wisdom and Justice. The Queen Regent having got intelligence, gave immediate notice of it to *Philip* Earl of *Boulogne*, whom they had made believe they would give the Crown to; by this means the took him off from them, then by divers politique contrivances made all their designs vanish, but not their ill intentions.

1228. For a few days afterwards the Duke of *Bretagne*, by their assistance and Councils, took up Arms again, and called the King of *England* to his aid, who landed in *Bretagne* with considerable Forces: but when he saw the King, conducted by the Queen Regent, had taken the *Castile de Belisne au Perche* from the Duke, which was held impregnable: he Shipp'd himself again. The Duke thus abandonned, was constrain'd to betake himself to an agreement.

1229. The very next year he broke it, but not without punishment: the King having taken all his Holds and Places, and gained all his Vassals and Friends, shuts him up in his City of *Nantes*; so that to get out of the Briars, and make the best of a bad bargain, he was forced to render him homage of Allegiance for the Dutchy. The *Bretons*, who pretended they owed but only single Homage, named him, because of his ill doing, *Mau-clerc*, as who should say, *Witless*, or wanting Judgment and Understanding.

Emp.
of Britain II.
Reigned 35
years.
And Frederic
II.

Thibault Earl of *Champagne* was ill rewarded for the good services he had done the Queen Regent. She took in hand the cause of her Cousin *Alix*, and condemned him to pay her Forty thousand Marks of Silver, and fell to the King to raise that Money, the Counties of *Blais*, *Chartres*, *Sancerre*, and the Vicount of *Chastellaudun*.

1230.

After all these disorders, there was a calm and peace for four years, which was only a little disturbed by some tumults, caused by the remainders of the *Albigensis*, and the hurly-burries of the scholars belonging to the University of *Paris*. It was then the fairest Ornament of the Kingdom, and the innumerable numbers of Scholars that flocked thither from all parts of *Europe*, brought great riches to that City, which in a manner made all the other Universities in Christendom submit to it. Now some of them having been ill handled in some scuffle with the Citizens, and not obtaining such satisfaction as they desired, they all resolved to quit *Paris*; not without having first published a great many Songs, and Licentious Poems, which sullied the reputation of the Queen Regent, and Cardinal *Romain* the Popes Legat, who sway'd her. The Duke of *Bretagne* and the King of *England* proffer'd to receive them into their Countries, and to grant them great privileges; but the Kings Council fearing that capital City might be deprived of so great an advantage and benefit, found means to allay their heats, and keep them there.

1231.
and the fol-
lowing.

The Inhabitants of *Marfeller*, and the adjacent Countreys being revolted against *Raimond Berenger*, Earl of *Provence*, called in *Raimond*, Earl of *Toulouse* to Command them, because he was next Heir; For we must know that *Gilbert* Earl of *Provence* and *Nice*, had had two Daughters, *Faidide*, who Married *Alphonso*, Great, Great, Grandfather of *Raimond de Toulouse*, and *Donce* that had married *Raimond Berenger*, Earl of *Bacelonna*, from whom was descended the Earl of *Provence* now mentioned.

He therefore accepted of their Homage, and acted as their Lord, whence follow'd a War that lasted four years between those two Cousins.

This Earl of *Provence* having been harass'd by divers Revolts, and other misfortunes, was at the end of his days, made compleatly happy, by the Marriage of four Daughters he had by his Wife *Beatrix* of *Savoy*, a most Virtuous Princess. For all four of them had the honour to be Married to Kings: *Margret*, who was the eldest, was the most happy, being join'd this year to *Lewis* King of *France*, a Prince that was much greater by his Virtues than his Crown.

1235.

The same year the Earl of *Champagne*, it is not said for what cause, fell again into Rebellion, for which he was punished with the loss of his Cities of *Montreuil-Faut-Tonne*, *Bray* and *Nogent* upon the *Seine*. These losses did not make him much wifer, he peristed still in his foolish passion for the Queen who had ruin'd him, and retired to his Castle of *Provins* to write Verses and Songs, for entertainment of his amorous Dotage.

Never.

Nevertheless he was soon diverted by the death of *Sancho* VIII. called the *Strong*, King of *Navarre*, who dying without any Males, left the Kingdom to him as the next Heir and Son of his Daughter * *Blanch*. So he went and took possession, and transported a great number of Husbandmen from his Lands in *Brie* and *Champagne*, who improved, and made that Countrey very fertile and populous.

The Countrey of *Artois* was erected to an Earldom * *Pairie*, in favour of *Robert* the Kings Brother, on whom his Father had bestow'd it by his Will. Some place this erection in the time of *Philip Augustus*. However it were, I think we may be confident it is the first of that nature.

At the solicitation of Pope *Gregory* (who had as well a quarrel to the Emperor *Frederick's* Forces, his Enemy declar'd, they being in possession of the remainder of the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, as to the *Saracens*) there was a great Crusado of French Lords, over whom the new King of *Navarre* was made Chief. But these Adventurers had no better success than all the rest; for the ill conduct of these new Soldiers of the Cross, and their Divisions, brought the whole Army almost to ruine, and most part of the Officers and Commanders were slain there, or taken prisoners.

Peter, Duke of *Burgundy* died in his return from this Expedition, his only Son *John*, Surnamed *Rufus* succeeded him. The affairs of *Constantinople* were no whit better; the Emperor *Baldwin* comes into *France* to beg assistance against the *Greeks*; and for a great sum of Money, sold the Crown of *Thorus* wherewith our Saviour was Crowned, the Spung, and the Lance, which pierced his Side, to *St. Lewis* the King, who put them into his Treasury of Reliques in the Holy Chappel, which he had purposely built in his own Palace.

It was now about three years that all the Doctors both Seculars and Regulars of the Sacred Faculty of Divinity at *Paris* (which was then almost the only School for that Science, and as it were the perpetual Council of the Gallican Church) had resolv'd the question, and were all agreed upon this judgment in a famous Assembly, and after mature deliberation and discussion, that one and the same Ecclesiastical person could in Conscience hold but one Benefice at one time.

This year 1238. William III. Bishop of *Paris*, held another Assembly of the same Faculty in the Chapter of the *Jacobins*, where it was unanimously concluded, that one could not, without forfeiture of Eternal Happiness, possess two Benefices at the same time, provided one of them were of the value only of Fifteen *Liures* * *parisis*, per annum. There were none but *Philip*, Chancellor of the University, and *Arnold*, afterwards Bishop of *Amiens*, who were obstinately resolv'd to hold their own. The first when he lay on his Death-bed, being earnestly desired, and pressed home by the Bishop *William*, to discharge himself of that burthen which would sink him down to Hell; replied, That he would try whether that were true. How few are to be seen in these days that do not chuse to run the same hazard, or are not troubled that they cannot have the opportunity of such a Trial? But it does not appear so great a risk to them, since the Popes give Dispensations.

* Each Liver
Paris, is 1
about 2 s.
6 d. sterling.

The quarrels between Pope *Gregory* IX. and the Emperor *Frederic* growing hot, to an extremity of Outrages on either side. *Gregory* sent to *St. Lewis* King of *France*, to proffer him the Empire for his Brother *Robert*, Earl of *Artois*. The Lords assembled by the King, upon a proposition so important, did not approve that violent proceeding, and said it was sufficient for *Robert*, that he was Brother to a King, who was more excellent in Dignity and Nobility, than any Emperor whatever.

The *Albigensis* could not submit themselves to the Orders of the Inquisition; *Trincavel*, Son of the Vicount de *Beziers*, and five or six Lords of the Countrey, putting themselves at the head of them, they seized upon *Carcaassonne*, and some other places, and ran into some parts belonging to the King, in hostile manner. He presently sent some Forces thither, Commanded by *John* Earl of *Beaumont*, who drove them out from *Carcaassonne*, and besieged them in *Mont-real*: where after they had held some time, they made their capitulation, by means of the Earls of *Fois* and *Toulouse*.

The old de la *Montagne*, so they named the Prince of the *Assissins*, a People that occupied the mountainous Canton of *Syria*, had dispatched two of his Murderers into *France* to kill the King: but soon after, I cannot say by what motive, he repented, and countermanded them by some others; who before they could find them out, advertised the King to have a care of himself.

This old de la *Montagne* bred up great numbers of young *Tombis*, in pleasant and delicious Palaces, and the hopes of an Eternal Felicity in the other World, if they obey'd his Commands blindfold; and to make them the more capable, and fit to execute his bloody Will in all Countreys, he made them learn all Languages.

The

1239.

The interests of the Pope and the Emperor were not at all compatible together; and therefore *Frederick* and *Honorius*, and then *Gregory IX.* who succeeded *Honorius*, fell necessarily into discords, and afterwards into mortal hatred. *Gregory* lets fly the Thunder-bolts of the Church against *Frederick*, and his Legat having called the Prelats of *France* together at *Meaux*, order'd several of them to go to *Rome* to hold a Council, where they pretended to degrade that Emperor.

He complain'd to the King, desir'd him not to permit his Bishops to go out of *France*; and his desire not taking effect, he caus'd them to be way-laid, and watch'd at Sea, and having taken them, distributed them in divers prisons. Then in his turn, he for a while slighted the Kings intercession for their release; which thing made some alteration in that good correspondence, that for some time had continued between *France* and the Empire.

1240.

In the year 1240. The King having assembled the flower of the Barons, and the Knights of his Kingdom at *Saumur*, gave the Girdle of Knighthood to his Brother *Alphonso*, (whose Marriage had a little before been compleated with *Jane*, Daughter and Heiress of the Earl of *Toulouse*) and also gave him the Counties of *Poitou* and *Auvergne*, and all that had been conquer'd in *Languedoc* upon the *Albigensis*.

1241.

"These years the *Tartars* made cruel irruptions: amongst others, one in *Hungary*, under the Command of *Bab*, who was one of their Generals; and one in *Russia*, *Poland*, and *Silesia*, whither they were conducted by another of their Generals, who was named *Pera*.

"These *Barbarians* were *Scythians*, Originaries, between the *Caspian* Sea, and *Mount Imaur*. Some make them descended from the Ten Tribes of the *Hebrews*, who were transferr'd by the King of *Affrica* into those Countreys, and derive their Name from the *Hebrew* Word, which signifies *Forfeaken*. Others derive it from the River *Tatar*, which ran thorough their Countrey, and say it was given to the whole Nation of the *Mogles*, compos'd of seven principal People, of which they made one: They were *Tributaries*, and as we say, *Slaves* to a Christian *Norman* Prince, whose Kingdom was in the *Indies*; he was called *Prester-John*. But *Cingis*, or *Tzingsis-Chan* set that Nation free about the end of the last age, ruin'd the States of *Prester-John*, and founded a very great Kingdom out of it; from whence divers Colonies went forth and settled in other Countreys * even in some parts of *Europe*.

* Tartars of
Precep.
or Crim.
Tartars along
the Volga, &c.

The Earl of *Toulouse* sought out all means, underhand, to repair the shameful Treaty he had made with the King: and therefore he consult'd, and contriv'd with *James* King of *Aragon*, who was come to *Montpellier*, and with the Earl of *Provence*, though he were the Kings Father-in-law, to Dissolve his Marriage with *Sanchia*, the *Aragonians* Aunt, upon pretence of Parentage, that he might Marry the Daughter of the Earl of *Provence*, and that his Daughter *Jane*, whom he had perforce given to the Earl of *Poitou*, might not be his Heiress. An example that proves, to any that might doubt, that amongst Great ones, Honour, Parentage, Alliance and Confidence does easily give way and stoop to their Interest and Humour.

Hugh, Count de la *Marche*, to his misfortune, had Married *Isabella*, the Widow of King *John*, who had formerly ravish'd her from him. This Womans pride would not suffer him to do Homage to *Alphonso*, the new Earl of *Poitou*; the King undertook to compel him, and on a sudden took several of his Towns, and demolish'd them; amongst others, *Fontenay*, where his Brother *Alphonso* was wounded with an Arrow.

The King of *Englands* assilance in behalf of his Mother, was too slow; he and his Brother *Richard* landed in the River of *Burdoune*. The Earl de la *Marche* had assur'd them, that all *Poitou* would rise and joyne with them upon their arrival: but as his promise fail'd, their courage fail'd too; the King falls upon them at the Bridge of *Taillebourg*, fighting desperately in person, making them retreat as far as *Xaintes*, and from thence to *Blaye*. The Earl and his proud Dame, being forced to forget the had been a Queen, found no safety but at the Kings Feet. They experienced his Goodness was as great as his Courage; and although he had suborn'd Rascals to Murder him, who had been discover'd, and, punish'd, he pardon'd both her and her Husband, keeping only two or three of their Places in his hands, till he was better assur'd of their Obedience.

"1249

303

"*Italy* was horribly shatter'd by the Factions of the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*. The First held for the Pope, the others for the Emperour.

"The jealousie betwixt the *Franciscans* and the *Dominicans*, which had its Birth almost with their Orders, encreas'd likewise proportionably with their growth; inasmuch that the Pope, who stood in need of them, and the King *St. Lewis*, who cherish'd them, found it no little trouble to distribute their favours equally, and hold the balance so even, that they should have no cause to take advantage of each other.

"But both of them took much over all other Religions Orders, whom they despis'd as more imperfect, and not only set a value upon themselves for their Divinity, wherein sometimes they were so meely notional, and over-subtil as it appear'd, proach'd very near to error, but likewise took upon them the functions of ordinary Pastors, drawing the gifts of Alms, pious Legacies, and Burials of rich people to their own Mills, concerning themselves in the directing of Consciences, and the administration of the Sacraments, to the prejudice of the Hierarchy, who from that time hath ever been contending with them to maintain her authority.

The Holy See having been vacant near twenty Months, *Innocent IV.* was elected. He was thought to be a friend to *Frederick*; but whether that Emperour had not us'd him well, or what else it were, he follow'd the steps of his Predecessors, and began to quarrel with him upon the same score of differences. The feud grew so hot, that *Frederick* being the stronger in *Italy*, *Innocent* went thence, that he might with more safety let his Thunder against him, and came into *France*, where being arrived in December this year 1244. he called a Council at *Lyon*, for the year following.

In the year 1228. the Emperour *Frederick* being constrained by the threats of Pope *Gregory*, was gone into the Holy-Land, where by his Reputation rather than his Sword, he had so contriv'd it, that the Sultan had given him up the City of *Jerusalem*, but dismantled, with part of the Holy-Land. The Pope not satisfied with that agreement, had afterwards procur'd other Adventurers to go, who broke the Truce aforesaid, to the great damage of the Christians; who being mightily weaken'd, it happen'd Ann. 1244. that the *Chorasmians*, a People drove out of *Persia* by the *Tartars*; others say of *Arabia*, fell upon the Holy-Land, laid it all waste, ruin'd all the Holy places of *Jerusalem*, and drowned them in the Blood of Christians.

This news was brought to *St. Lewis* whilst he was fallen sick at *Pontoise*, towards the end of December. All those that were about him, despairing of his Life, he made a vow to God, if he restor'd him to health, that he would go in person to make war against those Infidels: and in truth, being recover'd, he took the Cross from the hands of the Legat, but could not so soon accomplish his pious design.

The Council of *Lyon* was open'd the Monday after *St. John Baptists* Feast, in the Abbey de *St. Just*; and from thence transferr'd to the Cathedral Church of *St. John*. The Emperour *Baldwin*, the Earl *Raimond* de *Toulouse*, and *Berenguer* de *Provence* were present there, these two soliciting for the dispensation, that *Raimond* might Marry with *Beatrice*, the youngest Daughter of *Berenguer*; but the Kings of *France*, and of *England*, and *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, who had Married the other three Sisters, hindred the Grant of it.

The Emperour *Frederick* having quitted his Affairs of *Italy* to come there, and having in the meantime sent his Ambassadors thither before, received tidings when he was got to *Turin*, that the Pope and the Fathers had Excommunicated him, with Candles extinguish'd, and degraded him for divers things impos'd upon him: amongst others, That he detain'd the Church-Lands, That he had intelligence with the Saracens; That he err'd in divers Articles of Faith.

After this deposition all his Affairs crumbled to nothing in an instant. The *Milaneses* beat him, the other Christian Princes took an aversion for him as an impious person; even the Germans, (that they may not reproach the French for contributing to ruin the Empire) rejected him, and for King of the Romans, elected *Henry VII.* Landgrave of *Hesse* and *Turingia*; when as the King in an interview he had with the Pope at *Cingis*, endeavour'd to make up the breach, by an agreement betwixt this unfortunate Emperour, and the Roman Church, by virtue of a Procuracion he had from him.

This year 1245. died *Raimond Berenguer*, Earl of *Provence*, having by his Testament constituted *Beatrice* his fourth Daughter, his Heiress. *James* King of *Aragon* caus'd some Forceto march into *Provence*, to secure so good a father for his Son, but the King of *France* did not intend to let a stranger run away with such a prize; He

1243.

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1245.

He therefore drove the *Aragonians* out of that Country, and by consent of the Daughter, as well as her Mother, and her Uncles the Earl of Savoy, and the Arch-Bishop of Lyons, he so order'd it, that she was promised to her Brother *Charles*, who was Earl of *Anjou*. The Marriage was not consummated till the year following.

1245. The same year on the first of December, died also *Jane*, Countess of Flanders without having had any Children by her Second Husband *Thomas*, Earl of Savoy, no more then by her first, who was *Ferrand* of Portugal; her Sister *Margaret* succeeded her.

This *Margaret* had had Children by two Husbands, *John* and *Baldwin* by *Bowhard* d' *Avesne* her first Husband, and *William*, *John* and *Guy*, by *William de Dampierre* her Second. These pretended, that the Sons of *Bowhard* ought not to inherit, because it had been discover'd that he was in Holy Orders when he married their Mother; and for that reason the Marriage was declared null.

1246. Those of the first Bed observing the Mother favoured the others, had recourse to the King. He sent both parties to a Parliament at *Péronne*, and therein it was ordained, that those of the first Bed should have *Hainault*, and the others should have *Flanders*.

1246. The pretended King of the Romans, *Henry Landgrave* of Hesse, being dead in Battle, or of sickness; the Germans, who persisted obstinately, under the pretence of Piety, to ruin the dignity of the Empire; elected the year following, *William* Earl of Holland, potent in Friends and Alliances, whilst *Frederic* was struggling with his misfortunes, and his enemies in Italy.

1247. and 48. The Duke of Burgundy and some French Lords were Leagued with him to defend the Liberties of their Countreys, against the usurpations of the Court of Rome; being supported by this League, he leaves Lombardy to come to Lyons, whether to invest the Pope, or to mollify him by his Prayers: but he was recalled by a blow the *Milanese* had given his bastard Son *Lewis*, whom he had left in Parma.

These Affairs, and the great preparations for War, detained the King till the month of May of this year, from accomplishing the Vow he had made three years before. It cannot be written in Characters so great as it deserves, how this pious King being persuaded that Sovereigns are responsible by Laws, both Divine and Humane, for all the miscarriages of their Officers, caused it to be published thorow all his Kingdom, that whoever had suffer'd any wrong or damage by any belonging to him, should make it known, and he would give them satisfaction out of his own Estate; which was performed punctually.

That done, and having taken leave of the Holy Martyr, and given the Regency to the Queen his Mother, he quitted Paris, being conducted out of the City by all the Orders in Procession: He took his two Brothers *Robert* and *Charles* with him, the Queen his Wife, theirs, and an infinite number of Princes, Lords, Prelats, and Gentlemen. He received the Popes Benediction in his passage thorough Lyons, thence he descended by the *Rhône*, and going on board at *Aigues-mortes* in Languedoc, the 25th of August, set sail two days after, and landed happily in Cyprus the 25th of September, where he past the Winter, to wait for the rest of his Forces and Ammunitions.

In this Island he received at the beginning of December, Letters from *Ercathay*, one of the chief Chams of the Tartars, and soon after arrived Ambassadors from the King of Armenia. *Ercathay* sent him word how the Great Cham, and a good number of his Captains had embraced Christianity, and that he had sent him with a great Army to destroy the Sultan of *Baldac*, or *Bagdat*, the most potent of all the Mahometan Princes. The Armenian Ambassadors assured him that this news was true, and that their King had vanquished, with the assistance of the Tartars, the Sultan of Iconia or *Cogay*, to whom they were tributary, and cast off the yoke of those Infidels.

1249. The Saturday after the Ascension, the Holy King having drawn all his Men together from their Winter Quarters in the Island of Cyprus, and received a new reinforcement, brought him by *Robert* Duke of Burgundy, came the fourth of June into the Road before *Damiata* in Egypt. The Saracens expected him in good order upon the Shore; he landed in despite of them, and made them give way. They being well beaten, to great a fear seized upon them, that the next day they forsook the Town, after they had set fire to it in several places, and carried off in Boats beyond the River *Nilus*, all their Families, and the richest of their Goods.

The overflowing of the Nile, which infallibly begins some days before the Summer Solstice, hindered the Army from going on at the same time, to take the City of Grand-Cairo, and kept them almost till the midst of Autumn, in so much idleness, as brought them into all manner of debauchery and dissoluteness.

In the Month of September, *Arbous* the Kings Brother arrived with new Adventurers of the Crois. *Raimond* his Father-in-law, who had accompanied him as far as *Aigues-Mortes*, where he took Shipping with his Wife, died upon his way home in the Town of *Millau* in *Rouergue*, giving all the demonstrations of a hearty Repentance. He was the last of the Earls of *Toulous*, who had Ruled over the greatest part of *Languedoc* above 350 years. His Daughter *Jane* being deceased without any Child by her Husband *Arbous*, his Lordships were re-united to the Crown, in pursuance of the Treaty made in the year One thousand two hundred twenty eight.

The 26th of November, the pious King parted from *Damiata*, and marched against the Saracens, who had drawn all their Forces about the City of *Masoura*. He encamped on an arm of the *Nilus*, formerly called *Canopus*, and in those times the *Raschit*, which was not foordable; whilst this was doing, their Sultan, named *Melidun* happened to dye, and till his Son could come, they gave the Command to the most valiant of his Emirs or Satrapes, who was *Farchardin*.

In fine, the French having passed over the *Raschit*, gained in two several days two Battles against the Infidels, wherein St. Lewis, animated with a *Sampson*-like Spirit and Zeal, did prodigious acts of Valour; but in the first which was fought in February, his Brother *Robert* was slain, pursuing too inconsiderately the flying enemy thorough the City of *Masoura*.

The Christian Army being Encamped near to *Pharamia*, to refresh themselves, *Melec-Sala*, the Son of *Meledun*, arrives with another Army which he had obtained of the several Sultans of his Religion, wherewith he so beset the Christians, stopping up all passages by which they were to receive Provisions, that hunger, and the distemper, now call'd the *Scurvy* or *Scorbut*, reduc'd them to a miserable condition. In this extremity it was resolv'd to lead them back to *Damiata*; but it proved too late, the Army was utterly defeated in their march, and the King taken prisoner with his other two Brothers *Arbous* and *Charles*, and almost all the Officers; there were but very few of his who escaped from captivity or death. This misfortune hapned the 5th day of April.

To this grief of the good King's, the Barbarian Conquerours added an outrage, which touched him yet more sensibly, than either the loss of his Army or his Liberty. They scourged a Crucifix before him, defiled it with spitting upon it, and dragg'd it thorough the Mire. However, the Sultan *Melec-Sala* took a particular care of his person, so that he restor'd him to his health again. He also agreed a ten years Truce with him; but thereupon, being murder'd by his Emirs, the King was likewise in great danger of perishing in the same storm of rage: notwithstanding him whom they elected for Sultan (he was named *Turquimir*) preserved him, and confirm'd the Treaty.

By those Articles they gave both him and all the Christian Captives their liberty, with leave to carry away with them all their equipage: they agreed to a Truce for Ten years, and left them all they held beside in the Holy Land, upon condition they surrendered *Damiata*, and should let free the Saracen Slaves, and give them 400000. *Liures* ready Money. It is remarkable, that this generous King not enduring they should set a price upon his Person, would needs have that sum to be the ransom for the rest, and the City of *Damiata* for his; and having notice that upon payment of the said Moneys, the Saracens had mis-told, and taken less than was agreed by a great deal, he sent them the remainder immediately.

It is a Fable that he should give a consecrated Host to those Barbarians: for security of his Word: He would have exposed himself a thousand times to death, rather than have deliver'd up his God, to those impious enemies. It is true indeed, that they afterwards coined Moneys, with a Pix stamped upon it, and the Sacred Host over it, and that the same Figures were wrought in some pieces of their Tapistries, and to this day there are the Figures of some Chalices Graved or Carved about the Walls of *Damascus*, or *Daman*; perhaps they meant to let the World know by these means, and preserve the memory of it to future ages, what Victories they had obtained against the Christians, and how they had led their God in Triumph.

1250.

The Sum paid, and *Damiata* restored, the King and Princes were deliver'd, and embarking upon some Gallies belonging to *Genova*, landed at the Port of *Acon*: but for the rest of the prisoners, such as were sick, being in great numbers, were knock'd at head, and the remainder constrain'd to pay a new Ranfom, or to renounce.

* Or Fifteen score.

"It hath been said, that the *Barbarians* put out the Eyes of Three hundred Gentlemen; and that in memory of those Noble Martyrs, that *St. Lewis* some years afterwards, Founded the Hospital de * *Quinze-vingts* at *Paris*; but this is no whit mentioned in the Grant or Writings for this Foundation; and I find far before this time, that a *Norman Duke* built one of the very same sort at *Rouen*, only it was for maintenance but of One hundred blind People.

Of above 30000 Fighting Men who follow'd him in this Expedition, there were hardly Six thousand remaining, too scanty a number for any Enterprize. Notwithstanding upon the Christians earnest intreaties who belonged to those Countreys, and because he knew those *Barbarians* would break the Truce as soon as ever he were gone, he resolv'd to stay some time; and in the interim sent his Brothers *Alphonso* and *Charles* home into *France*.

1250.

"Whilst the Emperor *Frederic* was again drawing his Sword to be revenged on the Pope, he died at *Firenzole* the 13th of *December*, perhaps stifled or poison'd by *Mainfroy*, one of his *Barfard* Sons. He left the Empire and *Germany* to his eldest Son *Conrad*, to *Frederic* his Grandfon, issue of his eldest Son *Henry*, the Dukedom of *Austria*, and to the above-named *Mainfroy*, the Principality of *Tarentum*. But all that Race was extinct in a few years, for having, say some, opposed the Holy See.

1251.

"When Pope *Innocent* had heard of the death of *Frederic*, he went from *Lyons*, where he had staid Six years and a half, to return again to *Rome*.

1251.

Upon the news of the pious Kings imprisonment, a certain Apostate Monk, by name *Master Hungary*, pretending, and affirming he had a particular Mission from God, went picking up all the young Countrey fellows over the whole Kingdom, to go, said they, and deliver their Prince, and the Holy Land. These new Brothers of the Cross were called * *Pajngreuxs*, i. e. *Shepherds*, or *Graziers*.

* Pastors.

The Bandits, Robbers, Heretiques, and all manner of wicked rascally people lifted themselves in this crew; who took the liberty to commit all manner of disorders, especially against the Clergy, and against the *Jews*. The Inhabitants of *Berry*, with the Nobility, fell upon them and routed them; some of them were hanged, afterwards this rabble was dispers'd and vanish'd to nothing.

1252.

Queen *Blanch* afflicted for the absence of the good King her dear Son, and for the sickness of her other Son *Alphonso*, who seemed incurable, ended her days at *Melun* the Six and twentieth of *November*, aged above Sixty and five years. Her Son having founded the Monastery of *Maubuisson*, of the Order de *Cistaux* for her; She was conveyed thither in great pomp, upon the Shoulders of the chief Nobility of the Court, sitting in a Golden Chair, her Face bare, being clothed in her Royal Robes over her Religious Habit of that Order, which she had taken some time before her death, being besides, and long before that time, of the third Order of *St. Francis*, according to the Devotion of those times.

Some modern Historians are much in doubt, whether he were elder or younger then *Berenguelle*, who was Married to *Alphonso*, King of *Leon*. This had the Guardianship of her Brother *Henry*, and that Prince being dead, succeeded to the Kingdom of *Castille*; but some have believed that it was by Usurpation upon *Blanch* her Sister, who was then a great way off from that Countrey: and they go upon this ground, that amongst the Records, they find Letters from nine *Castilian* Lords to *Lewis VIII.* in which they own and acknowledge his Son for their * King, and say, that *Alphonso IX.* King of *Castille*, had declared by his Will, that in case his Son *Henry* died without any Heirs, the Children of *Blanch* were to succeed by right of Inheritance: but to tell the truth, it does not follow from thence, that *Blanch* was the eldest; it is more probable that these discontented Lords grounded it upon this, that *Alphonso* and *Berenguelle* being of kin, within the degrees prohibited, Pope *Innocent III.* had declared their Marriage to be null, and the Children that should proceed from that conjunction * incestuous, *Barfards*, and incapable to succeed: So that upon their exclusion, those of *Blanch* came to the succession of *Alphonso IX.* their Grand-father: and this is it that gave a Right to the Kings of *France*, which they held a long time to the Kingdom of *Castille*.

Some

1253.

"Some Months before the death of *Blanch*, there arose a sharp contest between the Secular Doctors of *Theology* at *Paris*, whereof *William de St. Amour* was as it were the Head; and on the other part the Orders Mendicants of Preaching Friars, and Friars *Minors*: because those Monks as the others, reproached them, were so far from submitting to the Statutes and Discipline of the University, that they aimed to make themselves the Masters.

"The thing was oblatively debated five or six years together, *St. Amour* got the better at *Paris*, but the Dispute being transferr'd to *Rome*, he was worsted, and his Book was condemned, not as Heretical, but as scandalizing those good Fathers. They had great credit in that Court, and obtained great Privileges with so much the more facility; as their trampling on the Laws increased the power of the Doctors, and diminished that of the Bishops, to whose prejudice they were granted.

"About the beginning of this quarrel, *Robert de Sorbonne*, Doctor in Divinity, and very highly esteemed by *St. Lewis*, built the Colledge of the *1000 Masters* of *SORBONNE*; under which Name the Vulgar are wont to comprehend all the Faculty of *Theology* of *Paris*. In effect, it is the most renowned of all those Colleges.

In the year 1253. died *Thibault*, who was the Fifth of that Name, as Earl of *Champagne*, but only the First, as King of *Navarre*. His Successor in all his Estates, was *Thibault II.* or VI. aged Fourteen years, under the Guardianship of his Mother.

1253.

Conrad the Son of *Frederic* did not find himself strong enough in *Germany*, to cope against *William* Earl of *Holland*, pretended King of the *Romans*: he was gone into *Italy* in the year 1251. and some time after, having unhappily caused his Nephew *Frederic* to be strangled, had seized upon his Treasure, and upon his Kingdom of *Sicilia*. But this year 1254. was himself poison'd by *Mainfroy*; to whom, not knowing he was the Author of his death, he left the Regency of the Kingdom, and the Guardianship of his Son *Conrad* the Young, vulgarly named *Conradin*, aged but Three years.

1254.

It was near Six years since *St. Lewis* the King went out of *France*, and Three years and a half that he had been in the Holy Land, visiting the Holy Places with an incredible Devotion, fortifying the Towns, and reviving the courage and affairs of the Christians in those Countreys, as much as possibly he could.

1254.

France destitute of any Pilot by the death of his Mother, most earnestly desired his return. He therefore took Shipping at the Port of *Acon*, or *Ptolemais*, on *St. Marks* Eve, and landed at *Marseilles* the Eleventh day of *July*.

1254.

The King of *England*, who was this year come into *Gascogne*, desiring to avoid the long voyage by Sea, obtained leave of the good King, to cross thorough *France*, and take Shipping at *Boulogne*. He met the King at *Chartres*, who from thence took him along to *Paris*, where he Treated him Four days together with all the magnificence imaginable. The joy and splendor was the greater, because the four Sisters, Daughters of the Earl of *Provence*, the eldest Married to the King of *France*, the Second to the King of *England*, the Third to *Richard* his Brother, and the Fourth to *Charles*, Earl of *Anjou*, met all there together.

1254.

"*William* Earl of *Holland*, and King of the *Romans*, making War against the *Friezenlanders*, who were Rebels to him, had lately been knocked on the Head by certain Peasants hid amongst the Reeds, when his Horse was sunk into the Snow and Ice. The following year being 1256. the Electors basely selling the Honour of the German Nation, and their Votes, to Foreign Princes, gave the Empire some of them to *Richard*, Brother to the King of *England*, others to *Alphonso X.* King of *Castille*. *Richard* went into *Germany*, and sojourn'd there above two years, having been Crowned at *Aix la Chapelle* in the year 1247. *Alphonso* was no way knowing to them but by his Money, and both of them disputed their Right and Title before the Pope for divers years, without ever coming to any agreement.

Emp. *Alphonso IX.* and *Richard*, and *Alphonso*, competitors.

1255.

The Son of *Buchard d'Avignon*, cast out by *Guy* Earl of *Flanders*, and their Brothers of the Second Bed by the same Mother, took Sanctuary with *William* Earl of *Holland*, who had vanquish'd *Guy*, and taken him prisoner with one of his Brothers. The Mother to be reveng'd, had called in *Charles*, Earl of *Anjou*, and given him the enjoyment of *Hainault* and *Valenciennes* during his life.

Hereagainst those Countreys easily enough from the *Hollander*, because he found him fully enough employ'd against the *Frisons*, where he was kill'd, as we have related. His Son *Florent* who succeeded him, set the two Brothers at liberty for a great Ranfom; and *St. Lewis* obliged his Brother *Charles* to restore *Hainault* for

* That is, *St. Lewis*.

* Vide the Letters of *Innocent III.* Printed at *Colen*.

a sum of Money, as likewise the parties concern'd, to stand to the award he had made in *Anno* 1246.

1256.

There being an universal calme thorough all his Kingdom, he set himself upon the regulating it by good and wholesome Laws, the banishing from it all violence and oppression, the instructing others by his good examples and by all manner of just and Holy Works, undertaking the protection of the Weak, the Widows, and Orphans, providing with all his Power the advancement of Religion, and the Service of God, providing for the nourishment of the Poor, the Marriage of decay'd Gentlemen, the maintenance of the Church, and above all, the ease of the People, by the revocation of all Tolls, and extraordinary Subsidies and Taxes, which the malignity, or necessity of former times had introduced and imposed.

The Titles of the Chamber of *Accounts* which have been shewed us by Mr. *P. Herouval*, to whose care the History of our Kings of the Third Race is indebted for the greatest part of the new discoveries made known in these last times, tells us, amongst many other rare and curious things, that this, truly, most Christian King, spared nothing for the Conversion of Infidels: that for this end he took up all the Jewish Children that were Fatherless, or in want, caused them to be bred up all the Christian Faith, and allowed them two, four, six Silver Deniers a day for their Dyet or Keeping, which was paid out of his own Demesnes, and pass'd in Dowry to their Widdows, and oftentimes to their Children; that these were called the *Baptized*, as those who embraced Christianity being of age, were called the *Converted*; That the Duke of *Burgundy*, the King of *England*, and some others, practis'd the like in their Countreys, which brought over a world of *Jews* from their obstinacy; and that the Kings his successors did imitate him therein, till the Reign of King *John*.

We have by the same means likewise learn'd that when *St. Lewis* made a journey any where, there was always a Prelate, which was ordinarily the Arch-Deacon of *Paris*, and a Lord of some note that follow'd some days after the Court, and made inquiry at all the Lodgings, and in all the Countreys and Places they had pass'd, what wrong or spoil they might have done to the Landlords, or to their Lands; and the just King made present reparation and satisfaction with his own Money, without any complaint made by the party aggrieved; so far was it from suffering them to spend and squander away what they had in Fees and Charges to get Justice done to them.

1256.

The City of *Marseille* did not give that obedience to *Charles* as he expected and desired, wherefore he block'd them up with his Army, and brought them to that low condition by Famine, that they surrendred at discretion to this merciles Prince, who caus'd many of the principal Citizens to be beheaded.

1256.

Three sorts of People of Italy, the Venetians, the Genouese, and the Pisans, were become mighty powerful in the Levant Seas, and for that reason were grown very jealous of each other. The two first having each of them their several quarters; and their Magistrates in the City of *Acon* or *Acre*, fell to quarrelling with each other, upon some private pique, and went together by the ears, to their mutual destruction; which completed the ruine of the Western Christians in the East.

1256.

In an enter-view at *Mompellier*, the two Kings *Lewis* of France, and *James* of Aragon, Treated the Marriage of *Philip*, then Second Son to King *Lewis*, but who in two years after became the eldest, with *Isabella*, younger Daughter of *James*, to whom her Father gave in Dowry, the Counties of *Carcassonne* and *Beziers*.

1258.

After this they agreed about their other differences in this manner, *St. Lewis* yielded up to the *Aragonians*, the Sovereignty which France had still held upon *Catalonia*, *Barcelona*, *Roussillon*, *Empurs*, *Urgel*, and *Geronde*, from the time the French first conquer'd those Countreys of the Saracens. And on the other hand, the *Aragonians* yielded to him all the right he pretended, whether by Marriage of his progenitors, or otherwise by any Title whatsoever, to the Counties of *Razès*, *Narbonne*, *Nismes*, *Alby*, *Foix*, *Cabors*; and other parts in *Languedoc*, held in Under-Fief of the Crown of France: as also the Rights he had in *Provence*, to the Counties of *Forcalquier* and *Arles*, and to the City of *Marseille*.

1258.

The English had still a very passionate desire to recover *Normandy*, and the other Countreys they had lost in France: and if *Richard* could have fixt himself well in Germany, he and his Brother *Henry* might have attack'd France very freely on both sides. The pious King was not ignorant of it, but he knew likewise that *Henry* was so dangerously engaged in a quarrel with his Barons, that it would be acie to content him with a little, and even to oblige him to an acknowledgment; and therefore

1259.

fore the business having been stated by the Popes Legats, the King of *England* pass'd over into France, together with his Wife, his Brothers and his Children, and being arriv'd at *Paris*, confirm'd the Treaty.

The substance of it was, That he, his Sons, Brothers and Successors, should for ever renounce all claim to *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, *Touraine*, and *Poitou*; and that the King gave a great sum of Money to *Henry*, and releas'd to him and his, that part of *Guyenne* beyond the *Garonne*, and on this side *Limousin* and *Perigord*, upon condition, to do Homage-Liege to the Kings of France, and take place amongst his Peers, in quality of Duke of *Guyenne*.

Immediately upon this, the King of *England* does this Homage, and the eldest Son of France hapning to dye, he was at his Funeral, and helpt to bear his Corps upon his own Shoulders, with the other Lords, part of the way from *Paris* to *St. Denis*.

"In the year 1260. a new and strange heat of Zeal inspired many Christian people, which was to whip themselves in publique with small Cords, or with Thongs of Leather. These whipters were called the *Devots*, and afterwards they were named the *Klagellants*. This Phrensie begun in the City of *Perugia* * in *Tuscany*, by the example and Preaching of a Hermit, named *Reynier*, spread it self even into *Poland*, travell'd as far as *Greece*, and in the end degenerated into Superstition and Heresies.

1260.

* Perugia, or Perugia.

"In the month of July, of the year 1261. a Lieutenant to *Michael Palaeologus* VIII. of that name, Emperour of *Greece*, who returned from making a War against *Michael the Despot* * of *Epirus*, made himself Master of *Constantinople*, getting entrance by a hole under the Walls of the Town, discover'd to him by some Traitors; a thing of great importance, which he effected the more easily, because the Emperour *Baldwin* was abroad, having carried his Naval force to besiege a little City upon the *Black Sea*, or *Pontus Euxinus*.

1261.

* Lord Governor.

"Thus was it that *Constantinople* fell again into the hands of the *Greeks*, from whom about two hundred years afterwards, it fell under the Tyranny of the *Turks*. The *Latins* had kept this fragment of the Eastern Empire, about Seven and fifty years, and as it had begun with a *Baldwin*, it ended with a Prince of the same name.

Emp. Michael VIII, and Richard, or Alphonso, 1262.

The *Venetians* who had a great interest in this loss, put a mighty strong Fleet to Sea, wherewith they Commanded the whole Archipelago, and reduced *Constantinople* to such freight, that *Manuel* was upon the point to abandon it. But the *Greeks* in hatred to the *Venetians*, made a League with him, and relieved him, notwithstanding the intreaties of all the Christian Princes, and the Popes Excommunications. The Emperour *Baldwin* yet held for some time after, the Island of *Euboea* or *Negropont*.

The bastard *Mainfroy*, not content to have usurp'd the Kingdom of *Sicily*, without consent of the Holy See, domineer'd over the Pope, and the Countreys belonging to the Church most strangely; Inasmuch that *Alexander* IV. had offer'd that Kingdom to the King of *England*: Son *Edmund*, who had accepted it; and to this end his Father had laid so many Imposts and Taxes upon the People, that most of them made a League against him, and were revolted.

Urban IV. Successor to *Alexander*, having caus'd the Crusado against *Mainfroy* to be Preached, stirr'd up some French Lords to go into Italy, who at the very first, forced the pallages of *Lombardy*, and beat the Saracen Soldiers, whom *Mainfroy* entertained in his Service; but soon after, their Pay falling short, they came back into France, leaving the Pope more in the Briers than ever.

1262.

The better to fortifie himself against his implacable wrath, *Mainfroy* contract'd Alliance with *James* III. King of *Aragon*, giving his Daughter in Marriage to *Peter* his eldest Son, who disdain'd not the Match, because it gave him approaching hopes of having the Kingdom of *Sicily*; *Mainfroy* having no Male-Children. In effect, it is by this means, the Kings of *Aragon* have attain'd it, and they must needs own they hold their Right from a Bastard, an Usurper, and Excommunicated person.

1263.

The pious King *Lewis* did not understand this false policy, which has quite other Maxims then are practis'd, taught, or allowed by Christianity, and natural Justice. And for this reason it was, that he endeavour'd with all his power, to decide the quarrels between his neighbours, and not to foment them; with this spirit of Charity, he labour'd so happily to compose the business between the Barons of *England*, of whom *Simon Monford* Earl of *Leicester* was Head, with their King, that they submitted to what he should ordain. He calls his Parliament for this purpose at

1263.

Amiens.

Amenius, and pronounced the Sentence in presence of King Henry: However the Barons found some difficulties and exceptions, and would not abide by it.

Infomuch, that the troubles continuing, the Pope sent to revoke the gift of the Kingdom of *Sicily*, which he had made to *Edmund* the King of *England's* Brother, since he could not pursue it, and invested *Charles*, Earl of *Anjou*, Brother of *St. Lewis*. His Wives vanity, which made her greedily long to have the Title of Queen, as well as her other Sisters, inclined and persuaded him to accept of it.

1264. "It hapned this year 1264, in a Village near *Orvieto*, that the Sacred Host cast forth Blood upon the Corporal, or fine Linnen, wherein the Sacrament is put, to the vorth the incredulity of the Priest that celebrated the Mass. Pope *Urban* satisfied of the truth of this Miracle, instituted the Feast and Procession of the Holy Sacrament, to be solemnized the Thursday after the *Octave of Whitsunday*. *St. Thomas Aquinas*, who was then Professor in *Theology* at *Orvieto*, composed the Office for it.

"*Urban IV.* being dead at *Perusia* the third of *October*, the Cardinals after a vacancy of Four Months, elected the Cardinal *Guy the Gros*, a native of the Province of *Languedoc*, who had been Married before he entred into Holy Orders. He took the name of *Clement IV.* amongst his Successors: He made a protestation at his first though very little imitated by his Successors: He made a protestation at his first coming to the See, that he would advance none of his kindred; and so exactly did he keep his word, that of three Prelates which his Brother had in possession, he obliged him to quit two; and far from Marrying his Daughters to great Lords, as he might well have done, he gave them such small portions, that they chose rather to make themselves Nuns.

"Towards the end of the Month of *July*, about the beginning of the night, a Comet was observed towards the *West*, and some while after, a little before break of day, it appeared in the *East*, pointing its tail *Westward*. It was visible till the end of *September*, lasting two Months and a half.

1265. *Clement IV.* upon his advancement to the Holy See, ratified the Election his predecessor had made of *Charles of France* for the Kingdom of *Sicily*, obtained of *St. Lewis*, a Tenth of all the Clergy of his Kingdom for him, and lent him all the Money he could scrape together, having for that purpose engaged the Revenue of the Churches in *Rome*.

1265. *Charles* with this assistance, with the Kings help, and his Wives great care, who fold all her Jewels to raise Soldiers, which she cul'd and chose for the bravest; got a good Army on foot to go into *Italy* by Land, and in the mean time put to Sea with Thirty great Vessels, and sailed to the Port of *Ofisa*.

He was received at *Rome* with great Honour by the People, declared Senator of that City (which was as it were Governour, and Sovereign Judge.) And the year following, upon the 28th of *June*, Crowned King of *Sicily* by the Pope in *St. Peters* Church, upon condition, to pay the Pope Eight thousand ounces of Gold, and a white Palefry every year; never to be elected Emperour, nor to unite that Kingdom to the Empire: For the Popes would have no power left in *Italy* that was not lesler then their own.

1266. His Land-Army arrived not till about the years end, which he completed in *Rome*. The following he marched to *Naples*, the *Guelphes* flocking from all parts, to lift themselves under his Banner. The Earl of *Castro* quitted the passage du *Gariglian* most safely to him; he afterwards gained the Post of *St. Germain*, guarded by Six thousand Men; and in fine, the Twenty sixth day of *February*, in the Campagne of *Benevento*, he gained an entire, but bloody victory against *Mainfroy's* Army, who was slain upon the place.

All submitted to the Conquerour both beyond, and on this side the *Fare*, except the City of *Nocera*, where *Frederic II.* had placed a strong Garrison of *Saracens*, which yet held out a long time. It then appeared, that *Charles* knew not how to Govern his good fortune with Humanity; for he let *Mainfroy's* Wife and Childrendye in prison, with many Lords of that party, and his Army committed horrid cruelties upon the taking of the City of *Beneventum*.

1267. Nevertheless, as he shewed himself very obedient to the Popes Orders, he declared him Vicar of the Empire in *Italy*, with the Title of *Keeper of the Peace*, and in this quality he by one of his Lieutenants, subdued all the *Gibbelins* of *Tuscany*, especially those of *Florence*, and restored all the *Guelphes* to their Lands and Dwellings.

In the mean time the young *Conradin* had sent a Manifesto to all the Princes of *Europe*, declaring himself to be the rightful Successor to the Kingdom of *Sicily*, and imploring their assistance to recover that Succession of his Fathers. Infomuch, that with the aid of the antient friends of the House of *Sonabes*, or *Swabens*, and some adventurers that sought their fortunes, he gathered a huge Army, and came into *Italy* about the end of *October*; observing, and giving ear rather to the importunities of the *Gibbelins*, who pressed him to march on, than the wise Counsels of his Mother, who feared the unexperienced Youth of her Son, scarce sixteen years of age, would be Ship-wrack'd, against the fortune and courage of *Charles*.

He had brought with him out of *Germany* the young *Frederic*, Son of *Herman* Marquis of *Baden*, who laid likewise he was Duke of *Austria*, being Son of a Daughter of *Henry*, Brother to *Frederic*, last Duke of those Countreys; and withal, he held himself certain of the assistance of *Henry* and *Frederic*, Brothers of *Alphonso X.* King of *Castille*, who upon his arrival in *Italy*, were to declare in his favour.

Those Brothers having been driven out of *Spain* by the King *Alphonso*, had retired themselves into *Africa*, to the King of *Tunis*, where they had acquir'd a great deal of reputation, Money and Friends. *Henry* having information of the progress of *Charles* in *Italy*, was come to proffer him his Service, with Eight hundred Horle, and had lent him a considerable sum of Money. In requital, *Charles* had gotten him to be chosen Senator of *Rome*: but because he afterwards thwarted him in his designs of obtaining by the Pope, the Kingdom of *Sardinia*, that *Spaniard* was alienated from him, and secretly conspired with *Conradin*, so that he disposed the City of *Rome* to receive him, driving thence, or imprisoning all those that contradicted; and when he saw him approaching near, he set up his Flags and Arms upon the Gates and joyined openly with him.

Conradin having spent the Winter at *Verona*, despising the Popes Thunders, embarked at the coast of *Genoa*, on some Vessels belonging to *Pisa*. Being landed in *Tuscany*, he surprized, and cut in pieces those Forces that *Charles* had left there; and at the same time *Conrad* * being come from *Antioch*, caused all *Sicily* to Revolt, except only *Messina* and *Palermo*.

These prosperous beginnings betraid young *Conradin*, and flattered him to bring him to his death: while he was entering into the Kingdom of *Sicily*, *Charles* quitted the Siege of *Nocera*, and came to meet him, resolved to decide the quarrel by a Battle: it was fought the Five and twentieth day of *August* near the lake *Fucin*, now called the lake *Celano*: the *French* gained it, but not without much hazard, and much blood. *Conradin*, *Frederic* Duke of *Austria*, and *Henry* of *Castille* saved themselves by flight; but being discover'd, they were taken and brought back to the Conquerour.

After this Victory, he took upon him again the dignity of Senator of *Rome*, which he had been obliged to lay down, and by the Pope was constituted Vicar of the Empire in *Tuscany*. His Fame would have been beyond a parallel, had he been but as merciful as valiant, and had not exercised such mortal severities upon his prisoners of War, and such people as revolted from him.

They were so great, that being resolved to pass into *Africa* with *St. Lewis* the King, not knowing what to do with *Conradin* and *Frederic*, whom it was very dangerous to keep, and more to set them free in a Kingdom full of Factions and Rebellions, he caused their Process to be made by the Syndics of the Cities of that Kingdom. Those Judges having condemned them to death as disturbers of the Churches quiet, their Heads were cut off upon a Scaffold in the midst of the City of *Naples* the Twenty seventh day of *October*: an execution which makes posterity tremble yet with horror, but which seemed a retribution of the Divine Justice, for those yet more horrible barbarities, which *Frederic* the Grand-father of *Conradin* had used to all the Family of the *Norman* Princes.

Henry of *Castille* had his Life given him, but was confin'd to a prison, from whence he got not out till Five and twenty years after, to return into *Spain*.

Almost at the same time, this *Conrad* Prince of *Antioch*, Son of one *Frederic*, a bastard of the Emperour *Frederic II.* who was come from the *East*, to the assistance of *Conradin*, and had contributed to make the Island of *Sicily* revolt, being taken by some belonging to *Charles*, was hanged: and thus ended by the Hangmans hands, that famous and glorious Race of the Prince of *Swabens*, of whom there have been so many Kings and Emperours.

1267.

1268.
* See hereafter in *Annos*
1269.

1268.

1269.

1269.

I should have told you before, that *Coinradin* being upon the Scaffold, after he had made bitter complaints of his misfortunes, and the cruelty of his Enemies, threw down his Gown in the Market-place, as a token of the investiture of his Kingdoms to such of his kindred as would prosecute his quarrel: a Cavalier having taken it up, carried it to *James King of Arragon*, who had Married a Daughter of *Mainfroy's*.

The abuses and the delings of the Court of *Rome* were grown to such a height, and come to that pass, that the King *St. Lewis*, though very devout to the *Holy See*, made this year a Pragmaticque, to stop the current of them in *France*, especially, touching the dispensation of Benefices.

This same year the Marriage of his Daughter *Blanch* was made with *Ferdinand*, eldest Son to *Alphonso X.* King of *Castile*, the Pope having given his Dispensation for the near consanguinity between the parties. The Nuptials were celebrated at *Burgos*, *Philip*, Brother to the Bride, *Edward* Prince of *England*, *James* King of *Aragon* the Bride-grooms Grand-father, *Albumar*, King of *Granada*, and divers other Princes, and great Lords honoured the Solemnity with their Presence; and it was expressly said in the Contract, that if *Ferdinand* died before his Father, her Children should represent him, and succeed to the Crown.

The affairs of the Christians in the *Levant* being reduced to the last extremity by *Beducabar*, Sultan of *Egypt*: the exhortations of the Pope, and the zeal of *St. Lewis* stirred up those of the *West*, to make one more great attempt to support them. The King of *Aragon*, and *Edward*, eldest Son to the King of *England*, promised to Second *St. Lewis*, and his Brother *Charles* to go thither with all the force of *Italy*. The number of Adventurers of the Cross, consisted of Fifteen thousand Horse, and Two hundred thousand Foot, which were divided in two Armies, to attack the *Saracens* in two several places at once.

The *Arragonians* and the *English* undertook to go and make War in the *Holy Land*; the *Arragonians* being Ship'd, turn'd back again, and only sent some Vessels Commanded by *Ferdinand* his bastard Son: but *Edward* did generously make good his Vow.

As for *St. Lewis*, he turned his Enterprize against the Kingdom of *Tunis*; the conquest thereof being in his judgment the way to conquer *Egypt*, without which, they could never keep the *Holy Land*. Besides, his Brother perswaded him to it, to make the coasts of *Africa* become Tributaries to his Kingdom of *Sicilia*; as they had been in the time of *Roger the Norman* Prince.

Having therefore left the administration of his Kingdom to *Matthew Abbot of St. Denis*, and *Simon*, Earl of *Nesse*, he left *Paris*, as I believe, the first day of *March*, in the year 1270: if we begin it in *January*, or the year 1269. if we make it begin at *Easter*, as they then did in *France*. He was accompanied by three of his Sons, *Philip*, *Crystian*, and *Peter*, his Brother *Alphonso*, his Nephew *Robert II.* Earl of *Artois*, *Thibault*, King of *Navarre*, *Guy* Earl of *Flanders*, and a great number of the Nobility.

He was near four Months, either upon his way, or about *Aigues-mortes*, where he waited some time till his Vessels were ready. He went on board in the beginning of *July* with his Brothers, and set sail the day following; his Forces, and the other Lords took Shipping in several Ports, particularly at *Marseilles*: the Rendezvous for the whole Fleet was appointed to be at *Sardinia* in the Road of *Calary*.

He got first thither with four great Vessels, not without meeting with very bad weather, the rest arrived Eight days after him: and having all held a Council together, they persisted in their design to Land in *Africa*, and secure themselves off *Tunis*, as well because it was thought important to have that coast, as for that the King of those Countreys had given them hopes he would become Christian, if they would but stand by him with their Forces, against his resisting Subjects; but this was only to amuse them.

The Army being then landed on the *African* shore, immediately took the Castle and the City of *Carthage*, built indeed upon the ruins of that famous rival to *Rome*, but which had nothing now that was great but its name. Afterwards they besieged the City of *Tunis*, which is situate at the further end of the Lake of *Galeta*, five miles distant from the Sea.

At five weeks end from the beginning of the Siege, the excessive heats of the Countrey, Rarity of Water, the Sea Air, and the toil the Army endured, having the *Saracens* perpetually upon them, it bred the pestilential Fever and Dysentery's amongst them, whereof a great many people of note dyed; amongst others, Prince *John*, *Crystian* de *Nevers*, and *Peter de Ville-Beau*, Chamberlain to the King, and his intimate Confident.

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The good King himself being seized with a Flax, was some days afterwards taken with a continual Fever, which put an end to his glorious Labours, by a happy Death the 25th day of *August*, the Seventy fifth year of his Age, and the Four and fortieth of his Reign. Being on his Death-bed, he called for his Son *Philip* to leave most Excellent and most Christian-like Instructions, which he had some time before drawn up and written with his own hand.

He had together all the Vertues of a great Saint and a great King, of a true Christian and a true Gentleman. He was humble to his God, and fierce to the Enemies of the Faith, modest and a hater of Luxury, as to his particular, but brave and pompous in publick Ceremonies; as mild and affable in Conversation, as rough and terrible in Fight and Battle; prodigal to the Poor, and sparing of his Subjects Money more than of his own; liberal to Soldiers and Men of Learning, prompted with a sincere desire to keep the Peace between his Neighbours, animated with an incredible zeal for the glory of God, and for the admistring of true Justice; In fine, worthy to be the Model of all Princes that desire to Rule according to the will of God, and the good of their Subjects.

Amongst his fervent Exercises of Piety, which never did abate in all the days of his Life, he observed the Fasts Ordained by the Church with great exactness, eating but once that day; and if either his weakness or the unavoidable labour in business did at any time oblige him to eat twice, he redeemed the Transgression according to the Canons of the Church, by some great Alms, feeding an Hundred Poor some other day; I mean an Hundred extraordinary, for he ordinarily entertain'd a very great number, and served Two hundred at Table, upon every great Festival day.

I find that every *Lent*, he distributed Sixty three Muids of Wheat, sixty eight thousand Herrings, and three thousand two hundred nineteen *Livers* Paris to the Monasteries and Hospitals, and One hundred pence a day to other poor People. And to make this Alms and Charitable Benevolence perpetual, he charged his own De-means with it, as also with many other Pious Grants and Foundations, which instead of diminishing the Estate of his Successors, hath been as it were a miraculous Leaven that hath increased and multiplied it.

It were to be wished that that great and good Ordinance he made upon his return out of the *Holy Land*, to root out the Misdemeanours of Judges, the Debaucheries of Gaming, Drinking, and Women, were as much in our practise, as it is yet in our Books.

I cannot omit that he did never intermeddle in the naming any to Bishopricks and Abbies, but left the liberty of Elections entirely free. Inasmuch as an Ambassador of his having brought a Bull to him from *Rome* which gave him the right of Nomination, he was very angry with him, and threw it into the Fire. For the other Benefices he ever bestow'd them upon the most Worthy, and never on such as were in Employments already, unless they first surrendered the other.

He founded a great many Churches and Monasteries, particularly for the Orders of *St. Dominick* and *St. Francis*; several Hospitals, amongst others that for the * *Quinze-Vingts*, the fair Abby of *Royaumont*, that of *St. Mathew* near *Rouen*, and the * *Holy Chappel* in his Palace, where he put in Canons and Chaplains. They attribute to him the Institution of the University, and the first Parliament of *Toulouse*. It is certain he was the first, who out of humility, added the Sign of the Cross to the Ceremony of touching those troubled with the Kings-Evil.

He had Eight Children, four Sons and four Daughters. The Sons were *Philip* who Reigned, and was surnamed the Hardy * or Daring, *John Crystian* who was Earl of *Nevers*, *Peter* Earl of *Alençon*, these two left no Posterity; *Robert* Earl of *Clermont* in *Beauvoisis*, who Elspoused *Beatrice* Daughter and Heiress of *Agnes de Bourbon*, (who was so of *Archebald* Lord of *Bourbon*) and of *John III.* Son to *Hugh* Duke of *Burgundy*. From this Marriage issued the Branch of *Bourbon*, who came to the Crown Three hundred years after by King *Henry* the Fourth, surnamed the Great.

The Daughters were named *Isabella*, *Blanch*, *Margaret*, and *Agnes*; *Isabella* was Married to *Thibault* the II. King of *Navarre*, and died without Offspring. *Blanch* a little before this Voyage to *Africa*, Married *Ferdinand*, called *De la Cerde*, eldest Son of *Alphonso X.* King of *Castile*, and had two Sons who were unjustly deprived of the Kingdom by their Grandfather, because their Father had preceded him, and Representation had no place. *Margaret* was Affianced to *Hugh* Duke of *Brabant* and *Limbourg*, then that Prince turning Monk, Married to *John* his Brother and Successor; They had no Children. *Agnes* Elspoused *Robert* Duke of *Burgundy*, and brought him many.

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Philip

1270.

* Or Fifteen score.

* Valiant, stout, Adventurous, Bold, Courageous, &c.

Philip III. King XLIV.

POPE S,

A Vacancy.

GREGORY X. Elected the 1st of September 1271. S. Four years, four Months ten days.

INNOCENT V. Elected in January 1276. S. Seven Months.

JOHN XXI. Elected in July 1276. S. Eight Months.

NICHOLAS III. Elected in

November 1277. S. Two years nine Months.

Vacancy of Two Months.

Martin IV. Elected Feb. 21. 1281. S. Four years, one Month, seven days.

HONORIUS IV. Elected in April, 1285. S. Two years, one Month, whereof six Months in this Reign.

PHILIP III. Surnamed the Hardy*, King XLIV. Aged Twenty five years four Months.

* Bold, Relo-
lute, Vali-
ant, &c.

1270.

THE Christian Army wholly disconsolate for the death of their King, and ready to sink under their Tolls and Dangers, refused courage, and received refreshments upon the arrival of Charles King of Sicily, who with his Naval Forces lauded at the very time the King his Brother was giving up the Ghost.

Being come ashore he came and paid him his last Duty, and caused his Flesh to be all taken from his Bones, as it was then the Custom when any died in Foreign Countries. He carried the said Flesh to Sicily with him, and buried it in the Abby of *Montreal* near *Palerme*; and King Philip kept the Bones, which he deposited in *St. Denis in France*. The Funeral being over, they continued the Siege, Charles having the Command of the whole Army, because Philip being fallen Sick could not act.

1270.

At the end of three Months, the taking of the place being most infallibly certain, though not till the Winter was over, King Philip's impatience, who much desired to go and take possession of his Kingdom, and yet more the interest of his Uncle Charles who cared for nothing but to get Money, and oblige the King of Tunis to pay him Tribute, were the Motives that made them give Ear to Propositions of Peace with that Barbarian King.

1270.

They allowed him a Truce for Ten years, provided he would defray the whole Expences of that Expedition; and that he would pay to Charles as much Tribute, as he paid to the Pope Annually: That he would deliver up all the Christians he then held in Slavery: That he would grant free liberty of Trade, and exemption of Imposts to all their Merchants; and would permit them to dwell in Tunis and have the Exercise of the Christian Religion.

At the end of the Siege Prince Edward of England arrived there with his Forces, hoping that after the taking of that place, the two Kings would go into the Holy Land, as they had promised: but they thought it fitter to return to their own homes, and left him to pursue his Voyage.

Heaven

Philip the Hardy, King XLIV.

315

1270.

Heaven seemed to be angry at their return: all manner of misfortunes followed them. Part of the Vessels wherein Philip was Embarked, arrived happily enough at the Port of *Trapani* or *Trapani* in *Sicily*: but the others that had King Charles and his on board were overtaken with a most furious Tempest, which destroy'd most of them, with the loss of Four thousand Men, all their Equipage and the Treasure that was in them.

Besides all this, *Thibault* King of *Navarre* being taken Sick, ended his days at *Trapani* about the end of *December*, (his Brother *Henry* the Fat succeeded him) *Isabella* of *Aragon* Queen of *France* being great with Child, hurt her self by a fall from her Horse, and died in the City of *Cosenza*; *Alphonso* Brother of *St. Louis* was taken off with a Peffilential Fever at *Siena*: and his Wife *Isabella* de *Toulouze* died in the same place about twelve days after him. So that King Philip clothed in Mourning Weeds for the Death of his Father, his Wife, and his nearest Relations, after so much Expence and Toil, brought nothing back into *France* but empty Chefts, and Coffins full of the Bones of the dead.

1271.

He staid in Sicily about two Months, departed towards the end of *February*, crossed *Italy* and arrived at *Paris* in the beginning of Summer. He was Crowned at *Rheims* the Fifteenth day of *August*, or as others say, the thirteenth, by the Bishop of *Soissons*, the Archbishops See being vacant. Of the ancient Pairs of the *Laity*, there was none assisted at this time but the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Earl of *Flanders*; *Robert* Earl of *Artois* bore the Sword of *Charlemaine*, they name it *Joyeuse*; him in his City of *Arras* with such Welcom and Expreffions of Joy, as hitherto had not been heard of in *France*.

This King passing through Rome paid his Devotions on the Tomb of the Apostles. At *Viterbo* finding the Cardinals had been there Assembled for two years together without coming to any agreement concerning the Election of a Pope, he exhorted them to make some end, that the Church might be no longer without a Head. His good Advice did not take effect till Eight Months afterwards, upon their electing of *Thibault* de *Piacenza* Archbishop of *Liege*, who went Legat into *Syria* with Prince Edward; he took the name of Gregory X.

1271.

The Earldom of *Toulouze* was vacant by the decease of *Jane* the Daughter of *Raimond* and Wife of *Alphonso*, Philip put himself into possession pursuant to the Terms of the Treaty made with *Raimond* in the year 1228. but it was King John that annexed it to the Crown.

1271.

This year died *Richard* pretended King of the *Romans*. The year after his Brother *Henry* III. King of *England* followed him, and his Son *Edward* I. of that name, who was in the Holy Land, succeeded.

1272.

In a Bloody Quarrel the Earl of *Armagnac* had against *Gerard* Lord of *Casabon* his Vassal, it happened that *Roger* Earl of *Foix*, whom the Earl of *Armagnac* had called to his aid, pursued *Gerard* and besieged him in a Castle belonging to the King, while little Respect the Earls had for him, marched into those Countries with an Army capable of striking a terror to the very heart of *Spain*. He besieged *Roger* in his Castle of *Foix*, and being resolved to level a Mountain which hindered his approach to it, daunted him so much, that he came and threw himself at the Kings Feet; He could not however obtain his Pardon till after he had been detained Prisoner a year in the Castle of *Beaucaire*.

1272.

At his return from the Holy Land *Edward* passed thorough *France*, and did Homage to the King. Being afterwards gone to visit his Countries of *Guyenne*, *Gaston* de *Moncada* Lord of *Bearn* refused to render him Homage; *Edward* seized upon his Person, and kept him Prisoner in his Train for a while. From whence making his escape, the King of *England* made complaint to Philip Sovereign Lord of *Guyenne*. This King having summon'd his Parliament and Debated the Case, gave Judgment in favour of *Edward*, and compelled *Gaston* to hold his Lands of him.

The Viscounty of *Bearn* was Originally a Member of the Earldom or County of *Gascogne* which held of the Dutchy, but had been dismembered and held by Lords who were the Issue of those Dukes, till it came to the House of *Moncada* by the Marriage of the Princess Mary Daughter of *Vicomte* Peter, and Sister of the *Vicomte* *Gaston* deceased without Children; This was about the year 1170. The Princess being yet a Minor, having put her self, I know not for what reason, under the Power of *Alphonso* II. King of *Aragon*, in whose Dominion she had also some Lands, was obliged to do Homage for *Bearn* to that King, and to *Mary* William de *Moncada*; which Advantage *Alphonso* procured him as

R r 2

a Recompence for his having brought about the Marriage between Prince Raimond Berenger Earl of Barcellona his Father, and Petronella Daughter and Heiress of Ramir le Moine King of Arragon. The Family of Moncada is one of the Nine most illustrious of all Catalogne, and are said to be Issue of a Dapifer or Grand Senechal to Charlemain.

1273.
Emperor Michael VIII. and Rodolph I. the Stock of the House of Austria. Reigned eighteen years.

The Electors displeased to see the German Empire so long in confusion, met together at Franckfort upon the earnest intreaties of the Pope, and without any regard to the opposition King Alphonsus made, resolved never more to make any Emperor that was not of the German Nation. So that at that very time they elected Rodolphus Surnamed Rufus, who had been Master of the Palace to Ottocare King of Bohemia. He was Earl of Habsburg, a Family, which as well as that of Lorraine, were the Issue of the Earls of Alfatia, and the Mayre Erchoinald.

He was raised to the Imperial Dignity principally by the Suffrage of Verner Archbishop of Mentz, the only Elector almost that knew him, and whom he had otherwise obliged in some Affair of Importance. Now it was the more easy for this Elector to do him this good Office, because the King of Bohemia, and all the other German Princes refused this Title, as being much more burdensome than gainful or honourable.

Many and different Subjects required the Assembling of a Council; The necessary Regulation for the future in the Election of Popes, the Differences about the Grecian Church, and of Morality amongst the Christians, the Differences about the Grecian Empire between Michael and Baldwin, and for that of Germany between Rodolph and Alphonsus, the hopes to unite the Greek Church to the Roman, and the pressing necessity for assisting the Faithful that were remaining in the Holy Land, to which the Pope had solemnly obliged himself at the time he received the news of his Election.

For these Reasons he had Convoked a Council in the City of Lyons, which lies, as it were in the midst of the principal Estates of Christendom. He came thither himself about the latter end of this year 1273. and was visited by the King, who let him have several of his Gentlemen and Officers to serve him for a Guard.

The Council was open'd the First day of May in the year 1274. there were present Five hundred Bishops, seventy Abbots, and a thousand others, as well Doctors and Deputies as Chapters. Gregory presided accompanied with Fifteen Cardinals. The Ambassadors from the King, the Emperor Rodolphus, and from several other Western Princes were there. Those from Michael, the Emperor of Greece, arrived there at the Fourth Session, and presented some Letters from him; by virtue of which they were admitted to an abjuration of their Schism, and a profession to follow the Faith of the Roman Church, especially about the Procession of the Holy Ghost. After that, the Pope owned Michael for rightful Emperor of the East, and forbade Baldwin to bear that Title any longer. This was the end for which Michael had feignedly desired the re-union.

The Election of Rodolph was likewise confirmed, but not till after King Alphonsus had submitted and reffer'd his Right to the disposal of the Pope, upon Condition he might have leave, which was granted him, to take the Tenth of all the Clergy in his Kingdom, to make War against the Moors. Thus all the Reparations, whatever happens, are ever laid upon the Peoples Shoulders to make satisfaction, who pay for all at last.

There were several Constitutions concerning the Elections, Provisions, and the Residences of Benefices. They Treated about the settling many Differences betwixt the Princes and Cities in Italy: It was Ordained, That the Cardinals should be hence-forward shut up in the Conclave for the Election of Popes; and they made very severe Decrees against Usurers, by virtue whereof the King put them all in Prison throughout the whole Kingdom: but soon after he released them upon the payment of some certain Taxes which he imposed upon them. Which was, to tell the truth, only the way to teach them for the future to take the greater Usury, that so they might have enough both for themselves and for him.

They granted likewise a great many Indulgencies and Privileges to such as lifted themselves for the Holy Land, or did contribute their Money towards that Expedition; and they suppressed all the Orders Mendicants excepting only the Preachers and the Minors. The Augustines and the Carmelites were tolerated only till a more ample deliberation.

Two great and Holy Scholastick Doctors died in these times, St. Thomas Aquinas near Terracina as he was coming to the Council, and St. Bonaventure in Lyons after he had been assitant there. The first was of the Order of the Preaching Friars, the other of the Minors, and had been made a Cardinal by Pope Gregory X.

Philip

Philip tired with being a Widower four years, cast his Affection upon Mary Daughter of Henry and Sister of John Duke of Brabant, Married her at the Bois de Vincennes in the Month of August, and Crowned her the year following in the Holy Chappel of Paris on St. John Baptist's day. He would needs have the Archbishop of Reims perform the Ceremony, without any regard to the right of him of Sens who was the Metropolitan.

The 21th of July, Henry the Fat King of Navarre died at Pampeluna, his Fat having suffocated him. He left by his Wife Blanch of Artois one Daughter only, name I Jane, but Three years of Age. By his Will and Testament he gave the Guardianship to her Mother, and enjoined she should Marry her in France: but the Lords were divided upon the point, and the greatest Party being against the Mother, gave Don Pedro Sancho de Montagna to the Pupil for her Guardian.

The King of Arragon and the King of Castille had, I know not what, pretences to that Kingdom; under that colour each of them makes his Party to get the Regency, and have the young Heiress in their hands; Peter Infant of Arragon desired to have her for his Son, and Ferdinand Infant of Castille for one of his.

This last entered into Navarre with his Sword in hand, seconding his demand with his force: The Lords of the contrary Party called in the Infant of Arragon and made an agreement with him; but the Widow whose inclinations tended towards France, came and cast her self with her Daughter into the Arms of Philip. Who accepting of the Guardianship, sent Englace de Beaumarchais to govern the Kingdom in his Name, and immediately all obeyed him.

Ferdinand de la Cerde died in his return from Navarre. He had Two Sons by Blanch of France his Wife, those were Alphonsus and Ferdinand, who ought legally to have succeeded to the Crown of Castille after the decease of their Grandfather Alphonsus: but Prince Sancho second Son of Alphonsus, maintaining that it belonged to him as the nearest, not to his Nephews, (though the contrary was exprest in the Contract between Ferdinand with Blanch) got himself immediately to be acknowledged presumptive Heir. Alphonsus their Grandfather, instead of opposing this Usurpation did authorize it with all his might; and to reduce Blanch and her Children to such a low condition that she might not have it in her power to Resent it, he denied that Prince's all she was to have by Agreement, and even the means to Subsist.

Queen Isolante could not bear the ill Treatment used towards her Grand-children; so that it was by her Counsel and in her Company that the unfortunate Widow stole away, and fled into the King of Arragon's Country. But that Prince being gained upon by Alphonsus, suffer'd himself to be persuaded to send her back to him, and detain the young Orphans in a Castle. The Mother fearing to be used like the Children, escaped into France, not without great difficulty. Some say the Castilian set her at liberty upon the earnest intreaty of the King, but the Arragonian still kept the Children in hold.

This year Lewis Son to the King, and the eldest of the first Bed, being dead, Peter de la Bresse, who was not loved by the young Queen, would needs make use of this opportunity to ruin her. He was a Man came from nothing, that had served as Barber to St. Lewis, had been taken into favour by Philip, and by that Prince raised to the highest Degree. In this post, having nothing to fear but the too great Affection the King had for his Wife, he found out an Accuser, that said she had caused Prince Lewis to be Poison'd. In effect the Child was so made away; And if we believe an Author, she had run the hazard of being burnt alive, if the Duke of Brabant her Brother had not sent a Gentleman who offer'd to prove her Innocency by Duel against the Accuser, who not having courage enough to justify what he had spoken, was Condemned to the Gallows.

There were in the Kingdom three false Prophets, the Vidame of Laon, a wandering Monk, and an old Nun, or Beguine, whom La Bresse, as it was believed, had Confronted and Intrusted to foretell something that might cool and change the Kings Affection towards his Wife. Admire the simplicity of this King; Devout as he was, he sends Matthew Abbot de Vendome, and Peter Bishop of Bayeux to Discourse the Beguine (or old Nun) about that business. The Bishop being of Kindred to La Bresse's Wife, going before, talked alone to the Beguine, to inform her what to say, and brought word back to the King, that she would discover nothing to him, but at Confession. The King dissatisfied with this proceeding, sent again the Bishop of Dol and a Templer to her, who returned with this Answer, That the Queen was Innocent and faithful to her Husband, and all what had been talked to asperse her,

was

was Falshood and Calumny. From that time the Credit of the Queen was much strench'd, and that of *La Bresse* began to diminish.

Now after the King, who had undertaken the defence of *Blanch* his Sister, found that Three several Ambassadors whom he sent to *Castille*, could obtain nothing from an unjust Uncle, and an unnatural Grandfather, he at length desies them by a Herald, and having gotten a great Army together, not only of *French*, but *Low-Country-Men* and *German*, marches directly to the foot of the *Pyrenean* Mountains, and took a re-view of his Army in *Bearn*.

1276. This Power had certainly overwhelmed the *Spaniards*, had not their Gold, which procured them private Agents and Intelligence, stopp'd them there, contriving it so that there was neither Provisions nor Ammunitions to be had for them. So they could advance no farther. Only one Party of them under the Conduct of *Robert d'Artois* was sent into *Navarre*. The *Castilian* Faction had made them rise up against *Eustace de Beaumarchais* the Kings Lieutenant; and the Rebels who posses'd that part of *Pampeluna*, which they named the City or the *Navarrenie*, held him besiged in the other part which they called the *Burrough*.

The Gentry and Soldiery of the Faction having defended themselves for some time, feared they should be over-power'd at length, and retired in the night time; The Burghers forsaken, and knowing not either how to Capitulate or defend themselves, were soon forced, and a great number fell by the edge of the Sword, the rest were Hanged without Mercy, the fugitive Gentlemen degraded of all Nobility, and by these terrible Examples the Regency of the *French* was seded in *Navarre*.

The King was still in *Bearn*: The *Castilian* with design to amuse him that he might enter upon *Spain*, demanded to Confer with *Robert*, and made him lose five weeks time. In so much that the Army wanting Provisions, *Philip* decamp'd on a suddain and marches towards *France*; whereof the *Castilian* being informed by some Traytor, does immediately give notice to *Robert*, who was much amazed at it.

1277. The suspicion of this Treachery fell upon *Peter de la Bresse*. Now the Court being at *Melen*, a *Jacobin* of the Town of *Mirepoix* delivered a Pacquet to the Kings own hand, which he told he was enjoyned to do by a certain Man who died in that City. What it contained was not known; but only that there was a Letter Sealed with the Seal of *Peter de la Bresse*, and that the King having read it stood much amazed. It must be some Intelligence he gave to the King of *Castille*. Whatever it were, he was made a Prisoner, carried to *Paris*, thence transferr'd to the Castle of *Jussieu* in *Beausse*, then some days afterwards brought back again to *Paris*, where he was Hanged on the publick Gallows, in the presence of the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Brabant*, and of *Robert* Earl of *Artois*. Guilty enough, had he committed no other Crime but the bewitching his King, and fettering both his Sacred Person and Mind in his Artificial Snares. The Fortunes of all those whom he had advanced were utterly ruined, the Bishop of *Bayeux* his Brother-in-Law, made his escape to the Pope, where he remained a long time in Exile.

1277. The boundless Ambition of *Charles* King of *Sicilia* aspired to all. He thought to hold all *Italy* by the Offices of Senator of *Rome*, and Vicar of the Empire; he was contriving the Conquest of the *Grecian* upon the right *Baldwin* had to it, whose Daughter he had taken for his second Wife; and this year 1277, he purchased the Title of King of *Jerusalem* of the Princess *Mary* Widow of *Frederic*, Ballard of the Emperor *Frederic* the II. and Daughter of *Raimond Rapin* Prince of *Antioch*, and *Melissinda* Daughter of *Americ de Lusignan* King of *Cyprus* and *Jerusalem*. This Kingdom had been already annexed to *Sicilia* by the Marriage of *Tolante de Brienne* who was Heiress to it, and since it hath ever remained so annexed.

1278. But the Pope, the Emperor *Rodolph*, and the Emperor *Michael* Conspired together to put a stop to that Grandeur which run up too tall, and threaten'd to fillle theirs. And besides the Pope, (it was *Nicholas* III. of the House of *Orsini*) who not only, did not desire to have to so Potent a Neighbour, but withall was cruelly offended, for that having demanded one of his Daughters for one of his own Nephews, *Charles* had received his insolent Propolition with raillery and contempt.

1278. "At the same time the power of *Rodolph* mightily increased by the Victory he "gained over *Othocare* King of *Bohemia*, who was left dead in the Field. Of the "Spoils of that Prince, whose Domestick he had been, he got the Duchy of *Austria*, "and invested his Son *Alberus* in it. His Posterity have still preserved it, and have "taken the name of it, as more illustrious then that of *Habsburg*.

Not

Not to thwart the Pope who sought to pick a Quarrel, *Charles* quitted the Title of Senator and that of Vicar. He wanted but little in *Anno* 1279. of losing *Provence* likewise: Queen *Margaret* Widow of *St. Lewis* his Sister-in-Law disputed it with him as being elder Daughter of Earl *Raimond Berengier*, and implored assistance of the Emperor, of whom that County was held, because of the Kingdom of *Aries*. Notwithstanding the business being brought to Examination, *Provence* was left to *Charles* upon Condition of doing Homage to the Emperor, whose Daughter *Clemence* should likewise be Married to the Son of his eldest Son. His Name was *Charles*, as was his Fathers and Grandfathers.

1279. *Edward* King of *England* crossed over Seas with *Alienor* his Wife, and came to King *Philip* at *Amiens* to Treat of their Affairs. *Philip* agreed he should have the Earldom of *Agenou*, and surrendered up that of *Pontieu* which belonged to *Alienor* by right of her Mother. She was *Jane* the Wife of *Ferdinand* III. King of *Castille*, and Daughter of the Earl *Simon*, and *Mary* Daughter and Heiress of *William*, likewise Earl of *Pontieu*. Reciprocally *Edward* renounced the Duchy of *Normandy*, but retained Thirty Livers Rent upon the Exchequer or Court of Justice of the Province.

John otherwhile Lord of the Island of *Frisland* had been deposed of his Estate by *Charles*, for having tamper'd in some Conspiracy. Being therefore prompted by a cruel Repentment, he framed the design to bring the King of *Aragon* as Heir to the House of *Swaben* by his Mother, into the Kingdom of *Sicilia*, and made so many Journeys backwards and forwards to the Pope, the Emperor, and the *Sicilians*, that he brought the Project to his desired issue.

Mean time Pope *Nicholas* who had projected for the most part what we shall find to break out in those Countries, hapned to die, and a *French* Cardinal, it was *Simon de Brie*, was Elected in his room, he was named *Martin* IV. This last knew nothing of the Tragical design contrived by his Predecessor, and had intentions quite contrary: but it being already put in motion, he found the effect of it before ever he could foresee the blow.

The Death of *Nicholas* did not discourage the Conspirators, the Lord of *Prochyda* * continuing his Voyages disguised like a Monk, brought from *Constantinople* Three hundred thousand Ounces of Gold to the *Aragonian*, who was ready to put a great Naval force to Sea under pretence of making War upon the *Saracens*, and had the Craft, the better to conceal his intentions, to borrow Twenty thousand Gold Crowns of King *Philip*, and even, as some say, of *Charles* himself whom he was going to Dethrone.

1282. He lay for some time upon the Coasts of *Africa* to favour the Enterprize agreed upon, and in the mean while *Charles* neglected the Advice was given him to stand upon his Guard and be aware, and employ'd all his Forces for the Conquest of the Eastern Empire, in which he did not succeed very well, his Fleet having been woric'd at Sea by that of the Emperor *Michael*. Whilst he is thus lulld asleep by his ill fate, the *Sicilians* upon an Easter-day, at the first ringing of the Bell to Vespers, cut the Throats of all the *French* that were in the whole Island: which they did execute with so much fury and rage, that the good Friars *Jacobins*, and the *Cordeliers*, did with pleasure wash their hands in Blood, and Murdered their unhappy Enemies at the very Altars; The Fathers tipping up the Wombs of their own Daughters if great with a *French* Child, and dashing little Infants against the Rocks. They killed Eight thousand in two hours space, and pardoned but only one by reason of his rare Probrity. He was called *William des Fourcelles* a Gentleman of *Provence*.

1282. *Charles* who was at this time in *Tuscany*, more enraged then frighted at so terrible a blow, Arms himself powerfully by the assistance of the Pope and the King of *France*, which was brought him by the Earl of *Alejo*, and besieges *Messina*. That City terrified with the glittering of his Arms and the Flaminations of the Holy See, would have surrendered at the very first, and all the Island afterwards, if his just Wrath could have received them to any Mercy: but that Prince being grown inexorable, despair puts some courage into their faint hearts, and the Crowned King of *Sicily* there, re-assured them wholly. So that *Charles*, whether for that, or for some other reason, raised the Siege at the latter end of September, and went back into *Calabria*.

The *Aragonian* notwithstanding, finding himself unequal in Strength to *Charles*, whom he observed to be daily supplied out of *France*, bethought himself of a Villanous piece of Subtily, which made him keep *Sicily*, but with the loss of his Honour. He propos'd *Charles* to decide this great Quarrel by a Personal Combat between them, each

1278.

1279.

1279.

1281.

* Prochyda Island.

1282.

1282.

each to be assisted with an hundred choice Knights. Charles more brave then well advised, accepted the Challenge, notwithstanding the contrary Counsel and reiterated Commands of the Pope. King Edward being related to both, undertook to secure the Field for them at *Burdalun*, the day was appointed to be the first of July the year following, and upon the word of this perfidious Man, Charles raised imprudently the Siege, and agreed to a Truce.

In the interim the Pope pouring all the Treasures or Viols of his Wrath upon the head of the *Arragonian*, not only Excommunicated him, but likewise degraded him of his Kingship, and expoled his Kingdom as a prey; but he turned all this into raillery, and as though he would obey the Popes Sentence, he would no longer be called King, but the Knight of *Arragon*, Lord of the Sea, and the Father of three Kings.

The day of Combat being come, Charles enters the Field with his hundred Knights, and remained there from the Suns rise till Sun setting. The *Arragonian* appeared not, but towards night comes post hither, goes to the Seneschal of *Burdalun*, takes Witness that he had presented himself, and leaves his Arms with him to serve for Testimony, then retires in great haste, feigning he was in dread of some surprisal by the King of France. A very brave act of Appearance or Comparison, worthy the Courage of a Prince, to whom his Subjects have given the Surname and Epithet of Great.

The Pope who had thundred his Excommunication against him the former year, did to aggravate it again in this, published a Crusado or Holy War against him with the very same Indulgences and Privileges as for the Holy Land, and gave his King the same day of *Valois*, the second Son of France, whom he cauted to be invested with Cardinal John Charles his Legat, whom he expressly sent into France. And certainly the destruction of Peter having place, that Crown was devolved to this Charles by Hereditary Right, since he was the Son of that Kings Sister.

These Threatnings did not daunt the *Arragonian*, he was confirmed in his Crime by the good success of Roger de Lauria his Admiral. This Captain, the ablest Seaman of his Age, having gained several Advantages over Charles's Subjects, came and planted himself before *Naples* in his absence, engaged Charles the Lame, his Son, to a Battle the fifth of June, vanquished him, and carried him Prisoner to *Palermo*. His Head ran great danger of serving as a Repast for the Head of *Conradin*: The *Sicilian* ran great danger of being drawn out of their hands, and had condemned him to Death, *Conradin* drew him subtilly out of their hands, and sent him into *Arragon* to the King her Husband.

The Fathers anguish was the greater, for that he arrived there within three days after the taking of his Son, with a good number of Shipswell Armed. He had much ado to keep *Andalus* and *Castile*, and having wrestled six Months longer with his Misfortunes, he died at *Pozz di Apulia* the 14th of January, in the year 1285, leaving his Son, Charles the Lame, who fell to his Misfortunes, as well as to his Crown.

The foregoing year *Alphonso* King of *Castile* died, dispossessed almost of all his Estate by *Sanche* his unnatural Son. On his Death-bed he made his Will and Testament, whereby he left him his Paternal Curse, deprived him of his Succession, and recalled *Alphonso* and *Ferdinand*, who were the Sons of his eldest Son *Pedro*, and upon their default Philip King of France, to whom *Castile* already did belong by right of *Blanche* the Mother of St. Lewis: but *Sanche* knew how to keep himself securely enough in possession of it.

The 16th of the Month of August King Philip's eldest Son of the same name, and the Surname of *Palu*, Aged but Fifteen years, Married Jane Queen of *Navarre*, and Countess of *Brie* and *Champagne*, who was but Thirteen, the Pope having given Dispensation because she was his Cousin German.

A Legat of the Pope having caused the Croisado to be Preached, against Peter King of *Arragon*, King Philip would go himself in this Expedition, to Instill Charles his second Son in that Kingdom. He had no less then Twenty thousand Vessels which score thousand Foot. He Shipt part of these Foot-Soldiers in fourscore Vessels which he took with him to carry Ammunition, Provisions, and Artillery. James King of *Majorca* and *Minorca*, whom Peter his Brother had develt of his Lands, followed him, or to say better, Conducted him in this voyage, thereby to recover them.

The Army being drawn together at *Narbonne*, began to march in the Month of May. *Perpignian* surrendered to James and received the French. *Elna* was taken by Storm, and all that were within destroyed, excepting the Bastard de *Rouffillon*, who shewed them a passage through the Mountains. These two Cities were belonging to James.

The *Arragonian* who guarded the narrow Passages, finding the French at his back, quitted his Posts, and left their entrance into *Catalonia* free. They on the suddain took several little places, and laid Siege to *Geronde*. That King was long in wait to relieve it: but being beaten and grievously wounded in an Ambuscade, he had designed to intercept the Convoy which was marching from the Port of *Roset*, the place surrendered for want of Provisions, after a two Months Siege.

Three Months after the Fight, that King died of his Wounds in *Valencia*. *Alphonso* his eldest Son succeeded him in that Kingdom, and James the second Son seized on that in the Island of *Sicilia*.

The rest of the Campaign was not so happy for the French, the Admiral *Lauria* knowing, that out of an imprudent Management and Husbandry, to save Charges, they had sent back the Vessels belonging to the *Pisans* and *Genoese* who were under pay, fell upon the rest of the Fleet and defeated them all, except such as escaped into the Port of *Roset*. The scarcity of Provisions and Sickness, brought the whole Army almost to nothing. The King falling Sick, and hoping for no good by the approaching Winter, took his way towards France, and was brought back to *Perpignian* in a Litter.

Geronde, and all the places he had Conquer'd in *Catalogne*, held but a very few days after his departure: The Melancholy he conceived upon this Revolution, and the agitation of the Journey increased his Sickness so much, that he died at *Perpignian* the 6th day of October. He was in the beginning of the Five and fortieth year of his Life, and the Sixteenth of his Reign. His Flesh and Bowels were interred in the Cathedral of *Narbonne*, and his Bones brought to St. Denis.

If we consider his Qualities, he was valiant, Good, Liberal, Just, and very Pious, but too simple, and too easie to be deceived. If his Conduct, it was not over-happy in those undertakings he made abroad, but for his Enterprizes at home they could not succeed better for his Kingdom, since it grew rich and flourishing by a Peace of Fifteen years continuance, without any vexation of Impolls, and the maintenance of a most exact and speedy Justice.

By *Isabelle*, Daughter of James I. King of *Arragon*, he left two Sons, those were Philip and Charles; The first Reigned, the second was Earl of *Valois*, and Father of a Philip who came to the Crown. By his second Wife, Mary de *Brabant*, he had one Son and two Daughters, the Son was Lewis Earl of *Eureux*. From him sprang the Branch of *Eureux* into which the Crown of *Navarre* was brought by Marriage. The Daughters w^{re} Margaret and Blanch, Margaret was Married in the year 1298, to *Edmond* I. King of *England*, Blanch having been twice Contracted, once with John de *Namur*, eldest Son of Guy Earl of *Flanders*, the other time with John d' *Avesnes* Earl of *Obervant*, eldest Son of John d' *Avesnes* Earl of *Haynault*, Married at last in the year 1298, to *Rodolph* Duke of *Austria*, eldest Son of *Alberus* the Emperor, by whom he had a Son, but both the Mother and the Child were Poysoned in the City of *Vienna*, Anno 1305.

* Emperor
Andronicus,
Son of Michael,
Reigned
Fifty years,
and Rodolph.
1283.

1284.

1284.

1285.

1284.

1284.

1285.

The

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Philip

Philip IV. King XLV.

POPES,

HONORIUS IV. *Eighteen Months.*

Vacancy Nine Months and an half.

NICHOLAS IV. *Elected the 22th of February 1288. S. Four years, one Month and an half.*

Vacancy Two years, three Months.

CELESTINE V. *Institutor of the Celestines, Elected the 5th of July, 1294. S. Five Months and an half.*

BONIFACE VIII. *Elected the 24th of Decemb. 1294. S. Eight years, nine Months and an half.*

BENNET XI. *Elected the 20th of October, 1303. S. Eight Months, seventeen days.*

Vacancy Eleven Months.

CLEMENT V. *Elected the 5th of June, 1305. transfers the See into France, S. Nine years wanting five weeks.*

PHILIP IV. *Surnamed the Fair, King of France XLV. and of Navarre also by his Wife, Aged Seventeen years, and some Months.*

1286.

After Philip had brought back into France the remainder of the Army, and conveyed his Fathers Bones to St. Denis, he went to be Crowned at Rheims by the hands of the Archbishop Peter Barbet, the Sixth day of January, with the Queen his Wife.

1285.

Guy de Dampierre had succeeded in the Earldom of Flanders after the death of his Mother, and had done Homage for it to Philip the Hardy, but neither his Mother, nor himself, for want either of will or power, had not as yet caused the Articles to be Sworn to, and Ratified, which were made in the year 1225, between Philip Augustus and Ferrand, because in truth they were very destructive and ruinous to the Flemings. This year the King having threatened Guy, if he did not perform it without delay, to own him no longer for his Vassal, but to declare a War, the Cities and Commonalty of the Countrey were so alarmed and feared, that they obey'd his Will and Pleasure.

Ever since the death of Philip III. Edward King of England had omitted no endeavour to confirm the Treaties with his Successor. In the year 1286, being landed in France about Pontieu, he was received at Amiens by several Lords whom the King sent to meet him, from thence he came to Paris, where he was Treated magnificently, was present at the Parliament which was held after Easter, and going from thence about Whitsontide, went by Land to Burdeaux.

The apparent cause of his Voyage was the desire he had to Compose the business of the King of Arragon, because Alphons the eldest Son, and Successor of Peter, had Married his Daughter Alienor. He forgot not likewise to press earnestly he might have some reparation for Normandy, and those other Countries which both his Father and himself had renounced, but could obtain nothing in either of these

two

Philip the Fair, King XLV.

two points. Being returned to Burdeaux, he solemnly received the Ambassadors from the Kings of Castille, of Arragon, and of Sicilia, all Enemies to France, which gave no little jealousy to Philip.

John de Lanoy Vice-Roy for Philip in Navarre, continued the War against the Arragonians. But a Lord of the Countrey named John Corbaran, whom he had entrusted with the Command of the Armies, having been worsted by their Forces, a Truce was agreed upon between the two Crowns.

The King of England laboured very seriously to Compose the Difference between the Kingdom of France and that of Arragon and Sicilia. To this purpose he conferred with Alphons and Oleron de Bearn, and afterwards took the pains to make a Voyage into Sicilia, that he might Treat with James the Brother of Alphons, who, as we have related, had seized upon that Island.

The Negotiations of the King of England were somewhat retarded by the Progress some French Lords had made in that Island. But the King, who were going thither to complete that Conquest, being beaten and taken at Sea by Lancia the Admiral, they gave a more willing Ear to what was propounded.

The Treaty was carried on so well, that Charles the lame was set at Liberty, promising he would bring it so about with the Earl of Valois, that he should renounce the Kingdom of Arragon, and with the Pope, that he should invest James of Arragon in that of Sicilia, which his Brother Alphons should yield to him: For security whereof, Charles gave his Three Sons, and Fifty Gentlemen of Quality as Hostages.

When he was deliver'd from his Imprisonment, he did not hold himself obliged to make that good which he had been forced to promise: on the contrary, being in France, he exhorted the Earl of Valois not to desist from his Right to the Kingdom of Arragon, and going afterwards into Italy, he got himself to be Crowned by the Pope, who was then at Geronsa, King of Sicilia both on this side and beyond the Fare.

So that James of Arragon perceiving the Treaty was broke, fell upon Calabria, where the City of Catenana had revolted in his favour. Robert d' Arin laid Siege to it, James and his Admiral Lancia hastned to its relief, and being beaten, went and blocked up Gaista, thinking to make a Diversion: but Charles and Robert followed at the same time, and besieged the Besiegers so straightly, that they reduced them to Famine.

Then the Sicilian caused, I know not how, the Popes Legat to intervene, who demanded a Truce for two years, and Charles not well informed of the extremity wherein his Enemies were, consented to it a little too easily; at which Robert was so incensed that he retired into France, and carried all his Forces with him.

Don Sancho King of Castille desired earnestly to have a Peace with King Philip; and for that reason he would have given him up the two Sons of Alphons de Cerdas, and to this intent had endeavoured to get them out of the hands of the Arragonian who kept them. Now the Arragonian having denied to do so, he Treated with Philip, obliging himself to give the Kingdom of Murcia to the eldest of those two Brothers, and some other Lands to the second. The Arragonian hearing of this Treaty, made haste to set them at liberty, that so they might be obliged to him, and continue still Enemies to Sancho. In effect, they were so ill advised, as to refuse to stand to the Agreement which Philip their Cousin German had made for them, and immediately took up Arms against the Castilian.

Philip displeased for being thus contradicted by these two Brothers was craftily managed by the Castilian, so that those two Kings had interview at Bayonne, and there made a Treaty; by which Philip, according the Advice of some interested Counsellors, totally abandoned his unhappy Cousins, and withal yielded up and gave to Don Sancho all the rights he might have to the Crown of Castille.

This year Alexander III. King of Scotland dying without Children, there arose a long and bloody Quarrel for the Succession between two Lords, each of them pretending to be the next Heir. Both of them being of the Blood Royal by their Mothers, who were the Daughters of Scotland; Their names were Robert Bruce, and John de Baliol. This last was Originally of Normandy, History does not mention of what part, for there are divers places have the name of Baliol. These two Competitors, having referred their Difference to Edward King of England, he gives Judgment in favour of Baliol, whether he believed his Title to be the better, or whether it were because he made himself his Vassal, as the Scots reproach him, and had promised to hold his Crown of him.

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Broad-sides from Ten English Ships which hap'ned to lye on that Coast, overwhelmed the French who fought as desperadoes: Almost all of them perish'd, and Termes was taken Prisoner.

This check did again heighten the glory of the Duke of Guise, as if he had been the only man in whose hands the Kings Sword could be prosperous. But that which raised his Authority yet higher, was the Marriage of the Queen of Scots his Niece with the Dauphin. The Nuptials were solemnized at Paris the Four and Twentieth of April; and the Ambassadors who were sent into Scotland with the Deputies, harangued before the Estates so effectually; that they granted the Dauphin the Crown, and the rest of the Regal Ornaments; which the English had denied to Philip.

In the Month of February the Ambassadors of Charles V. carried his Renunciation to the Electors assembled at Frankfort, who, upon the Fourteenth of March transferr'd the Empire to Ferdinand, and swore faith and obedience to him. The Pope approved not this Election, and maintain'd it was null as well as the Renunciation of Charles V. because they had not the approbation of the Holy-See either for the one or the other; for he pretended they had no right of Election but in case of death only; and besides the Princes that had Elected him had forfeited that power by their Heresies. His head was so possess'd with this opinion, that he did all he possibly could to make the King of the same mind, and renew a League with him against the House of Austria. And though he could find no body that would support him in this Sentiment, he persisted therein notwithstanding to his death, which hap'ned in the Month of August of the following year. But Pius IV. his Successor, confirmed the Imperial Dignity to Ferdinand.

His Brother Charles V. after he had lived two years in the solitude of Saint Just, was seized with a desperate Ague, which carried him off the one and twentieth of September, the Fifty Ninth year of his Age. A Comet that appeared the thirteenth of August in Berenices hair, the Tail turned towards Spain, was as a Flambeau lighted to lead the way to his Funeral Pomp.

The Summer come, the two Kings took the Field with the two most numerous Armies that had been on foot in all this Age, and encamped near each other, Philip on the River of Antie, and Henry along the Somme. They lay there almost three Months without having any other *Ren-contre* besides one Skirmish, because they were then upon propositions for an Accommodation. The Popes Nuncios made the first mention of it, the Constable and the Marechal de Saint André, whose favour was in a languishing condition at Court, got Philip to give some Ear to it, making use for that purpose of the interest of the Duke of Savoy, who could no way be restored to his Estates but by a Peace. *Christiane* Dutches of Lorrain, equally obliged to either King, as Aunt to the first and nearly Allied to the second, having newly given her Daughter *Claudia* to the Duke his Son, promoted it with much industry, and went with all the Messages to and fro; so that at length she brought it to a Conference between their Deputies, where her self and her Son assisted as Mediators. Which proved a great reputation and honour to them both in all the Courts of Christendom.

Two Months before, which was in October, the Constable was freed from his imprisonment upon his parole, and came to wait upon the King at Amiens, who received him with inexpressible demonstrations of affection, even to the making him lye in his own Bed. It is said, that this Lord having had notice the Kings affection towards him declined very much, recover'd it again by the Credit of the Dutches of Valentinois, he seeking her Alliance, and treating of a Match between his Son *Danville*, with *Amoinestra*, Daughter of *Robert de la Mark* and *Frances de Brezé*, who was the Daughter of that Dutches.

He had already agreed with the Spaniards on all the Articles of Peace: but fearing lest he might alone be charged with the reproach of a Treaty so disadvantageous, he contrived it so that the King upon the winding of it up, should join with him the Cardinal Lorrain, Marechal de Saint André, John de Morvillier, Bishop of Orleans, and Claude de P' Aubespine Secretary of State.

The Conference began in the Abbey of Cercamp the fifteenth of October, and from that time the two Kings dismissed their Forces. The difficulty concerning Calais, was the greatest Renova, Queen Mary would by all means have it again, the

the King would needs keep it. Thereupon that Princess hap'ned to dye without any Children of a Droppie caused by her infinite grief for the loss of that place, and the little sixteen her Husband had for her. The fifteenth of November was the day of her decease, and the sixteenth that of the Cardinal. Post her dear Cousin, who had taken great pains to restore the Catholick Religion in England: About this time the two Princes made a Truce for two Months, then their Deputies parted.

Elizabeth succeeded Mary, pursuant to the Will of Henry VIII. Philip did yet for some time carry on the interest of Elizabeth, then abandoned them, lest they should prejudice his own. He had likewise some design of Marrying her, or at least to get her for his Uncle Ferdinand's second Son: but the King who had great reason to hinder that Alliance, and not suffer Elizabeth to take that Crown which he believed did belong to his Sons the Dauphins Wife, so ordered it that the Pope received the Envoy sent by that Princess to him, but ill, and treated her as illegitimate. This injury made her determine openly to embrace the Religion of the Protestants, who made no doubts concerning her, and to repeal all Acts made by Mary, and corroborate and revive those of Edward and put them in force.

The Deputies from the two Crowns met again towards the end of January at Cateau in Cambresis, where in few days they came to a final agreement on all the Articles. Elizabeth fearing to be left alone, sent her Deputies thither also.

By the Treaty between France and Spain, that of Crespy and the preceding were confirmed. The two Kings mutually restored all they had taken from each other for eight years past. The King restored the Duke of Savoy to all his Lands and Estates, yet still reserved the right he had: but whilst that could be examined by Commissioners on either part (which was to be done within three years time) he kept by way of pawn or Security Turin, Pignerol, Quieris, Chivars, and Villeneuve of Ast. Moreover he quitted all those he held in Infamy to the Duke of Florence, and those in Corsica to the Genoeses; gave his Sister Margares in Marriage to the Duke of Savoy with Three Hundred Thousand Crowns in Gold, and his Daughter Isabella to King Philip with Four Hundred Thousand.

The people who always desire Peace at what price soever, testified a great deal of joy. The Constable and the Marechal de Saint André stood in need of it to recover their former favour, which was in the wain: but the Guisian party, the sage Politiques, the whole Nobility, highly blamed it, as a manifest juggle, or Cheat, whereby France was looser of one hundred ninety and eight strong places for three only which were given them, these were Han, le Catelet, and Saint Quentin.

When Queen Elizabeth found the Treaty went forward, and the Deputies for King Philip, who pretended to manage her concerns, but acted very coldly, obtained nothing for her advantage or interest, she would needs Treat upon her own single account. She got little more by it. It was agreed that the King should either render up Calais to her, and the re-conquer'd Country, or if he liked it better, pay her the Sum of Five Hundred Thousand Crowns; which being referred to his own choice, there was no doubt but he would keep that place which is the Key of his Kingdom.

During the Treaty, the Spaniards, God knows for what design, exhorted the King very zealously to exterminate the new Sectaries, and hinted that there were many of them even in his Court itself, and of great quality, amongst others Dandelot, about whom they found some Books of that sort, when they took him at Saint Quentin. Upon which the King sent for him, and asked him what he thought of the Mass: Dandelot made him a very criminal reply, which enraged him so greatly, that he was almost in the mind to have kill'd him. He commanded him to be made a Prisoner, and put Blaise de Montluc into his Office, a creature of the Duke of Guise. The Constable his Uncle had very much ado to get him out of Prison, and restore him.

It was suspected to be the Effect of a certain Conference held between the Cardinal de Lorrain and the Cardinal de Granvelle; that by this Stratagem the first had a design to weaken the Constable by ruining his Nephews, or to render

1559. him suspected of Heresie if he protected them : and that the other had a design of Setting the great Families of *France* to Daggers-drawing, and of stirring up a Faction by making the Religious grow desperate, believing they would joy in a body when they could find a person of quality to head them, such as was *Dandelot* or the Admiral his Brother.

This year that question was decided at *Venice* which the *Spaniards* had moved to the *French* concerning precedence, or rank. Doctor *Francis Vargas* had been there in the quality and with the Function of Ambassador for *Charles V.* Emperor and King of *Spain*. After the abdication of the Emperor, and about the end of the year 1556, *Philip* recalled him, giving notice however to the Seignery that he would send him again suddenly. During his absence *Loyola* whom he had left in his stead, pretended to hold the place of Ambassador for the Emperor : the *French* Ambassador (this was *Dominique* Bishop of *Lodove*) would have no such thing allowed, and belittled himself so that *Loyola* durst never appear at any Ceremonies.

In the year 1557, *Vargas* being return'd again, pretended to keep the same station he had before, saying he had never been revoked : but he of *France* maintained he had, since he had had his Audience of *Congé*, and received the Present given to Ambassadors ; that moreover *Charles V.* had absolutely devested himself of the Empire, without reserving to himself one inch of his Lands, and that therefore he had now nothing to negotiate or trouble his Brain withal, but the looking after and managing his Clocks. The business was off and on for almost a whole year : then hapned the shock at *Saint Quentin* which much startled the minds, and turned the thoughts and cares of the Ministers of *France* to things of a more important and pressing nature. The *Venitians* grounded their doubts upon *Charles V.* being still Emperor : but when that pretence came once to be remov'd by the Election of *Ferdinand* which was in the year 1558, they had no apparent reason to hesitate. They knew well enough the King had most reason on his side, but they durst not own it : and would very fain have refer'd it to the decision of the Pope, saying it belonged not to them to make themselves Judges between two such great Princes.

The pretensions of *Philip* was not as yet to gain the upper hand of *France*, but only to hang up the dispute upon the hedge, and stand on equal termes. The *Venitians* had made a Decree in the Council des *Pregadi*, that the Ambassadors of both Kings should be present at none of their Ceremonies, till the controversy were first judged at *Rome*, so greatly did they apprehend to offend *Philip* : Nevertheless when they observed the Kings Affairs began to look with a promising face again, and *Novailles* Bishop of *Dacqs* the Ambassador from *France*, pressed them without intermission, and by strong Arguments and Reasons, and threatenings to be gone : they at length revoked the Decree, and ordained that he of *France* should hold the first rank, according to ancient custom and usage. They sent for him therefore to assist at the Ceremony they made upon the day of the Visitation, being the second of *July*. This was eight dayes before the death of the King.

The Peace being made all relented and grew soft and slack in *France*, the Confitable was already more then Septuaginary, besides ever unfortunate in War, the *Mareschal de Saint André* brave in his Person, but softened by luxury and voluptuousness ; the King, if we may so say, dared by the Hawk, and baffled as who had beheld his Kingdom in extrem danger : the *Guises* loaden with Honour, and glad there was no occasion to keep them at too great a distance from the Court, where they were omnipotent especially, since the Marriage of their Niece with the *Dauphin*.

Some have reproached them, perhaps without any reason, that from that time they began to entertain secret Correspondencies with the *Spaniards*, or at least to have a great deal of Complaisance for him that they might out-do the Confitable in this very point too, who seemed to have relinquished much of the Interests of *France* for his own. Whatever it were, the Government at this time changed their Maximes in two points, whereof one was touching the Affaires of *Italy*, the other the Alliance with the *Turks*. For they relolved as to the first, not to intermeddle with it any more : And for the other to renounce it wholly likewise, as a thing very prejudicial to Christendom, of little benefit and very scandalous to *France*, and which hindred the Princes of *Germany* from reposing an intimate confidence, and joyning in a frickt tie with them.

1559. So that under pretence of gaining their Amity, they obliged him to send Ambassadors to the Diet of *Ausburg*, to assure them he never had any real Alliance with the *Turks*, and that he was relolved to renounce it Totally. The Agents of the House of *Austria* endeavour'd to make good advantage of this Compliment at the Port : *Solyman* could believe nothing, till he had received certain News of the Peace between the two Crowns. Then he released *Ferdinand* Ambassador whom he held in Prison, and immediately made a Peace with his Master, and yet to make it appear he had still some concern for *France*, he obliged that Prince, to be a Friend to his Friends, and Enemy to his Enemies.

The five and twentieth of January, the Pope displeased with the ill-behaviour of the Caraffa's his Nephews, and principally because they attempted to hold him in Captivity, after he had declaimed against them with all his might in a Consistory, strips them of all their Offices and Dignities, and expell'd them from *Rome*, which furnished *Pius IV.* his Successor with a pre-judgment to make Process against them, though he were indebted to them for his Pope-dome which he gained by their connivance. The Cardinal Caraffa was strangled in the Castle *Saint Angelo*, John Count de Montebel his Brother, and the Count d'Alifan Brother of the Wife to that John, had their Heads cut off. A lesson written in Letters of Blood, to teach their Fellows, if they would reflect on it, to use that power with more moderation which is so frail and sitting.

There was neither City, nor Province, nor Profession, where the novel opinions had not got footing ; men of the Gown, men of Learning, and the Ecclesiasticks themselves, against their own Interest, suffer'd themselves to be charmed with them ; punishments did but make them scatter and encrease and enflame their Zeal the more. So that several of the Parliament, some out of a more tender and merciful nature, others because they had embraced them, were of the mind to moderate those to severe prosecutions. The King knowing this, sent for *Giles le Maître* first President, and two others, with the Procurator, or Solicitor General, and commanded them to execute his Edict of *Chasteau-Brant* with the utmost severity.

Le Maître makes report to the whole Company of the Kings Commands, as they were arguing upon that Subject, and most-voices inclined towards a mitigation, the business being in good forwardness, behold the King having notice, (as it was presumed, from *Le Maître*) comes into the Parliament, this was on the Tenth of *June*, and makes them continue the debate before him. His presence did not so much daunt them, but that three, amongst the rest *Anne de Bourg* Councillor Clerc, proceeded boldly to deliver their Sentiments upon the principal points of Religion, and concluded by demanding a Council, and that in the mean time Executions might be suspended. He had the patience to hear them to the very last Argument, and then to make the Clerk read over the Result of all. Having thus discover'd their opinions, he gave order to seize upon *Du Bourg* and *Du Faur* in the place, and afterwards sent to take the President, *Ranconnet* and the Councillors *Paul de Foix*, and *Anthony Funee*, all which were carried to the *Bastille*. The President *du Ferrier*, the Councillors *Viole du Val*, and *Regnault*, had met with the same treatment could they have been found. Never did that August Assembly receive so great and so shameful a rebuke and blemish. They appointed Commissioners for Trial of the Prisoners. The Tragical accident which interven'd three Weeks after, put some stop to those vehement prosecutions.

The Court being filled with all manner of Mirth, Divertissements and expressions of Joy for the Nuptials of the Kings Daughter, which was celebrated by Proxy the Seven and Twentieth of *June*, and there being Turnaments and Caroufles within Lifts made cross the Street *Saint Antoine*, from the Palace Royal des *Tournelles* to the *Bastille* : Death, as we may say, having placed himself in *Amphis* amidst those pastimes and pleasures, gave a blow as fatal as unforeseen, which converted all those gawdy Liveries into Mourning Weeds. About the end of the third dayes tilting, which was the Thirtieth of *June*, the King had a great desire, (who had before broken several Lances with a great deal of dexterity,) to Jilt or Tilt agen with his Beaver open against the Earl of *Montgomery* Son of the Lord de *Lorges*, one of the Captains of his Guard du Corps. The Earl excused himself as much as he could, but he would absolutely have it so ; now it hapned

1559. ned that the Earl having broken against his Breast Plate, hit him likewise above the right Eye-brow with the Truncheon that remained in his hand.

The stroke was so great that it threw him backwards on the ground, and deprived him both of knowledge and speech. He never recover'd them more; which may convict of falsity those different discourses, which both the one side and the other, did put into his Mouth, suitable to their divers interests and passions. Notwithstanding he survived yet near eleven dayes, and breathed not his last sigh, till the tenth day of July. He was in the fourth Month of the one and fortieth year of his Life, and the thirteenth of his Reign.

About the end of June the Duke of Savoy was come to Paris, accompanied with the Duke of Brunsweic, the Prince of Orange, and an Hundred Gentlemen of Quality; He had been received with extraordinary Civility by the King, who met him at the Foot of the great Stair-Cafe in the Louvre. When he found they despair'd of the Kings Life, he so much press'd the consummating of his Marriage, that it was performed in *Nostre Dame* without any Pomp the ninth of July. *Margaret* his Wife was in the seven and thirtieth year of her Age.

They blamed King *Henry* of too much Indulgence, or to speak better, too great weakness towards his Mistress and his Favorites, but they applauded a generous bounty in him to his Domesticks, a great moderation and sweetness, an agreeable Conversation, and a marvellous facility of expressing himself as well in publick as in particular. He might have been praised likewise for his love to Learning (for indeed he cherish'd it) if the dissolutions of his Court, authorised by his example, had not perverted the best and choicest Wits to Compose Romances full of extravagant Visions, and Lascivious Poems, to flatter those Vices and that Impurity which had all the rewards in custody, and to furnish that Sex with vain delights and amusements who still reign and govern by Fopperies.

Most of those Vices which ruine great States, and draw down the wrath of Heaven, reigned in that Court; their gaming was seen in Triumph, Luxury, Impudicity, Libertinage, Blasphemy, and that curiosity as foolish as impious, to look into the Secrets of what is to come, by the detestable Illusions of Magick Art.

Catherine de Medicis after a ten Years Barrenness, brought this King ten Children, as many of the one as of the other Sex, the Eldest at this time being but seventeen Years old. One of the Sons, and two of the Daughters died in their Cradle. There remained four Sons and three Daughters. The four Sons were named *Francis*, *Charles*, *Alexander* and *Hercules*; the names of the two last were changed at their confirmation, *Alexander* was named *Henry*, and *Hercules* changed for *Francis*. The three first reigned after each other, and all four died without Children. The three Daughters were *Isabella*, *Claude*, and *Marguerite*; *Isabella* Married *Philip II.* King of Spain, *Claude* *Charles III.* Duke of Lorraine, and *Marguerite* *Henry de Bourbon* who was then King of Navarre, and afterwards King of France. He had besides two Illegitimate Children, *Diana* whom he Married to *Horatio Farnese*, then to *Francis* Eldest Son of the Connestable of *Montmorency*, and *Henry* who was Grand Prior of the Order of *Malta*, and Governor of *Provence*.

The End of the Second Volume.

A
Chronological Abridgment,
OR,
EXTRACT
OF THE
HISTORY
OF
FRANCE.

By the *Sieur de Mezeray*.

TOME III.

Beginning at King *Francis II.* and ending at the
end of the Reign of *Henry IV.*

Translated by *John Buteel*, Gent.

LONDON,

Printed for *Thomas Basset*, *Samuel Lowndes*, *Christopher Wilkinson*, *William Cademan*, and *Jacob Tonson*, MDC LXXXIII.

FRANCIS II.

King LIX.

Aged xvi Years and vi. Months.

POPES,

PAUL IV. 27 *dayes* under this
Reign.

PIUS. IV. Elected the 26 of December 1559. S. Five Tears, and eleven Months and a half.

IF in a State it be a certain sign of it's decadency, the want of good Heads for Council, and good hands, (great Soldiers) for Execution: it is as certain a fore-runner and cause of troubles and Civil Wars, to have multitudes of Princes and over-grown Nobility when there is not an Authority great enough to contain and keep them to their duty. This misfortune hapned to *France* after the death of King *Henry II.* as soon as he was no more, the Factions which were formed during his Reign, began to appear, and by an unluckly fate met with, to fortifie themselves, differing Parties in Religion, great numbers of Malecontents, lovers of Novelities, and which was more and worse, Soldiers of Fortune, who having been disbanded would needs get themselves some employment at what rate soever.

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On one side were to be seen the Princes of the Blood and the Constable, on the other the Princes of the House of *Guise*; betwixt these two Parties, the Queen Mother who was bargaining to make her best Market, and sided sometime with the one, and then with the other: In the midst of all these a young King, as weak in mind as in body, exposed to the first occupier, and the prize contended for the Government of the Kingdom.

As for the *Guises*, they were Five Brothers, the Duke, the Cardinal de *Lorraine*, the Duke d' *Annale*, the Cardinal de *Guise*, and the Marquess d' *Elbenf*: we are not to make any reckning of the three last because they acted nothing but by the inspiration and motion of the other two. The Duke drew his Party to him by the Reputation of his Valour, his Liberality, and his Affability, the Cardinal de *Lorraine* by his Eloquence and his Learning. They were, notwithstanding of very different humors, the Duke moderate, just, undaunted in dangers, the Cardinal hot, undertaking and vain, puffed up with good success, but trembling and faint-hearted at the least frowns of Fortune.

Amongst the Princes of the Blood, there was *Anthony* King of *Navarre*, *Lewis* Prince of *Condé*, the Duke of *Montpensier*, and the Prince de *la Roche-sur-yon*. *Anthony* was a voluptuous and fearful Prince, and more considerable for his Quality than his Power; *Lewis* was Valiant, Hardy, and one of the greatness of whole Courage, and meanness of whole slender Fortune, made him fit to undertake every thing. *Anthony* did not stand firm but abandoned his younger Brother: to his
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very

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very death he fluctuated in doubts of Religion, and was neither a good Catholic, nor right Lutheran. His Brother followed the Opinions of Calvin.

The *Guises* seized upon the Kings Person, because he had Married their Niece *Mary Steward Queen of Scotland*, and upon the favourable pretence of the Catholic Religion; The others made sure of the *Malcontents*, the Disbanded Soldiers, and the protection of the Religionaries, whose dispute was yet much greater and stronger than their numbers.

The *Marschal de Saint André*, a Lord as brave as witty and polite, but very Luxurious and over-head and ears in debt, devoted himself wholly to them, and promised the Duke to bestow his Daughters upon which of his Sons he pleased, with all the Estate belonging both to him and his Wife, reserving only the clear Revenue during their term of Life; This he did fearing to be devoured by his Creditors should he ever happen to be expelled the Court.

The Constable a great temporiser, and who had wont to be prime Minister of State, could not stoop now to be inferior! He admitted the batteries and carrels of both Parties: but at length adhered to the *Guisans*, in hatred to the novel opinions, being persuaded by his Wife, and second Son, that the Title he bore of the first Christian Baron, would not allow him to linck himself with those who did impugn the Catholic Religion.

The Duke of *Montpensier* and the Prince of *la Roche Sur-Yon*, though both of the House of *Bourbon*, were led by the same motives, and did not so much respect the proximity of Blood, as the name of the Ancient Church, and the King, from whom they would not start aside for any other Consideration whatsoever.

A motive directly contrary to the Constables, cast the Admiral *de Coligny* and his Brother *Dandelo*, Colonel of the French Infantry, on the side of those Princes who favour'd the new Religion, of which they were thoroughly convinced and persuaded, besides that they had the Honour to be Allied to the Prince of *Condé*. For he had Married *Eleonora de Roye*, Daughter of one *Magdelain de Mailly*, who was their Sister by the Mothers side, she and they being Born of *Louisa de Montmorency*, who was first Married to *Federic du Mailly**, Then to the *Marschal de Chastillon* Father of these two Lords.

* This *Marschal* was *Coligny*, *Galpar*, under *Francis* I.

When King *Henry II.* received his hurt, the Queen Mother was in suspense a day or two whether to joyn with the Constable or the *Guises*. She looked upon both the one and the other as her Enemies, being all Allied to the Dutchess of *Valentinois*, whom she hated mortally, though in her Husbands Life-time she feigned to love her even to the height of confidence. But she thought her self much more affronted by the Constable, then the *Guises*, because it was he that had last adventurd to contract an Alliance with that Woman. Besides the *Guises* utterly abandoned her; notwithstanding the repugnance of the Duke d' *Anjou* who was her Son in Law: and withal they promised this Queen so much Service and so great Submission, that she resolved to stand by them; To which me may add that being Uncles to the young King, as they were, it might perhaps have been out of the reach of her power or interest to have fet them aside.

When the Constable perceived his Game was near lost, he sent in all post hast to the King of *Navarre* to press him to come and take that Place and Authority his Birth justly claimed under the young King: but that Prince who was flow and irresolute, and who withal did not much confide in him, because he had once advised the deceased King to seize upon the remainder of his petie Kingdom, did not make much hast. This signal fault, and after this his strange irresolutions, and the weakness of his Conduct during all this and the following Reign, may be accounted indirectly amongst the principal and main causes of all the Troubles and Misfortunes that beset the Kingdom of *France*.

Wherefore the *Guises* having gained the Mastery at Court, the King declared to the Parliaments Deputies when they came to wait on him; That he had committed the direction of his Affairs to them, that is to say, the Intendance or Over-sight of all the Affairs of War to the Duke, and that of the Finances, or Treasury to the Cardinal. Being thus established, they consider'd of removing out of the way all those that might be obnoxious. They left the Constable and *Marschals of France* no more Commiſſion but to Bury the late King, and sent the Princes of *Condé* and de *la Roche Sur-Yon* into *Spain*, the first to carry the Coller of the Order to King *Philip*, the other to get the Treaty of Peace confirmed. They likewise banished the Dutchess of *Valentinois* from the Court: but first obliged

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obliged her to restore and deliver up the Jewels, and the rich Furniture and Goods the late King had bestowed upon her, and took away her fair House of *Chenonceaux* to accommodate the Queen-Mother, in exchange for the Castle of *Chamout* upon the Banks of the River *Loire*.

Desiring by embellishing the face of their new Government with a shew of Goodness and Justice towards the publick, to condemn the Government past, they took the Seals from *Berrandi* Cardinal and Archbishop of *Sens*, whose reputation was not of the best, and restored them to the Chancellor *Olivier*, a person really of a much more then ordinary merit and of great probity; but who soon perceived they had recalled him to servitude rather than to a freedom of function in the highest Office of the Kingdom.

The Queen-Mother in the mean time persuaded the King to discharge the Constable, and on her own score, reproach'd him for having said, That of all the Children which King *Henry* had, there was none resembled him but a natural Daughter of his.

She desired also that the Cardinal de *Tournon* might be recalled, because She would make use of his Counsel, which she thought would be the more sincere, he being engaged to neither party. The *Guises* agreed to it, and indeed it would have been difficult for them to hinder it, besides they believed they might be confident of him, he being a capital enemy to the Constable.

The King of *Navarre* crawled along by ease journeys, and made a halt at *Vendosme*. The Princes of *Condé* and de *la Roche Sur-Yon* went even to that place to sollicit him to come to Court. He came at length, but too late, the *Guises* had taken care he should be ill received, they did not align him Lodgings suitable to his Quality, he must have laid on the Floor had not the *Marschal de Saint André* lent him his; and as soon as ever the King saw him, he told him he had given the administration to his Uncles de *Guise*.

Notwithstanding all this unworthy treatment, his friends exhorted him to stand his Ground: the *Guises* bethought them of a Stratagem to make him quit the Spot. They read before him in full Council some Letters from the King of *Spain*, of whom the Queen had demanded assistance against the Factious where-with he was threatened; The Letters imported, that in case there should be any found so audacious as to controll the Government the King had established, he offer'd his whole power to chastise them. The *Navarrois* easily apprehended that this might be a plausible colour and pretence for him to invade his Country of *Navarre*, and was counsell'd to go back: with all possible speed to put things in good order: but that he might leave the Court with somekind of reputation, he got the Commiſſion to conduct the new Queen of *Spain* to the Frontiers.

He went not however till after the Kings Coronation. This Ceremony was performed the one and twentieth of September with great Pomp in the City of *Reims*, by the Ministry of the Cardinal de *Lorraine* who was Archbishop thereof. At their departure from thence he conducted the Queen to *Navarre*, being accompanied by the Cardinal de *Bourbon* and the Prince de *la Roche Sur-Yon*. He delivered her up to King *Philip* Deputies, those were the Cardinal de *Burgoi*, and his Brother the Duke de *P. Infamado*; and because it was said she should be conducted into the Territories of *Spain*, and yet the delivery of her was at *Renevans* which is within the limits of *Navarre*, he drew up a Protestation that it might be no prejudice to him, and that from thence they might not make it a consequence, that the Kingdom of *Navarre* was a Province dependant on *Spain*. After this the *Spaniards* in recompence for his pains and care, gave him fair, but empty hopes, to do him right concerning his Kingdom. He nibled at this Bait, and the Queen-Mother amused and tempted him with it as long as he lived.

In the preceding Month of August, King *Philip* had left the Low-Countries, and was gone into *Spain* by Sea, where he chose his residence for all the rest of his life. His Father had tenderly cherished the Flemmings, and had most happily made use both of their Councils and Arms: but he being bred in the imperious Air of *Spain*, could not agree with a people that were free, and such as could prodigally expose both their lives and fortunes for their Princes service, but yet would not suffer themselves to be robbed of them. He left as Governours over them Margaret his natural Sister Wife of Octavian Duke of *Parma*, with whom was joyned as chief Counsellor Anthony Perenot de

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Granville

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Granvelle a Cardinal, originally a Franco-Comtois, but haughty and arrogant as a Spaniard. At his Arrival in Spain he caused a great many to be burnt in his own presence at Seville and Valladolid of those they call Lutherans, both Men and Women, Gentlemen and Ecclesiastiques, as likewise the Effigies or Fantasme of Constance Ponce Confessor to Charles V. who attended that Emperor till his death. We must not wonder that he scrupled no more the defaming of his Fathers Memory, since, if we will believe some, he would have made his process too, and have burnt his bones for the Crime of Heresy, nothing binding him from it; but this consideration that if his Father were an Heretic, he had forfeited his Estate, and by consequence had no right to resign them to his Son.

Some weeks before the departure of the Navarrais, there were two Edicts made, one of them to forbid the wearing of any Fire-Arms, or even long Cloaks or large Breeches that might conceal them: The second revoked all alienations of the Demesnes. Both the one and the other were made at the desire of the Guises, the first for the security of their Persons, the second that they might prejudice or gratify whom they pleas'd. And indeed they gained many of the great ones by this means; as they likewise made themselves many creatures by the creation of Eighteen Knights of the Order of Saint Michael. Which so debased and villified that Order, formerly preserved with great care by the Kings of France, that it was in raillery called the Coker for every Banquet.

With the same design and that they might have Governments and Offices enough for themselves and for their friends, they obliged the King to declare that he would suffer none hereafter to hold two at one time. The Admiral had the Government of the Isle of France and that of Picardy, he resigned the latter very cheerfully, believing they would bestow it on the Prince of Condé: but the Guises disposed of it in favour of Brisac, whom they intended to bind to their own Party. The Constable endured a pulling by the Ears before he would lay down his Office of Grand Maître of the Kings Household; when he perceived that after fair warning they were going to use force, he surrendered it to the King, who conferr'd it upon the Duke of Guise. All he could do was to obtain an Office of Marechal of France, which was created extraordinary, for Francis his eldest Son.

After the Coronation they carried the King to Bar. The Duke of Lorraine his Brother in Law being come to salute him there, he by Letters Patents renounced the Sovereignty he had of Barrois, in favour of that Prince.

The Novelty and pretence of a Reformation in an Age that so much wanted it, opened the hearts of the French to the new Religion; and on the other hand the necessity there was to pluck up this Darnel and the like Weeds; furnish'd those that governed with a fair occasion and opportunity to make themselves formidable, even to the most innocent, who in such junctures, fear lest they should be look'd upon as Hereticks how little soever tainted.

The young King believed that to execute his Fathers will, was to extirpate all such as opposed the Catholick Belief: to this end he Created in each Parliament a particular Chamber, or Court, that took Cognizance of no other matter. They were named *Chambres Ardentes* *, because in effect they burned without Mercy all such as were convicted: and there needed no other proof but the finding them at some Nocturnal or Clandestine Conventicle. The President Saint André, and the Inquisitor * Demochares laboured with great diligence at Paris, and fought them even in the bottom of Cellars, upon the intelligence of their Spies, amongst others a Taylor and two Goldsmiths who had been of that Religion.

Two young Men of these Mouchards, or Informers deposed, that in those midnight Assemblies they did eat of the Paschal Lamb, and Roasted Pigg, and afterwards put out the Lights, and mingled in an unclean manner with those they first happened to meet, nay one of them affirmed that upon the like occasion it fell to his lot to encounter an Advocates Daughter of the Place Maubert, at whose House they held such communion. This calumny was spread abroad by the populace, told in the Louvre, and brought to the Ears of the King and Queen, and though

* Burning Courts.

* His name was de Mouchard, born in a Village of the Diocese of Noyon, and his Spies were called Mouchards. I. e. Eaves-droppers, or spies.

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these Witnesses had been convict of falsehood by the Chancellor, that did not hinder it from making some impression on the Queen.

Thus the Religionaries being pursued and punished every where, especially in the great Cities, as Aix in Provence, Toulouse, Poitiers, and Bourges, began to think how to defend themselves. They first made use of the Pen, and scatter'd about several Libels which tended to make out, that Kings ought not to be accounted Majors sooner than other Men; That in the mean time it belonged to the Estates to assign them a Council; and that the Princes of the Blood ought to have the first place and rank; that the Laws of the Land did not admit either of Women, or Strangers; That the Guises were not natural French Men; That besides they had pretensions upon Anjou and Provence, and even to the whole Kingdom, saying they were descended from Charlemain; That therefore the trusting them with the Government was to hazard the whole State. They added many reasons and examples, to prove the administration of Cardinals had ever been very prejudicial to France; That Francis I. though he made use of them, yet never admitted them into the Council when it concerned the Affairs of Rome; and that experience had fully enough demonstrated that the Venetian Policy, which excluded all Ecclesiastiques from the management of Affairs, was very wise, and very prosperous.

These Books wanted not fort eopies. Du Tillet one of the Registers in Parliament made one, which at that time was torn to pieces and silenced by the multiplicity of smart answers: but in another Season had the fortune to be revived and brought in credit by the Chancellor de l'Hospital, and cry'd up as it had been a Law of the Land.

They then were labouring in good earnest for the Execution of the Articles of Peace. The Marechal de Brisac with much regret gave up the City of Valence, and those in Piedmont. Those that held Thionville and the places of Luxembourg, went out with curses in their Mouths against those Ministers that made that Treaty; nor could any heart be so hardened as not to be touched at the lamentations and sad cries wherewith the Cowes and Siennois endeavoured to move Heaven and Earth to compassion, when they had notice the French abandoned them to their severe Masters. The Siennois made the last attempt their disparting impotency could prompt them to, for the defence of their liberty: but in a short time, they fell under the weight of the Spanish Forces, who to compleat the measure of their misery, delivered them over to the Duke of Florence, reserving however the maritime Towns.

There were at Court great numbers of persons of every Province, especially Martial Men, who demanded either their pay, or some reward. The Cardinal de Lorraine who had the management of the Treasury, was mightily importun'd and pester'd with them, and moreover he apprehended some Conspiracy amongst the multitude. Wherefore he caus'd an Edict to be published which commanded all such as followed the King and Court only to solicit and begg some thing of him, they should forbear and withdraw, upon pain of being truss'd up on a Gibbet, which for that very purpose was set up in the publick place. This rude treatment turn'd great numbers of those against him, that had formerly served in the Armies.

A Quartan Ague tormented the King for some Months, which made him incapable of applying himself to business, besides that he was naturally very weak. When he came to be cured, many pustules appeared on his livid Face, which signified some internal indisposition. He was therefore carried to Blois for change of Air; whilst he staid there, some in that Country, by whomsoever employed, fought for young Infants that they might have their Blood, as they gave out to make the King a Bath. For which reason many will needs have it that he was infected with Naamans Disease.

In the mean time they zealously prosecuted all such as were imprison'd for the matters of Religion. They began with the Counsellors of the Parliament of Paris formerly mentioned. Anne du Bourg having fenced a long time for his life by several Appeals, to the Metropolitane of Sens, then to the Primate of Lyons, for he was an Ecclesiastick and a Priest, in the end threw aside his Mask and boldly declared that he profess'd a Belief contrary to that of the Roman Church. The Zealots of his opinion had push'd him on to this resolution. They imagined that being a man of eminent condition, of rare merit, and great virtue, at least, as to his Morals, his example would take a marvellous impression, and for those

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those reasons the Parliament would never expose him to the infamy of Execution. But they deceived themselves: the heat of those that had taken this business in hand, made them go thorough with it; and there hapned an Accident besides which hastned his ruine. He had excepted against the President Saint André, and finding notwithstanding he still appeared, he threatened him that God would restrain and compel him to keep away. Now some days after, it so fell out, that this President going from the Palace, was assassinated and shot with a Pistol, and it was currently reported the first President was in danger of the like. The Authors of this Murder could never be discovered, tho Robert Stuart being vehemently suspected, was put in Prison.

This incident exasperated those that Governed in such sort, that Du Bourg was condemned to death, and after he had been degraded of his holy Orders, was burnt in the *Greve*, they having first strangled him. He went to his death with so much joy and so great shew of piety, that his Execution was so far from striking any terror, it begot compassion in every one, and inspired many with this persuasion, that the Belief so good and so understanding a man professed, could not possibly be bad. The other Counsellors *Eustace de la Porte*, *Paul de Foix* and *Lewis de Faur*, were severally condemned to retract, and suspended from their employments for some time: but the heat of these prosecutions being over, the Parliament restored them. Anthony Fumee alone was fully and wholly absolved.

As for the other Prisoners which were in great numbers, the reiterated commands from Court, heightning the severity of the Judges, they soon emptied all the Goals. They were all sent to death or banishment. As for Robert Stuart, being able to find no favour, or yet the least recommendation in his behalf from the young Queen, who disowned any thing of Kindred or Relation to him, he endured the greatest torments of the Rack without confession, and by that means was cleared.

About these times the ordinary and mean people of their own heads, or by the suggestions of some Zealots, bethought themselves of setting up Images at all the corners of the Streets, especially that of our Lady; they adorned them, lighted Wax Tapers before them, and met together in Crowds singing the *Litany* and other Prayers. And if any one passed by without saluting them and saying there, or if they forgot to put something into the Box, he was taken for a *Lutheran*, and beaten and dragged in the Myre, nay sometimes to a Prison. The wiser Churchmen, who consider'd that those sacred Rites and that worship was not to be used in such undecent places, nor by people of that sort, took away as many of those Images as they could and placed them in their Churches.

Margaret de Lorraine Mother of Queen *Mary Stuart*, Governed the Kingdom of Scotland for her Daughter, assisted by *Henry Clavin-Loyfel* who was sent thither from France. She being disturbed by the Religionaries, of whom *James* (a Bastard of the Kings) Earl of *Murray* was head, they dispatched to her a supply of Three Thousand Men commanded by *la Brosse a Bourbomois*. *Loyfel* was recalled and in his place they sent *Nicholas de Pelue* Bishop of *Amiens*, with whom they joyined some Doctors of the *Sorbon*, to endeavour to reclaim those that were gone astray either by instruction and persuasion or else by compulsion.

These Forces had orders when they should have subdued the Rebels, to March directly into England and conquer that with the assistance of the Catholics, for the benefit of Queen *Mary* who pretended she was Heiress thereof, and had already taken the Arms into her own Coat. *Elizabeth* having information of it, perhaps by the Admirals means, furnished the Rebels with Twelve Hundred Men, and those together in one Body besieged the Port of *Lieth*, within half a League of *Edinburgh*. *La Brosse* and *Sebastian de Luxemburg Marignies* put themselves into the place to defend it. There were gallant feats of Arms acted by either party, during this Siege. At last both sides being tyred with the War, made up a Peace. In which it was agreed, that all their differences and disputes should be judged and determined by the general Estates of the Country, and that the King of France and the Queen his Wife should quit both the Arms and the Title of Kings of England.

Pope Paul V. who longed for nothing so much as to establish the Inquisition over all Christendom, made his Exit out of this World eight days after King Henry II. The Roman People, in hatred for his having put that Took upon their necks, broke his Statues,

ties, and pull'd down his Arms in all places where they could come at them. The intrigues of Vargas Ambassador from Spain, and the Caraffa's together kept the See vacant for above three Months: at the end whereof was Elected the Cardinal de Medequin, Brother to the Marquis de Marignan, by the ways and methods usual in their Conclaves. Of whom it may truly be said, that he added the greatest lustre to the sacred purple he ever had, by bringing his Nephew the great Saint Charles Borromeus into the number of Cardinals.

1560.

The Year 1560. began happily enough by a very wholesome Edict, ordaining in all Sovereign Companies and all inferior Courts of Justice, that when any places were vacant, they should present three persons to the King such as were without reproach, and men thoroughly versed in the knowledge of the Law, of whom he was to chuse the party he best liked. But the impertunity of Court flies, who ever stick close to what is most corrupted, and indeed live by it, would not allow so holy an Ordinance should take place. Thus though justice in it self be a most divine and most necessary thing to all Societies, yet since the number of the wicked and such as are self-interested will be eternally the greater, such endeavours for setting good and wholesome methods may always be praise-worthy, but will ever prove ineffectual.

Although the Prince of Condé, the Admiral and Dandelot his Brother were notoriously imbued, and tainted with the Novel Opinions, and favoured to the utmost of their power those that did profess them, they had not as yet dared to declare themselves their Chiefs. In the end those miserable people being prosecuted with all extremity united together, to extinguish those flames that were kindled to consume them: but they did not restrain themselves to the defensive only, their despair carried them far beyond those bounds and limits.

A Gentleman of *Angoumois* by name *George Bary la Renaudie*, one who had been formerly condemned for some Crime, was entrusted by the Principals to go to all the Churches of those pretended Reformed People, and persuade them to send their Deputies to *Nantes* about the time when the Parliament of *Remes* was to be transferr'd thither. He acquitted himself so well, that there came to him at the day appointed to the number of above one hundred and fifty.

When they had heard his harangue, and weighed the opinions of several Divines of their Belief, who affirmed they might take up Arms in their own defence, and make way for a free access to the King to present their Remonstrances: they Elected for their * private or nameless Chief the Prince of Condé, and under his Authority *la Renaudie*; and resolved that in every Province should be chosen a certain number of Un-Married Men, who under such Chiefs by them named, should go to *Amboise*, upon a day assigned; that they should there present their Petition to the King, and seize upon the Duke of *Guise* and the Cardinal de *Lorraine*, that they might be brought to Tryal by process before the Estates. But who could give security or answer for them they would not have kill'd them out of hand, and have made themselves Masters of the Queen-Mothers person and the King himself? This was certainly all laid to their Charge.

The design was kept so private, that the *Guises* had advice of it from Foreign Countries sooner than they discover'd it in France. The time drawing near, *la Renaudie* who forged a thousand fine imaginations upon the event of this project, could not hold his tongue, but opened the whole mystery to an Advocate of his own Religion named *des Avenelles*, with whom he lodged at Paris. The Advocate discover'd it to *P. Allemand* Vaux a Master of Requests, and *P. Allemand* carried him to Court to declare particularly all what he had learned of the *Renaudie*.

Upon this news the *Guises* first provided for the security of their own persons, and without the least noise called all their trustiest friends about them, gave order for the preservation of the great Cities, caused the Prince and the Admiral to come to Court, granted an abolition of all things past to the Religionaries, excepting to those that had conspired; and at the same time set Guards of Soldiers and Men belonging to the Provosts upon all the Roads leading to the Conspirators. The Duke got the Title of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom confirmed to him, as well whilst the King should be present, as absent, and established a Company of Musketeers on Horse-back, all select Men, who were constantly to attend the Kings Sacred Person.

The

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The Court immediately dislodged from Blois, and went to the Castle of Amboise, as well because that place was stronger, as to break the measures of the Plotters. In the mean time the Duke of Guise sent the Kings Orders into all the Provinces, with exhortations to the Nobility, and Officers of War, to arm themselves for the preservation of the State, and to the Governors to seize upon all such as should be found in Arms, whether on Foot or on Horseback upon the Road of Amboise. The Prince of Condé who was going to Court, met the Lord de Cypierre at Orleans, by whom he was informed how the enterprize was discover'd: but this hindered not his Journey forward, nor *la Renaudie* (a fellow-will'd fellow) from pursuing his design. But the Court having changed their station, he was fain to change the Rendezvous appointed for his Gang, and this was it that made them miscarry in the execution of the contrivance.

Castelno de Chaloisse, one of the chief Ring-leaders, with *Ramsey* and *Mazeres* were at *Nogé*. *James de Savoye* Duke of *Nemours* took the two last as they were imprudently walking without the Castle: but *Castelno* and the rest got in. He besieged them there, and being unable to take them by force, drew them out by fair promises; for he gave them his word he would carry them to the King and no hurt should be done to them, neither should they be confin'd to Prison. But as there is no security in the faith of that Man that is not able to warrant it *, as soon as they were come to Amboise they were cast into a Goal, and *Nemours* thought it a sufficient excuse to say, I cannot help it.

* He that cannot warrant it, ought not to promise it.

La Renaudie who was in *Vendosmois*, made his Men advance with all speed to disengage *Castelno*, whose surrender he knew not of: but as they Marched in small parties and by ways thorow the Forrests, the people set there by the Kings Order to watch them, easily slew them, or took them Prisoners, and tied them to their Horse-Tails to lead them to Amboise, whither they no sooner came but they hang'd them up immediately on the Battlements of the Walls, Booted and Spur'd. The day after *la Renaudie* was kill'd in the Forrest of *Château-Renaud*, but he first slew *Paradieu* his Cousin, to whom the King had given command to go a-hunting after the Conspirators with two hundred Horse. His Body was for some hours hang'd upon the Bridge at Amboise, with this writing, *Captain of the Rebels*, then quarter'd, and the quarters set up in divers places.

The *Guises* press'd the Chiefs might be dispatch'd, the Chancellor was of opinion they should suspend that till they had found the bottom and main drift of the enterprize, and to appease the fury of those exasperated spirits, it would be fit to grant a Pardon to such whole blind zeal had misled them, provided they would return to their own homes, in small parcels of two or three in a Company. But whilst they were contending for Mercy and Clemency against the rigour of Justice and Law, a Captain of the Conspirators named *la Motte*, made an attempt to surprize Amboise, which stop'd the Chancellors Mouth, and let loose the raynes of persecution to the utmost severity. A Command was given to take all such as had been in Arms either dead or alive, though they should be returning to their own homes.

They pardon'd very few of those they had in Hold; there were hang'd, drown'd, and beheaded near Twelve Hundred, the Streets of Amboise were overflowed with Blood, the River choked up with dead Corps, and the Market-places plant'd full of Gibbets. The Chief were Executed the last, the Queen-Mother, her three Sons, and all the Court Ladies gazing out of the Windows, beholding this Tragical Spectacle as a divertissement. Not one of them would own or confess that the Conspiracy aimed at the Kings Person, but only against the *Guises*. *Ramsey* and *Mazeres* confessed upon the Rack that *la Renaudie* had told them, that if it had succeeded the Prince of Condé would have declared: *Castelno* stoutly denied it, and upon their confrontation gave them very significant reproaches.

Some writings in Cyphers seized in the Custody of *la Bigne* Secretary of the Conspiracy, and the Examinations of certain Captains that had Command amongst them, gave them light enough to believe that the Prince of Condé and the Admiral were concerned: but the proofs not being clear, and the Evidence only upon hear-say, and those that had orders to search the Princes House, finding neither Men nor Arms there, he demanded leave to purge himself in full Council before the King. The Queen Mother being willing to admit him, he made a discourse full of Reason and Eloquence to justify himself concerning that attempt; and afterwards gave the Iye to all that durst say he was guilty of it, and

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and offer'd to Fight them himself, renouncing his Quality, only for that purpose. The Duke of Guise out of a most profound dissimulation applauded his generosity, and told him, he was also ready to maintain his Innocency: but in private he notwithstanding was of opinion he ought to be seized on. The Queen Mother did not judge it convenient, whether she feared the *Guises* might make themselves too absolute, if they could but pull down the only Prince that was able to make head against them, or that the apprehended left such a detension should produce some act of desperation, which might prove more fatal than the fore-going Conspiracy.

The danger over, they wrote Letters in the name of the King to all the Parliaments, Governors and great Cities, giving them an account of the eminent danger the King had escaped, and the signal Service the Duke of Guise had render'd him. The Parliament of Paris giving Credit to it, bestowed upon him the glorious Title of *Conservator of the Country*. In the mean while the *Coligny's* observing they were looked upon with a very evil Eye at Court, withdrew themselves, and the Queen order'd the Admiral to go and quiet those Commotions that were beginning in *Normandy*, and to enquire and search out the real causes that he might make report thereof to her.

The horror of this Conspiracy, and so much blood as had been spilt in punishing it, so deeply wounded the Heart of *Francis Olivier* who had a tender and most humane Soul, that he fell sick upon it and died. The Cardinal de *Lorraine* had cast his Eye upon *John de Mevillers* Bishop of Orleans: but the Queen prevented him, and desired the King to give that Office to *Michael de P Hospital*; at least she made some body tell him, that he owed that favour to her, although the Cardinal would needs persuade him it came by his means; *P Hospital* did afterwards make it plainly appear the Obligation was from the Queen, by his so closely sticking to her Interest.

The Cognizance of all matters and Crimes relating to Heresies had hitherto belonged to the Parliaments, who five years before had contended mightily to preserve the same. Now, as there were many Counsellors and of the most Learned, who were imbued with those Novelties, the Cardinal de *Lorraine* got all such causes to be transmitted to the Bishops by an Edict of the Month of May, at *Ramoursin in Berry*: To which the new Chancellor consented, to prevent a greater evil, the Inquisition, which that Cardinal and the Court of Rome endeavour'd to introduce in France, with the same power it hath in Spain.

In France they had hitherto called those that professed the new Religion *Lutherans*, though in many points they did not follow the Doctrines of *Luther*. Some did more properly name them *Sacramentaries*, because they denied the Reality of the Body of our Lord in the Holy Sacrament. This year they applied the name of *Huguenots* to them, which sticks upon them still. The Origin of it is uncertain: there are those that say it took its birth at *Tours*, and they derive it from the name of *Hugon*, because those Novators made their Mid-night Assemblies at the Gate *Hugon*, or because they went abroad only during the darkness, like Goblins or Spirits, by them called King *Hugon*, and which according to the fabulous reports of those People, stalked about the Streets of that Town in the Night time. For my own part, I think I have good Proof that it comes from a * *Swiss* word which signifies League, but corrupted by those of *Geneva*, and from thence it Travelled into France with the Religionaries themselves, who were so called in those Countries.

* Fidenhoffen or Fidenos, then Huguenots.

After Queen *Catherine* had Fortified her self by the Councils of the Chancellor de *P Hospital*, she was precautioned as well against the *Guises* as against the Princes of the Blood; And as she would always keep to that Maxime of her House, as a Rule to walk by, *Divide and Reign*, she studied to continue the troubles, that she might still find a Party to rely upon, and make them balance one another. And if either side grew too ponderous, she put more weight into the other Scale to bring them to an equality. Thus observing the absence of the two first Princes of the Blood, and the *Coligny's*, who were gone to their own homes, left the *Guises* in too great Credit, she began to lend a more favourable ear to the *Huguenots*, and even to read some Writings they address'd to her for their justification.

With the same prospect, or to dive into the designs and interests of the Grandees, the Summoned them all to *Fountainbleau* upon the twentieth of August, under colour of taking their advice upon the present State of affairs, as it was other-

p p p

while

1560, while the Ancient and necessary Custom, and Method of the Kingdom of France.

The Constable, the Admiral and Dandlot went thither with a Train of Eight or Nine Hundred Gentlemen. The Assembly lasted only four Sessions; They were held in the Queen Mothers Cloister, the King being present.

The first day, the King and then the Queen his Mother, having in few words declared the occasion of their being called, which was to find out some remedy for the Troubles caused by differences in Religion, and to root out those abuses that sprung up so fast in all the Orders, conjured those that were present to give their opinions and speak their thoughts without passion or interest. The Chancellor did more at large lay open what the distempers and disorders were, and the Remedies they might apply.

When he had ended, the Admiral advanced and falling on his knees before the King, presented him some Petitions, not signed by any one, but which he said he had received in Normandy, which implored the Kings mercy, and begged he would put some stop to the prosecutions against the Reformed, and allow them some Churches and the free exercise of their Faith.

Thereupon John de Montluc Bishop of Valence being desired to give his advice, spoke with more freedom (then any Enemy of the Church of Rome durst have done) of the abuses and vices of the Clergy, particularly the Bishops, Forty of them having been seen at one time together at Paris, wasting their precious time in slothful idleness or forbidden pleasures; praised the devotion in singing of Psalms and Hymnes in French, rather then wanton Ayres and Songs; Blamed the severity inflicted upon People guilty of no other Crime, but a perswasion of what they believed to be really good; and concluded it best to refer the decision of those Controversies to a National Council, there being little hopes of a General one, and the reformation of the disorders in the State to an Assembly of the Estates General. Marillac Archbishop of Vienna spoke to the same purpose, and added several things too piquant against the Guises.

The Cardinal de Lorraine a Prelate of a sublime Eloquence, took the Counter-part against these two Bishops, and by weighty reasons shewed there was no need of any Council, and that the Prosecution ought to be carried on against the Secretaries. As to the other point, he was of opinion to call the Estates together. He also gave an account in gross of the Administration of the Treasury, as his Brother the Duke of Guise of his Conduct in the Government, justifying himself against the Calumnies imputed to him; especially his having Armed the King, against his Subjects by setting up a Guard for him, as he had done, for which he laid all the blame on those that were the Authors of the late attempts and disturbances.

The result of all was an Edict the Four and Twentieth of August, which Summoned the Estates of the Kingdom to meet in the City of Melun upon the Tenth day of December, and ordained the Bishops to come to the King the Tenth of January to such place as the King should prescribe, to consult of a fit time and place to hold a National Council, in case the Pope by affected delays did continue to defeat their hopes of the General one, so often promised. Moreover the Governors were enjoined to watch there might be no factious Meetings, and to suspend their pursuits for matters of Religion, if no other Crime were complicated with it. This was to begin a Toleration. Things being thus regulated, every one had order to retire home.

Great was the Alarm at Rome when they heard mention made of holding a National Council in France; Pius IV. omitted nothing to dissuade the King from it. He represented to him, as a great grievance, that the Gallican Church would re-establish the Pragmaticque, and by consequence the Elections, whereby the Royal dignity and prerogative would be much eclipsed and diminished: He intreated the King of Spain to interpose his Interest and Credits with him to prevent a mischief he reckoned so prejudicial to his Pontifical Authority: And all these Engines proving too weak to obtain a revocation of those resolutions taken in Council, he could find no other expedient to avoid it but by a General Council. He was a while in suspense, whether to call one wholly new, or whether he should continue the same his Predecessors Paul III. and Julius III. had Prorogued. All considered, the advice for continuation seemed best; And he caused publication to be made that the Council should re-commence on Easter-day the following year.

The

1560, The two Brothers Anthony and Lewis de Bourbon did not appear at the Assembly of Melun: for two Months before Anthony was retired to Gasconne, and his Brother was gone to visit him: Being there in much greater security, they settled their Affairs, and projected the means and methods to make themselves the stronger, and set aside the Guises. These having many faithful and trusty Servants, Spies well paid, and all rewards and punishments in their own hands, quickly discover'd their Stratagems, and blasted them before they could be ripe for Execution.

The Princes made use of one named la Sague, an Imprudent man, who Communicated his Secrets to a Camerado of his, with whom he had been Arms in Piedmont. This Fellow whispers it to the Marechal de Brissac, who tells it to the Duke of Guise: So that as la Sague was returning into Gasconne, he was Seized with a great many Letters. Fear of the Rack, or hopes of reward unt'y'd his Tongue: Himself put them in the way how to read some of them, by wetting the Paper, where before there was no Footsteps of any Writing appear'd. The most Criminal were those from Francis de Vendosme Vidame of Chartres, an Enemy to the Duke of Guise; so he was laid hold on and shut up in the Bastille. Some time after he was transfer'd from thence, but under a strong Guard, to his own House, where he Died of grief, if not by the Debauchery of his Youth.

Bouchard who was Chancellor to Anthony, without any other instigation but his own faint-heartedness, did likewise reveal all the practices of the Prince of Condé, and the means he made use of to engage his Brother. He thought hereby to secure himself: but they Seized upon him, and put him in Prison at Saint John d'Angely, where he was kept very close, that they might have his Evidence when time Served.

There appeared in the mean time divers Commotions in the Provinces, which shewed that the whole Body of the Religionaries were on the point of making a general rising; for in Normandy, whither the Admiral had been dispatched, they met and Preached Publickly. The two Brothers Anthony and Paul Richard Montguy, endeavoured to make themselves Masters of Valence, of Montelimard, of Romans in Dauphiné, and of the Cities of Aix and Arles in Provence: but the Lord de Mangeron made them fail in their enterprize; Anthony was slain in a tumult at Draguignan, Paul made his escape into Switzerland.

In like manner Charles du Puy Montbrun making use of the Religionaries in his dispute for the Government of Dauphiné at la Motte Gondrin, was routed by his Adversary, and ran away stark naked, yet got safe to the Swiss Country.

Maligny of the House de Ferriere, who belonged to the King of Navarre attempted also to Seize upon Lyons, causing his Soldiers to Ship in man by man; and he had completed his work if N. Dapchon Abbot de Sauvigny who was Governor in the absence of the Marechal de Saint André his maternal Uncle, had not discover'd his Plot and put the Bourgeois in Arms. Maligny was glad to make his escape, and the Abbot apprehending some worse Event, set open the Gates that he might be gone quietly. The Marechal de Saint André going thither to search into the bottom of the design, caused above fifty of those rash undertakers to be executed.

The Princes promised themselves a much stronger Cabal in the Assembly of Estates then the Guises: nevertheless their Friends were of Opinion they ought not to rely upon that, but come so well Armed to Court, as to be in a Condition either to drive them thence, or make them perish there. To this purpose they had given orders on all hands: but their Letters and practices having taken Air, the Guises made use of the Kings Name to fortify themselves, sent for all the Established Company's, and put forth a Declaration, to all Governors of Provinces, commanding them to punish the disturbers of the publick Peace according to the utmost severity of the Edict, with power to Suspend and displace such Officers as had conniv'd or shew'd any indulgence towards the Factious. Besides all this, they sent to command the Princes to come to Court, only attended with their Household Servants, to justify themselves of such matters wherewith they were charged; so that to speak truly, they left them but a very ill-boding passage to enter, much more like a Prison Door then a Gate of the Louvre.

They resolved however to come. The Cardinal de Bourbon their Brother being deceived first, was an Instrument to deceive them; withal the Dignity of their Birth seemed an inviolable safe-conduct to them. So that the King of Navarre refused seven hundred Gentlemen of Poitou, who offer'd to attend him, and above
P p p 2 fifteen

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fifteen hundred Soldiers who were in a readiness in several Provinces, telling them his Innocency, was his sufficient security, and he would give them no cause to suspect he came with any design to offer violence to the King, or to the Estates.

In his Journey he received notice from several hands, that the *Guises* having scared the King and the Queen Mother with the pretended Conspiracy revealed by *la Sague*, were more Masters at Court than ever, and had perverted upon the extremest resolutions. However he went forward not duly weighing the wife Council of *Marillac* Archbishop of *Nantes*, who having endeavoured all that was possible to dissuade him, died with Grief, and the fear he justly had conceived lest the *Guises*, whom he had already highly offended, should revenge themselves upon him.

The Sixteenth of October, the King with the Queen Mother, the Princes of *Montpensier* and *de la Roche Sur Yon*, the *Guises*, and all the great ones of the Court, went to *Orleans*, after he had quarantined his Gentlemen, and other Soldiers in all the Cities Forty Miles about, and warned the Citizens of *Orleans*, for the most part tainted with the new opinions, and suspected to have intended to deliver it up to the Prince of *Condé*, as they did two years after. He sent with him Messengers into several Provinces to lay hands upon all such as the *Guises* had a mind to involve in the Conspiracy; and all sworn for the Prince of *Condé*.

And indeed as soon as he and his Brother were Arrived, and had saluted the King, *Philip de Mailli Brezé*, and *Francis le Roy Chavigny*, Captains of the Life Guards, Seized him and Convey'd him to a House in the Market place called *l'Esclapé* *, at the Corner whereof they had raised a kind of Bastion of brick with a Platform, defended by several Small Cannon.

The King of *Navarre* his Brother was not secured, but perceived he was very narrowly observ'd, and forsaken by all, excepting the Admiral, and the Cardinal of *Chastillon* his Brother, who faithfully accompanied him. *Dandieu* more apprehensive, had retired himself to his Wives Estate in *Bretagne*. The Dame de *Roye* Mother in Law to the Prince of *Condé*, was likewise Arrested, some few days after in his own House, and carried to the Castle of *Saint Germain en Laye*. So was *Hierosme Grillet* Bailiff of *Orleans*, accused of holding Correspondence with the Religionaries; and *Bouchard* Chancellor to the *Navarrois* was brought from *Saint Jean d'Angely*, as a material Witness that knew the most for the Conviction of the Prince.

The Order for seizing the Prince was proposed by the Marechal de *Brissac*, who boldly exposed himself to all for the *Guises*, the King signed it, and after him the Chancellor, though with regret. The Chancellor, *Christopher de Thou* a President in Parliament, and two Councillors, with the Procuror, or Solicitor General *Bourdin*, and the Register *du Tillier*, went to interrogate him; He refused to answer them, and said he owned no other Judges than the whole Body of Parliament, together with the *Pairs* *, and the King there presiding.

But this appeal and all such others he made afterwards, were declared null by the Kings Council, and upon the Solicitor Generals Petition it was order'd, that he should answer, or that he should be held as fully Convict, and that in the mean time the Witnesses should be re-examined, whereupon he demanded Council, they assigned him two Advocates of *Paris*, *Peter Robert* and *Francis de Marillac*. He was afterwards confronted with Witnesses which were brought in from all Parts; and then saw himself in most eminent danger. But the Queen Mother found her Authority in no less hazard: for the *Guises* who thought themselves already above all by the approaching ruin of their Enemy, began to slight and despise her of whom they stood no longer in need.

Grillet being Condemned to die, his Sentence was looked upon by all Men, as a prejudication and fore-runner of the Princes. Now upon the Seventeenth of November the King being absent, that he might not be present at the Execution of this unhappy man, was seized with a heaviness in his head, which in some dayes turned to an imposthume voiding it self by his Ear. The first Five or Six dayes the Distemper did not appear so dangerous; in the mean time they carried on the Process against the Prince, with so much haste and precipitation, that stepping over many formalities, they Condemned him to loose his Head. The Sentence was signed by the greatest part of the Councillors of State and Men of the Robe, excepting the Chancellor, and the President *Guillard de Mortier*, who observing

* The Staple.

* Or Peers.

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observing the encrease of the Kings malady, were so craven as to give out the time and defer it. Amongst all the Knights of the Order and the Nobles, so much were they devoted to the *Guises*, there was not one but the Countess *de Harcourt* who refused it, notwithstanding three express Orders from the King.

At the same time this terrible Sentence was forging, the Physicians, who had the care of Persons of so eminent a quality, never gave their Judgment easily, still the extremity declared that the King was very near his end, and then did the *Guises* do their utmost to oblige the Queen to have the King of *Navarre* divorced from his wife: but she having taken advice of the Chancellor, could not resolve to give her consent. That prudent Minister made her very sensible how the detention of those two Princes would necessarily leave and confound all the Authority in the hands of the *Guises*, whereas he ought to get it all to his self, and overrule both Parties, by keeping them in equal balance.

And indeed both of them dreading her became her suppliants, the Princes for their Lives, which she had at her disposal, the *Guises* for their Grandeur which she could soon pull down with the assistance of the Princes, and submitted themselves to such Conditions as she pleased. *Anthony* promised under his hand to yield the Regency to her, which belonged to him as first Prince of the Blood, reserving only the Title of Lieutenant General; and the *Guise* swore to serve her for and against all.

Things being in this posture, the King gave up his last gasp of breath the Fifth day of December. He was Aged sixteen years, ten Months and a half, of which he had Reigned only one year and five Months, wanting five dayes. He had no Child by *Mary Stuart* his Wife, who the year following returned into her Kingdom of Scotland.

His Servants, because of the Innocency of his manners and disposition, called him *The King without Vice*, a Title much more glorious than any other can be bestowed, when it hath for its Foundation not the imbecility of mind and understanding, but Wisdom and Vertue.

His death hapning favourably for the Princes and for the *Montmorancies*, gave an occasion to their Enemies to say it had been hastned by *Ambrose Paré* his Chyrurgion, who was a Creature of the Constables, and had injected Poison into his Ear. Others, but a long while afterwards, observing the perverse ambition, and the Conduct of Queen *Catherine de Medicis*, suspected her as guilty of that Crime, as well as of the death of the Daupin * *Francis* his Brother in Law, and of *Charles* * *Vide in the* IX. his second Son. Those that judged with more modesty, found the cause to be in himself, and said that having been generated of corrupt blood, his Mother conceiving him after ten years sterility, which proceeded from a suppression of . . . he had ever been indisposed, especially in his Head, which did at no time discharge it self by the ordinary Channels, so that the pituitous matter corrupting there, caused that Imposthume whereof he died.

All the Court Grandees were so busie about the contriving of their own Affairs, that neither his Mother, nor his Uncle took any care for his Funeral. Of so many Lords, and so many Bishops as were then at *Orleans*, there were none but *Sansac* and *la Brosse* who had been his Governors, and *Lewis Guillard* Bishop of *Sens* (who was blind) that conducted his Corps to *Saint Denis*. His Heart was left to the Church named *Sainte Croix* at *Orleans*.

The *Guises* excused their not attending it upon the necessity there was for them to stay with their Niece to comfort her.

But they were not exempted from reproach, such as had more sence of Honour than Ambition, much blamed them for not paying that little devoir to him from whom they had received so much honour. And indeed, some body tack'd a Paper upon the Pall that cover'd his Coffin, wherein were these words, *Tanquoy du Chafel, where art thou?* This *Tanquoy*, as was well known, tho banished from Court during the Reign of *Charles VII.* his Master, came generously back again thither to make a Funeral for that King at his own charges, shewing his gratitude thereby and making it appear to all the World that his thankfulness for the favours he had received, were above his fear of the resentments of *Lewis XI.* a mortal Enemy to the memory and Servants of his own Father.

The Constable who had been sent for several times, but crept along slowly by little Journeys, having heard the tydings of the Kings death, doubled his pace, and Arrived the Eight of the Month of December at *Orleans*. Entering into the

* *Vide in the*
Reign of *Francis I. King*
LVII.

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the City he made use of the power belonging to his Office, and commanded away the Guards that were at the Gates, threatening to send them to the Gallows if he found them any more besieging, or investing the King in that manner in a time of Peace, and in the very heart of his Kingdom.

As for the Prince, though he had free liberty as soon as ever the King expired, nevertheless he refused to go out of Prison, till he knew who were the prosecutors against him and who his accusers. There were none that undertake to play so desperate a Game, and the *Guards* replied, that he had been used by express Command of the King, but did not produce any Order by virtue whereof he had been so prosecuted. So that Thirteen dayes afterwards he came forth, and went to *St. Martin in Picardy*, attended with Honour and respect by those very men, that had served as Guards upon him in his Confinement.

Charles, who was then in the city, heard of this, and was much surprised, and sent to know the cause thereof. He was told, that the King was dead, and that the Prince was come forth. He was much surprised, and sent to know the cause thereof. He was told, that the King was dead, and that the Prince was come forth.

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CHARLES

CHARLESIX.

King LX.

POPES,

PIUS IV. Five Tears under this
Reign.

PIUS V. Elected the 7 January,
1566. S. 6 Tears 3 Months and
24 dayes.

GREGORY. XIII. Elected the 14.
of May, 1572. S. 13. Tears want-
ing one Month, whereof two years
under this Reign.

Those hopes many had conceived that King Francis II. being near the time of his compleat Majority, might possibly extinguish, all the Factions, were now by his death changed into a just fear of finding them rather more enflamed, and heightened from a Sedition to a Bloody War; wherefore the Tumults increasing every day, they made hast to Assemble the Estates, from whom the silly vulgar expect a redress of all their grievances and troubles.

The first Session was held the Thirteenth of December in a great Timber Hall expressly built in the place called *P. Estape*. The Chancellor begun it with a Speech becoming his gravity. He blamed the violent proceedings in matters of Religion, told them the only means to reclaim such as went astray, was a good exemplary Life, and sound Doctrine, exhorted them earnestly to lay aside the injurious names of *Lutherans*, *Huguenots*, *Papists*, and desired every one to forbear all hatred, and own no passion but for the publick good, in which consists the benefit of all particular Persons. There was nothing else done at this first meeting, only the three Orders were sent to confer together about their Papers and Instructions.

Some who were inspired with a bolder zeal, had a mind to confer the Regency upon the King of *Navarre*, but wishal to leave the Education of the young King to his Mother, to set bounds to the Government, and make choice of a good Council for the management of all Affairs of State. The Queen Mother took the Alarm; caused the Kings Council to make a Decree, which forbade the Deputies to intermeddle with the Government, and made use of so many intrigues, that the *Navarrois*, a Prince very infantant and irresolute, was perswaded to confirm what he had promised her during the Imprisonment of his Brother.

The second of January was the second Sessions of the Estates. The three Orders made their Harangues: *John de Lange* Advocate of *Bordeaux*, spake for the Third Estate, *James de Silly* Earl of *Rocheport*, for the Nobility, and *John Quintin* a Canon of *Autun* and Doctor in *Decret*, for the Clergy. The two first laid great stress and weight upon the Vices of the Ecclesiastics, the cause of all the disorders; The last endeavour'd to defend them, retorted all upon the new Sectaries, and reflected particularly upon the Admiral, who demanded reparation.

Quintin

1560.
in December.

1561.

1561. *Quinn* was obliged to do it in a set Speech at the closing up of the Estates.

Whatever accord there could be between the *Navarrois* and the Regent, yet there was danger that the Estates, if they consider'd their power, might put some Fetters upon this Woman who was a stranger, and besides they began to perceive that the Princes were forming parties, and tryed to split in certain propositions for their own interests, or concerning their private quarrels. Amongst others, the King of *Navarre* put them upon calling for an account of the Finances, and a particular of all the Gifts bestowed in the Reign of *Henry II.* himself proffering to surrender all that was given him.

This touched the Constable, and the *Marechal de Saint André*, more than the *Guises*, as having expended more in the Kings Service than they had gained. The Regent soon perceived where it pinched, and joyning them to her self upon this consideration, easily adjourned the Estates to the Month of *May*, and the City of *Pontoise*, and ordained, that she might be at less Charge and trouble to bribe them, that there should come but two Deputies from each Government.

In the Month of *February* the King being come to *Fountainbleau*, the Prince of *Condé* appeared there with a slender attendance, that he might give them no jealousy. The next day being admitted to the Privy-Council, and having spoken of his innocency, he asked the Chancellor whether there were any proofs against him, the Chancellor answered No, and all the Princes and Lords having testified that they were satisfied of his innocency, the King commanded him to take his Seat. The Council did after make a Decree which declared him wholly innocent, and sent him back to the Parliament of *Paris* to get a more Authentique one, as he did in a few days afterwards.

The courage of the *Guises* did not sink upon the rise of their enemies: they were supported by the Catholick Party, and the Catholicks by them. It is most certain but for them the old Religion must have given place to the new Sect. The Regent favour'd them in show, that they might not fly out to extremes. In the mean time the *Navarrois* desiring to enlarge his power, began a quarrel by demanding to have the Keys of the Kings House brought to him, not to the Duke of *Guise*, that honour being his due in respect of his Office of Grand-Maitre. The pretence was but light, but the King of *Navarre* carried it on so high, that he was upon leaving the Court with all the Princes of the Blood and the Constable, to come to *Paris* and deliberate concerning the Government of the State. What did the Queen? She regains the Constable, and that he might have a plausible excuse to break their intended project, prevailed with the King to command him, in presence of the Four Secretaries of State, not to forsake or leave him. So that the *Navarrois* apprehending they might perhaps do well enough now without him, was advised to stay, and came to an agreement with the Queen, who augmented his power of Lieutenantcy.

From that time the Constable began to fall off from the Princes of the Blood. The same proposition concerning the repetition of gifts, being renew'd in the particular Estates of *Paris*, he was made believe it was chiefly aimed at him, because he had in truth received an Hundred Thousand Crowns under *Henry II.* whereof he had given no account. To the apprehension he was under of being obliged to repay this Sum, were joynd the several exhortations of his Wife, the Dutchess of *Valentinois*, *Honorat de Savoy* Count of *Villars* his Brother in Law, his Son *Henry* Lord of *Danville*; all which under the specious pretence of preserving the Catholick Religion, persuaded him to enter into a League with the Duke of *Guise* and the *Marechal de Saint André*; the remonstrances of the Prince, the *Coligny's* his Nephews, and his Son the *Marechal*, esteemed one of the wisest Lords in the Kingdom, were not so prevalent as to hinder it. The *Huguenots* named this Union the *Triumvirat*.

These Brouilleries had hitherto retarded the Kings Coronation. When these three Lords were thus united, they carried him to *Reims*, where he received the Crown the fifteenth day of *May* from the hands of the Cardinal de *Lorraine* Arch-Bishop of that See. The Duke of *Guise*, pursuant to the ancient Order of the Kingdom, which gives place according to the dignity of their Lands, or antiquity of Peageage*, not according to their birth, did there precede the Duke of *Montpensier* a Prince of the Blood; the Queen-Regent having so adjudged it, though

* Pairité.

though on the other hand he would have *Alexander * Monsieur* her second Son, precede the King of *Navarre*, who had a more eminent Title: which was not so practised at the Coronation of *Francis II.* 1561. His name was after changed to Henry, and he was King.

It had been agreed by the Treaty of the general Peace, that within three years, the right of the Kings pretensions to the Territories of the Duke of *Bretagne*, should be Examined and settled by Commissioners on either part. King *Francis II.* and the Duke had named Deputies for that end in the year 1566: *Anthony Sequier* President in Parliament, and *Anthony de Chandon* Master of Requests, who were for the King, made Six Demands. 1. The County of *Nice*, which they said was a Member of the County of *Provence*. 2. The Cities of *Turin*, *Cony*, *Montdevin*, *Albe*, *Quersasque*, and *Savilian*. 3. The County of *Alst* which had been given in Dower to *Valentine de Milan*, Wife of the Duke of *Orleans*. 4. The Dependancies of the *Marquis de Salusses* specified in an Arrest, or Decree of Parliament in the year 1390. 5. Homage of that Duke for what he held in *Dauphiné*, on this side *Guyot le Vif* and elsewhere, in *Foigny*, and in *Genevois*; and the inheritance of *Louisa* Mother of *Francis I.*

They produced their Titles, and their Pleas; the Deputies for the Duke their exceptions and their answers: but seeing on either side they acted rather as Advocates than Judges, they could not agree upon any thing, and made their reports severally, and diversly.

The Duke could not therefore obtain any thing till the year following, when he was so earnest with the King, that by Letters Patents of the eight of *August* he commanded that they should restore to him, *Turin*, *Chivras*, *Quiers* and *Villa-Nuova d'Alst*, excepting only the Ammunitions and Artillery; in exchange for *Pignerol*, *Savilian*, and ** Perouse* with all the Lands within their Limits. *Inberi de la Platiere* *Bourdillon*, the Kings Lieutenant beyond the *Alpes*, started many difficulties, sent warm Remonstrances to the Council to prevent the Execution of that Order, and would not obey till after three expresse Commands, and upon the most solemn and authentick discharges that could be imagined. Which yet would have availed but little, if the Dukes had not paid all the Arrears that were due to the French Garrisons in the said places, and had not moreover lent a Hundred Thousand Crowns to the King.

The Ambiguous conduct of the Regent fomented the Troubles. On the one side she feigned to give a favourable ear to the *Huguenots*, for she permitted *John de Montluc* Bishop of *Valence*, and *Peter du Vall* Bishop of *Sées*, to Preach even in the Kings Family, such Doctrine as was very much like theirs; She wrote a long Epistle to the Pope, wherein she said that till there were a General Council, they might safely be admitted to the Communion of the Roman Church, since they held or taught nothing contrary to Holy Scripture, or the seven first Oecumenical Councils. She set forth an Edict which commanded all men to leave them in peace, and released from Prison, and call'd home from Banishment all such as had been prosecuted upon that single account. (This was the first they ever had in their favour;) and on the other side she incited the Constable to complain aloud and openly of these things thus done to the prejudice of the Roman Church.

Honour would not allow the Constable to joyn himself openly with the Duke of *Guise*, whilst the Prince of *Condé* continued to be his Enemy; wherefore he begg'd the Queen to make an accommodation between them. Both of them being therefore commanded to come into the presence of the King, the Princes, Cardinals, and great Officers, the Duke of *Guise* Addressing his Speech to the Prince, assured him he had no way contributed to his imprisonment: the Prince replied, he held him for a Rascal and a Traitor whoever were the Author of it; the Duke answered he believed so too, and that this did no way concern him. This pass'd, the King Commanded them to embrace, and promise each other a sincere and cordial amity. An instrument hereof was drawn up in writing which was signed by the two Secretaries of State.

The Parliament was in such a heat against the Edict the Queen had obtained in favour of the *Huguenots*, because they had sent it only to the Presidials and not to them, that they made a Decree quite contrary. Whereupon the King made another in *July* referring the Cognizance of all Crimes of Sedition and unlawful Assemblies to the Presidial Courts, and those of Herefie to the Judges Ecclesiastical, by whom the Parties convict should be delivered up to the Secular Power; who should not however condemn them to any thing above banishment.

1561. They had often discoursed of a National Council : till that could be called, it was thought convenient to have a Colloquy or Conference, between the Catholic Priests and the Huguenot Ministers. The Cardinal de Lorraine was one of the chief Promoters, whether to hinder the National Council which did not at all please the Court of Rome, or to make ostentation of his learning and eloquence. The Ministers did likewise promise much advantage to themselves : for by this means they were made equal with Bishops, whereas in a Council they could have had no place. Besides they thought themselves able enough to throw Dust in the Catholics Eyes : and they reckon'd they must needs have the better of it, seeing the two Bishops of *Sées* and of *Valence*, who were of the most knowing Prelates, leaped towards them.

1561. In the interim, the Assembly of the States which had been adjourned to *Pontoise* in *May*, began to fall to work. Whatever the Regents Emillaries had been able to do, there was yet so much of the ancient French spirit left in the heads of the Deputies, as would not suffer them to let a Woman have the Regency : the King of *Navarre* was forced to go thither himself to let them know he had yielded up his right, and together with the Marechal de *Montmorency* Governor of the Isle of *France*, intreat them they would speak no more of it. This was not sufficient, but for fear they should bring it again upon the Stage, it was judged necessary to dismiss the Assembly till the Month of *August*, and to appoint it might be held at *Saint Germain en Laye*, where they did meet.

The King was present there sitting on his Throne, the Queen-Mother at his left hand with her Daughter *Margaret*, and somewhat lower the King of *Navarre*, the Cardinal de *Bourbon* and the Prince of *Condé* ; before these on the right hand were the Constable, on the left the Chancellor, the Duke of *Guise* as grand Chamberlain, lay at the Kings Feet. The Cardinals pretended to take place before the Princes of the Blood, and had often had it in other Assemblies : but it was now judged otherwise in favour of those Princes. The Cardinals of *Castillon* and of *Armagnac* did acquiesce ; and the old Cardinal de *Bourbon* remained there also, who having the right of birth before the Prince of *Condé*, had likewise the precedence : but the Cardinals de *Tournon*, de *Lorraine*, and de *Guise*, would not submit to it, and so withdrew.

The Admiral being the person that had persuaded the King of *Navarre* and the Deputies of the Estates, to confirm the Regency to the Queen-Mother, She would in recompence, whilst She stood in need of him, favour the Huguenot party ; and according to that Air wherewith She had inspired the Court, or to intimidate the Clergy and incline them to give Money, it was observed that in this Assembly every thing was turned against the whole Body of them. Those that spoke in the name of the third Estate, and the Nobility mentioned, no other thing but their irregularities and disorder, and concluded, (as the Hereticks ever do, and all such as have more Policy than Religion) not so much to reform them, as to retrench their vast Riches, and take away their Temporal Jurisdiction, and adjudg the possessions of Religious Reents to the King. They added, that a National Council ought to be called, and in the mean time did tolerate the Religionaries to Preach with all freedom in such Temples, where the King should appoint, and give leave.

After these Harangues they considered and debated the propositions contained in the Deputies papers and instructions : wherein some Reglements were made by way of satisfaction. But the Regent did not forget to take those advantages which the Council of Kings is ever wont to draw from such Assemblies, that is to say, great Sums of Money. For the Clergy having a hot Allarm, gave consent they should raise four Tenths in Six years, and the third Estate five Solz upon every Tierce of Wine that was carried into any Walled Town. An impost that hath encreased ever since that time to this very day.

The day for the Colloquy being come, there met six Cardinals, and four Bishops at *Poissy*, with a good number of the Most Learned Theologues, amongst others *Claude d'Espence* and *Claude de Sainetes* ; that which made the number of these Prelates there so great, was their being sent for to advise about the place and time for a Council, and to deliberate concerning the publick Affairs of the State. Now before the Ministers were come, they had propounded several things amongst themselves in order to restore the Discipline, supposing, as it was true, that the corruptions thereof had given rise and birth to the pretent heresies : but they came to no result of any importance.

Some

Some days afterwards ten or twelve Ministers arrived there, the most famous of them were *Theodore de Beze*, *Augustin Marlorat*, *Francis Morel*, who compiled the first Articles of their Religion, *Peter Martyr* and *John Viret*. The King and the Regent were present with the Royal Family, the Princes of the Blood, the Bishops, Cardinals, Council of State and the Grantees of the Kingdom both of the one, and the other Religion, all seated according to their Qualities and Degrees within a place enclosed with rails : the Doctors were behind the Bishops upon low Forms. The Ministers would have gone within the Enclosure, but they were excluded, and remained without, and standing.

Though the Colloquy was appointed upon the Tenth of *August*, it did not however commence till the Fourth of *September*. After the Chancellor had open'd it, the Cardinal de *Tournon* desired since the thing was new and without a President, he might deliberate or consult of it with the Clergy. The Queen-Mother would not allow it, and commanded de *Beze* to speak : for they had resolv'd to treat of and handle the questions by discourses and harangues, not by argumentations and syllogismes, which suited very well with the desire the Cardinal de *Lorraine* and *Beze* had to shew their Eloquence.

We may say of de *Beze* on this occasion to say no worse, that he had neither the prudence, nor the moderation he ought to have shewn. For upon the point touching the Holy Sacrament his zeal transported him to such expressions and discourses as horribly grated the Catholic Ears, saying that the Body of *Jesus Christ* was as far distant from the Eucharist, as Earth is from Heaven. The Prelates trembled with horror of the expressions, the Cardinal de *Tournon* made a great deal of noise, and called him Blasphemer ; in so much as *Beze* was alarm'd of it, and endeavour'd to excuse himself to the Queen, and filed his rough and grating Proposition a little smoother.

It had been resolv'd to reduce all the dispute to two heads, the one of the true Church, the other about the Eucharist. The Sixteenth of *September* the Cardinal de *Lorraine* made a discourse as learned as it was eloquent, and full of solid reasonings both upon the one and other point ; which he concluded with this, that there could be no re-union of the Sectaries with the Church, if they did not believe the reality of the Body of *Jesus Christ* in the Eucharist. The other Prelates rising up applauded this proposition, declared they would live and dye in that belief he had explained, and besought the King and Queen to persevere, and to defend it, protesting they would break off the Colloquy if the Ministers refused to yield that point.

It was continued nevertheless for sometime longer. The Four and Twentieth of *September* *Beza* strain'd hard to reply to the Cardinals discourse, then entered into dispute with the Catholic Doctors, as did his Companions afterwards each in his turn. Father *Jacques Laynes* a Spaniard, and Superiour General of the Jesuits, whom the Cardinal de *Ferrara* the Popes Legat (who arrived not till a good while after this Conference was begun) had brought along with him, would not confer with the Ministers : but treated them with the epithets of Wolves, Monkeys, and Serpents, and boldly told the Queen that it did not belong to her to hold Assemblies for matters concerning Religion, especially since the Pope had convoked a Council. The disputes were not discontinued for all that till in fine the alteration having so exasperated and heated their spirits, that they were capable of nothing but downright quarrelling, they broke up the Conference the five and twentieth day of *November*.

Some believed the Cardinal de *Lorraine* had chiefly promoted this, who having some kind of correspondence with the Lutherans of *Germany*, thought to make himself head and as it were Pope of that Party opposed to the Roman Church, which however as to the exterior differs not much ; and in this prospect had promised them to engage the Ministers of *France* by this Colloquy, to subscribe to the *Ausburg* Confession. And indeed towards the end of the Colloquy there came some Lutheran Ministers to *Paris*, and the King of *Navarre* overpersuaded by the Lawyer *Francis Bandonin*, Tutor to his Bastard-Son, joined with that Church : but seeing those of *France* held at too great a distance, and made the difference too wide, the Cardinal de *Lorraine* despairing to bring his ends to pass, became equally an utter enemy both to the one and the other.

As in this Colloquy the Huguenots had for the first time, the liberty allowed them to dispute the controverted Articles of Religion : they thought they might have every where that of exercising it, and began to open their Temples in eve-

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ry Province. The Queen-Mother in retribution of the services paid her by the Admiral, lent him, or feigned to lend him her helping hand in many occurrences, and even sent orders, to the Kings Ambassador at Rome, to be instant with the Pope and Cardinals, for obtaining the Communion in both Species, and the allowance to pray to God in French; which he could not obtain, perhaps because as she demanded it openly, she obstructed it underhand.

The *Triumviri* could not endure the great credit the Admiral was in, and retired from Court, making Religion the pretence of their discontent. The King of Spain who affected the Title of Catholic, expressed a great deal of Anger for that they favoured the *Huguenots*, and particularly against the King of Navarre, thereby to have a *Sesio Confessio* not to do him right concerning his Kingdom, and a pretence to intermeddle with the Affairs of France; to which he was invited by some of the most eminent, in whom the passion to govern and to supplant their Enemies, was more prevalent than love to their Native Country, or the honour of this State.

A short while before a Priest was taken going into Spain with a Petition to King Philip in the name of the Catholics, together with certain very dangerous instructions; He was carried to the common Goal. The Parliament considering the quality of the persons involved in this business, durst not search too deep, but thought fit only to condemn him to make *amende honorable* in full Audience, bare-head and his feet bare, with a Torch lighted in his hand, and to be shut up between four Walls in the Convent of the *Chartreux*.

Likewise a Batchelor of Sorbon named *Tanquerel*, having maintained some *Thefts*, wherein he asserted the Pope had an absolute power over all Kings, as well in Temporals as in Spirituals, and that therefore he might depose them if they deserved it: the Parliament ordained that he should make *amende honorable*; and because he absented himself, it was said the Beadle of the Faculty should do it for him in the School of the Sorbon before a President, two Counsellors, and the Solicitor General, and in presence of the Dean and Doctors, who were enjoined to be there, upon pain of forfeiting all the Privileges to them granted by the Kings.

The Holy Fathers greatest fear was lest he should lose his Authority in France by a National Council, the interest of the King of Spain was to gain some Authority by rendering himself necessary, and that of the Regent to preserve her own and encrease it. The King of Navarre shared in this with her, and therefore they could never well accord: but all the rest endeavoured to adjust themselves with that Prince. The Constable served as mediator to reconcile him with the Duke of Guise, and he to bring him to a correspondence with the Pope and the King of Spain. His Sentiments concerning Religion were a great obstruction, nevertheless they had the Art to manage him so well that they brought him to their bent.

They propounded to him first, if he would repudiate *Jane d'Albret* his Wife, as he might lawfully do, said they, because she was an Heretick, that then he should be Married to Queen Mary Steward, who would bring him the Kingdoms of Scotland and of England, and when they found he could not resolve upon that Divorce, they gave him verbal assurances that the King of Spain would give him up the Island of *Sardinia*, which they described to him as a Country abounding in all things of delight and use, in recompence of Navarre. This charming illusion was the bait that drew him into their snare.

In the Month of January of the Year 1562, the Regent who desired to support her self by the *Huguenots*, got an Edict in their favour, containing amongst other things the revocation of that in July, permission for them to Preach in all parts of the Kingdom, excepting in Wall'd Cities, namely, in Paris. An Assembly of the Notables authorized it; the Parliament of Paris verified it, not without great difficulty, and with this Clause, in consideration of the present juncture of the times, but not approving of the new Religion in any manner, and till the King should otherwise ordain. The other Parliaments prescribed several modifications.

When the *Triumviri* had absented themselves, the Admiral appeared most powerful at Court, and was effectually so for some days: but he afterwards lost himself in the Queens good opinion, by his own fault. For too much prosperity having made him lay open his heart too much, he would needs make it appear to her the strength of the *Huguenots* was much greater than in truth they were,

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were, demanding Temples for Two Thousand One Hundred and Fifty Congregations. He did it with intent to persuade her that he might find amongst them strength enough to maintain her self against all the World: She pretended to believe it, and charged him to take an account how many Men those Churches, upon occasion of necessity, could furnish her with fit to bear Arms; but they prudently denied to discover their whole strength: and in the meantime the Queen imagined he would have her depend solely upon his Credit; so that she put her self upon her Guard towards him; and resolved though she did make use of him yet, not by subjecting her self.

Now he and the Prince of Condé, observing withal a potent League was preparing to attack them, believed it was lawful to join the *German* Princes to their party, since their Adversaries had taken the *Spaniards* into them. The Duke of Guise and the Cardinal his Brother having notice of it, labour'd with great assiduity to prevent such assistance: themselves went to *Savoy* to discourse with the Duke of *Virtemberg*, from whom the Prince hoped to get a considerable party. They craftily feigned a great propensity to *Luthers* Doctrine, and made him believe that if they had but some good correspondence with the *German* Princes, who generally were of that Church, they would bring both the Catholics and * *Zuinglians* to reason, and by that means restore the Church to Unity. The Duke of *Virtemberg* was cajoled with this specious pretence, and fell from *Zuinglius* and the *Huguenots* the more readily, for that in truth the *Lutherans* hate them Calvin. but little less than the *Roman* Catholics do themselves.

At his return from *Savoy*, the Duke of Guise having sojourned some days at his Castle of *Joinville*, was desired by his Confederates to come speedily to Paris, because the *Huguenots* being countenanced by the Regent, the Prince of Condé, the Admiral, and their Governor the *Maréchal de Montmorency*, would needs be uppermost. They were permitted to Preach in the *Eauxbourg Saint Merceau* and in that of *Saint Antoine*, the *Chevalier du Guet*, or Captain of the Watch, had order to Guard them with his Archers, and they had disarmed the people of Paris, for fear they should run open-Mouth upon them; which had so raised their courage, that the Priests could not carry the Holy Sacrament along the Streets without danger of an up-roar.

About the latter end of the foregoing year there hap'ned a great Tumult in the *Eauxbourg Saint Merceau*, where they broke open the Church Doors of *Saint Medard*, pull'd down the Images, kill'd divers persons, and dragged the Priests most shamefully to Prison, because some Catholics had abused a man, whom they sent to bid them leave off jangling their Bells, which hindered their hearing the Minister. The Parliament having taken Information upon complaint of either party, found the *Huguenots* guilty, and punish'd their insolency with the death of two or three of them.

Now the first day of March, as the Duke of Guise was passing thorough the little Town of *Vassy*, it hap'ned that some quarrel arose between some that were of his Train, and the *Huguenots* who held their meeting in a Grange, and he going thither to pacifie them, was wounded on the Cheek with a stone. His people seeing his face all bloody, their rage grew to such a height, that they slew near three score of them, and wounded above two hundred. This is what the *Huguenots* have called the *Massacre of Vassy*, and which in effect proved as it were the first signal to all those bloody Wars for Religion which afterwards afflicted this unhappy Reign, though it were a pure accident, without any design or fault in the Duke of Guise.

After he had taken with him the Cardinal his Brother in his passage by *Reims*, he came to *Mantueil*: his friends came to him in Crowds, and the Constable sent to Complement him. In the mean time the Prince of Condé was gone to *Montcaen*, to make Complaint to the King about the Murders at *Vassy*. The Regent found her self mightily perplexed, She promised the *Huguenots* to do them Justice, wrote to the King of Navarre who was at Paris, to provide for the safety of the King and Kingdom, sent for the Duke of Guise to come to Court without any Company, and enjoyed the *Maréchal de Saint André* to repair to his Government of *Lyonnais*. But the *Navarrois* sharply reproved the *Huguenot* Deputies who carried him the complaints from those of *Vassy*; the Duke of Guise replied that he was busy and could not yet appear at Court, and the *Maréchal* told the Queen to her face, that in the posture things then stood, he could not abandon the Kings Person.

Shortly

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Shortly after the Duke of Guise came to Paris attended by a Thousand or Twelve Hundred Horfe. His Enemies would have made it a Crime de Lese Majesté for having Marched in by the Gate *Saint Denis*, through which the Kings make usually their Entry, as likewise because the *Prevost des Marchands*, and the *Echevins* who went out to meet him made him a Speech, and the People made loud Shouts and Acclamations as to the King.

It is not credible the Queen had any Suspicion that the Duke aimed at the Crown: but she imagined that he and his Confederates intended to snatch the Government out of her hands. This apprehension putting her into extreme trouble, she had recourse to the Prince of Condé, who was retired to his House, and wrote several Letters to recommend her Son to him, as likewise the Kingdome, and her self with expressions so affectionate and so full of Compassion, hinting that the Confederates kept her in Captivity, as gave him just cause to arm himself, though he had not had the least inclination to it.

Their principal aim was to bring the King back to Paris, that they might have him entirely at their devotion. The *Prevost des Marchands* who was for them, came to Melun to request it of the Queen, and demand the Parisians might have their Arms again restored, to defend themselves against the Huguenots. The last particular was granted, and the other was promised in time convenient; mean while the Confederates so contrived it that the Commission for the Government of Paris was given to the Cardinal de Bourbon, the Marechal de Montmorency being suspected by them.

When the Parisians had recover'd their Arms again, the Prince of Condé was the weaker and durst not Challenge the upper hand, or dispute the Wall with the *Triumvirs*: but to save these fores, a Composition was made by means of the Cardinal his Brother: That the Heads of both Parties should leave the Town at the same time. He therefore retired to his House of la Ferté-Auxon near Meaux, and the Duke of Guise went to Fontainebleau where the King was, carrying so great a Convoy along with him, that he made the Queen quickly sensible his Forces were much more numerous than the Princes.

She was gone thither, amidst her irresolution which she ought to chuse, either to call her self into the Arms of the Prince and follow him to Orleans, for he was to be there upon her first notice, or to suffer her self to be carried to Paris by the Confederates. Either of these made her a Captive, the first was the more odious, because of the great peril she would have put the Catholick Religion into, and the latter appeared to her the more dangerous.

March.

She would willingly have been in a Capacity of keeping them in equal balance on both hands, and for that purpose had sent for the Prince, who having gotten his friends together; was Travelling towards her and had passed over the River at Saint Cloud. His approach put the Parisians in Arms, as if they might have been besieged by a handful of Men, and gave occasion to the Confederates to let the Queen know it was necessary to remove the King to Paris, lest he should fall into the Huguenots hands. The King of Navarre carried her this unwelcome Message, and the seeming to hesitate, he told her plainly that if she were not pleased to go along with them, she might stay behind. She had not leisure to consider upon it, but must follow or else loose the Party: for at the same moment they carried the weeping King to Melun, the next day to Bois de Vincennes, and then to Paris.

Thus were all Addresses from that Queen fruitless, and all the prudent Counsels of the Chancellor de P Hospital, which tended but to prevent a Civil War, that he foresaw would be inevitable as soon as ever the King was in the hands of either Party.

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In effect, the Prince of Condé, partly out of spite and revenge for having been deluded by a Woman, (for so he guessed it,) partly anger to see his Enemies Masters of the Kings Person, and fear likewise of being left to their Mercy, or suffer the zeal of his Friends and the Huguenot Party to grow cold, ran post hast with two thousand Horfe to Orleans, where Dandelot had slyly seized upon one of the Gates the day before, which was the first of April.

This was as it were the place of Armes and Capital Seat of all his Party. Now to keep them in Unity and under good Discipline, the only bonds necessary to all establishments, he took an Oath from all that were there; That they would remain united for the defence of the Kings Person, and of the Queens, for the reformation and the benefit of the State; That they should lead a Life with-

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out reproach and Christian-like observe the Laws of the Land and Military Rules, and should take care to provide Ministers to Preach the word of God to them; That they should own him for their Head, should obey all his Orders, serve him with their Persons, and should furnish him with Arms and Money.

He afterwards wrote to all the German Princes, setting forth the state of his taking up Arms, and then sent the Queen Mothers Original Letters, to persuade them thereby to send him some Assistance, and send a friendly and helping hand to redeem both the King and her from their Captivity. At the same time he published a Manifesto to all the Kingdom to the same purpose, and some days after sent it after the Copy, whether real, or supposed, of a League made between the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Guise, to exterminate all the Sectaries of the new Religion.

April.

This was a strong motive to draw those Princes to his side who made profession of it, and to retain and bind fast to him the Huguenots of France: for the Kings Council, thinking to disunite, or lull them asleep by a deceitful security, put out a Declaration upon the very same day directed only to their Bailiffs and their Lieutenants, which confirmed the Edict of January, granted Indemnity for all that was past, forbid the molesting or doing them any injury for matters of Religion, and gave them the Liberty of exercising the same in all places, excepting within the City and Suburbs of Paris.

When the Prince had declar'd himself, the Officers that took his part, and the Huguenots of themselves, seized upon several Cities, as Mont, Angers, Vendôme, la Charité upon the Loire, Angoulême, Lyons, Valence, Romans, and almost all those in Dauphiné, a great number of those in Guyenne, and Languedoc: In Normandy, upon Rouen, Caen, Dieppe, Havre de Grace, Bayeux, Saint Lo, Vire, Balaize, and many others. Maignon the Kings Lieutenant in that Province under the Duke of Bonillon who was Governor, saved Granville and Cherbourg. This was a signal Service, for those Ports would have given an easie entrance to the English.

Wherever the Huguenots were Masters, they utterly abolished the exercise of their own. As the Catholick Religion, overturn'd the Altars, broke the Images in pieces, burnt the Reliques, and cast the ashes into the Air, Tormented and Maltreated the Monks and Priests, nor observing that equality and moderation herein, which they expected should be measure to themselves, but rendering their Party execrable to the People by the horrible profanation of all things sacred. The Prince neither by Intreaties, nor by Remonstrances, nor even by punishment, had power to stop their fury, which he knew must be very prejudicial to his cause. And indeed they were even with them in many Cities, where they Massacred huge numbers, as particularly at Cahors, Sens, Amiens and at Beauvais; and their pulling down and plundering continuing, the Parliament by a Decree of the last of June, enjoined all persons, to fall upon them and destroy and slay them in all places wherever they should find them, as People that were mad, and declared Enemies both to God and Man.

Though all the Kingdom were in a flame, the Chancellor a right good Frenchman, endeavour'd to remedy that evil he could not prevent, and sought ways for an Accommodation, which did not seem impossible to him, since their Forces had not yet engaged, nor any Blood as yet been drawn but what was spilt in Tumults and Seditions. The Queen consider'd likewise, finding the Huguenots Masters of so many places that the *Triumvirs* might seize upon the rest, and so both her Son the King and she, might be wholly stripped of all: and therefore she sent the Baron de la Garde to find out the Prince, and intreat him earnestly to come to Court, assuring him that whatsoever had been done against the Protestants, was much against her will, and that with his Assistance she would endeavour to repair it.

The Prince began to listen to it, and was inclined to condescend, when news was brought him, that the Huguenots coming out of Church as Sens, were all Massacred, and their Houses sacked by the Soldiers, the fault whereof was charged upon the Cardinal de Lorraine, Archbishop of that City. The Prince having heard the particulars said to his People that they must hope for nothing now but from God and their own Courage; They then caused white Callocks of Cloth to be made for all their Cavalry, and endeavour'd to animate and keep up their Spirits by Printing several little Books, some for their Justification, others to bespatter the House of Guise, and particularly the Cardinal de Lorraine.

Yet

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Yet there were many Envoyes, and propositions sent from the one to the other. The Prince demanded the Edict of *January* should be observed, that there should be Justice done for such as were Malaffected; and that the *Triumvirs* should quit the Court. They to repel these Attaques, presented a Petition that there might be no other Religion in France but the Catholick; That all Servants belonging to the King, all Governors, Officers, Magistrates, &c. should make a publick Profession of it, or be deprived of their Employments. That all such as had laid violent hands on things sacred, should be punished for their Sacrilege: That no man should bear Arms, but such as were Commissioned by the King of *Navarre*, upon which Conditions they offer'd to retire from Court.

June.

The Messages having effected nothing towards a reconciliation, the Queen would needs confer with the Prince her self, the place was assigned at *Toury*, where either came accompanied with about Fifty Horse, and all the necessary precautions. The King of *Navarre* was with the Queen. The Gentlemen belonging to them (who were kept at Eight Hundred paces distance lest they should chance to quarrel) could not be restrained from running to embrace each other, weeping to express both the joy for their present meeting, and the sorrow for that into which threatened to change this friendship into a Scene of fury, and these Salutations into the necessity of cutting suddenly one anothers Throats. In fine, the Queen could not gain her ends. The King of *Navarre* and the Prince pick'd each other with reproaches, and the Conference broke off.

The Prince had a good part of the Nobles and Soldiery for him. The Confederates had the *Parisians*, the Name and Person of the King, which are necessarily followed by the Great Officers and Parliament. The Six and Twentieth of *June* the Parliament declared all such as had seized those Cities before mentioned, Rebels, and guilty of Treason. However they excepted the Prince of *Conde*, as if it must have been supposed that the Huguenots detained him by force.

* By this word is meant, the Duke of Guise, the Constable, and the Marshal de Saint André, and by Confederates, they and the King of Navarre.

The Armies on either part took the Field: and these being the one in the Country of *Orléans*, the other in *Dumoy*, the Queen made one Essay more which was like to have succeeded to the destruction of both the Factions. She proposed to the Prince, by the advice of *Valence*, to make the *Guise* and the Constable quit the Court if he would lay down his Arms, and come and put himself into hers and the King of *Navarre*'s hands. The Prince running inconsiderately into this royl, goes to the Queen at *Tully* as soon as ever he heard the *Triumvirs* were retired, and by a second imprudence promised to leave the Kingdom, if they returned not to Court.

The Admiral de *Coligny* and the other Chiefs of his Party, mightily in pain and disquiet both for him and themselves, came the next day, and made him sensible he could not in honour engage his word to the prejudice of what he had promis'd them, and was in Confidence bound to make good; and thus they obliged him to recal it at the next Conference which was held the following day, and brought him back again to his Army. Every one admiring the Queen Mother had not taken the whole Covey as the might easily have done with one fair draught of her Net; which she could not possibly have forborn had it been for her interest so to do.

June and July.

The number of Cities the Huguenots had seized were too many for their Forces, and kept them scattered at too great a distance from each other: they soon lost most of them again together with a great many of their Men, *Blais* and *Angers* were forced with all the Cruelties attending the fury of a Civil War, *Mans* and *Tours* were abandoned. The Duke of *Anjou* who Commanded the Kings Armies in *Normandy* (for the Duke of *Bouillon* was suspected of Huguenotisme) recover'd all the places about *Ryuen*, and the Duke of *Esclamps* Governour of *Bretagne*, *Valongne*, *Vire*, *Saint Lo*, and *Bayeux*. At *Vire* were the greatest Cruelties committed, because the Huguenots had been most cruel there.

During the Negotiations and the many difficulties there are in Cementing together the several Members of a new made Party, where most times three break off whilst they are soddering one: the heat of the Princes zealots began to grow cool. Most part came to him full of resolution, and with the hopes and expectation of being led on to Battle immediately, expecting that a few moments either would give them Victory, or a brave and glorious death: but when they found things were drawn out in Length, many desired leave to return; so that being unable to keep them longer together there with him, he sent *John de Parthenay*

Soubize

Soubize to *Lyons*, *John de Hangeul-Troy* to *Bourges*; the Count de *la Rochefoucauld* to *Angoulême*, *Dandalos* into *Germany*, and *Briquemault* to *England*, the two last to hasten those Supplies which had been promised him in those Countries.

The Kings Army was increased to Five and Twenty Thousand Foot, and Five Thousand Horse, they were divided in two bodies, one of them, with whom the King was in Person, commanded by the King of *Navarre*, and the Duke of *Guise*, went to besiege *Bourges*; the other commanded by the Marshal de *Saint André*, was sent to *Poitiers*. This last place was taken by Battery in fewer days than the Soldiers had to pillage it; it was gained on the first day of *August*. The other was reduced by Composition the Nine and Twentieth of the same Month. They had sustained near upon a Five Weeks Siege, and might have held it longer, if *Troy* who defended it with Two Thousand Men, had not suffer'd himself to be prevailed upon either by fear, or the cajoleries and allurements of the Court. And indeed, he soon after quitted the Party and retired to his own home.

Bourges being taken, most part of the Chief Officers were for going directly to *Orléans*, where they might have coo'd up the Prince, and by that means cut off the greatest head of the Faction. The Queen would not have it so, the Duke of *Guise* himself thought the enterprise too difficult, and favouring the *Parisians* in what they most desired, was of opinion they should lay Siege to *Rouen*. The Army Arrived there about the Twentieth of *September*; and just in a nick of time to hinder that Progress the Huguenots might have made with the help of the English. For on the same day a Treaty of Confederation was signed between Queen *Elizabeth* and them at *Hampton-Court*, specifying that she should furnish them with Six Thousand Men, one half to be put into *Havre de Grace*, which should be delivered to her, and which she should keep for the King, and was to serve for a place of retreat and refuge to the Huguenots, which in a few days afterwards was Executed.

The Fort *Saint Catherine* was taken by Storm. The City maintained their Attaques with all possible Resolution. They proffer'd them such composition as was reasonable enough; and for three several times the Queen Mother hindered the Duke of *Guise* from giving the Assault, being perfwaded by the prudent Counsel of the Chancellor, that nothing can be more prejudicial to a Sovereign then to make Conquests upon himself, and pillage his own Cities. But when they found the Besieged did continue to reject with Stubbornness those favours and that mercy they were importuned to accept, the Kings Council gave the Duke leave to let loose the *Reynes* to Victory. He therefore gave a general Assault the Five and Twentieth of *October*. Their resistance was not equal to their obstinacy, they abandoning all at the first Shock. The Soldiery pillaged them above eight days together, which proved the more cruel, because they were extremely rich.

Montgomery, who had a Galley lying there ready upon all occasions (it was one of the Kings which hapned to put into *Rouen* when the Huguenots master'd the Town) soon got aboard of it with his Friends together with the English. The Slaves to whom he had promised their Liberty, rowed with such force that it slid quite over the Chain they had laid cross the River at *Caudevac*.

They hanged up *John du Bose d'Elmandreville* President of the Court of *Aydes*, two Councillors belonging to the City, *Marlorat* the Minister, and Eight or Ten Captains: amongst others *du Cros* who had been Governor of *Havre de Grace*, and deliver'd the place up to the English.

By way of Reprizal or Retaliation, the Prince caused the Heads of some Catholics to be cut off that were in his Hands, amongst others *John Baptist Sapin* Councillor of the Parliament of *Paris*, and *John de Troyes* Abbot of *Gastine*, who were taken in *Vendosmois*, as they were on their way to *Spain* from the King. *Giles le Maître* first President of the Parliament, revenged the Death of *Sapin* who was his Nephew upon some unfortunate Huguenots that were Prisoners in *Paris*, whom he sent to the common Place of Execution. These retaliations had gone on to infinity, if the Captains of the Catholick Party, (who apprehended the like Reprisals, should they have fallen into the Enemies power) had not engaged their Chiefs to desist from such kind of Process, and to make good the usual Rules of War and Martial Customes, and Laws.

The Five and Twentieth of *October* the King of *Navarre* had been wounded in the Trenches, (while he was making water) by a Musquet shot in his left Shoulder. The City being taken, he would needs be carried in his Bed by his

R r r r

Swift

1562.

July and August.

September.

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Swift Soldiers, to make a Triumphant entrance thorough the breach. His wound was not Mortal: but his too alliduous entertainment of the Damselle du Ruer, (one of those *Sirens* the Regent employ'd to enchant that poor Prince withal) heared his blood too much; after which his impatience to be Cured making him venture by Boat to *Paris*, he was seized with a Trembling, and afterwards fell into a cold Sweat, the Symptoms of approaching death, as it liked it proved: for the Boat hopping at *Andelis*, he there resigned his last breath the Seventeenth day of November, shewing himself in this last Act, as he had done in all the other, both wavering and irresolv'd between the Catholick Religion, and the Confession of *Malherbe*: but discovering enough the bad opinion he had of the Government, by an express Order he gave to fore-warn his Wife from coming to the Court, to stand well upon her Guard, and Fortifie her places.

The trouble the Prince was in for the bloody Conquest of *Rouen*, was yet augmented by the untimely News brought him from *Guyenne*. *Duras* had raised Five Thousand Men for him in that Country: this Army of Fellows pickt up at random and most Robbers, living without order, were charged by *Montluc* and cut in pieces near the Burrough of *Vere* between *Perigueux* and *Sarlat*. Which brought the Prince two great disadvantages, the one that he lost this considerable Supply, the other that *Montluc's* Forces, having nothing else in those Parts to fear, joyned with the Kings Army some days before the Battel of *Dreux*.

There have been many Volumes Printed of all the Minute passages, in every Province, particularly in *Guyenne*, *Languedoc*, and in *Dauphiné*, the surprizing, taking and retaking of Towns, a World of little Fights and Skirmishes, the Barbarities and Massacres committed on both sides, the Insolencies and furious rage of the People, which, to say the truth, they were but too much and too highly provoked unto by the *Huguenots* in divers places. I shall therefore only observe in gross that *Sommiers* for the Catholick Party, made a rude War in *Provence* against his Father the Count de *Tynder*, who held with the *Huguenots*. That in *Dauphiné* the Baron *des Adrets* having taken up Arms for these, and the Count de *Suse* for the other, pursued each other by turns very close and smartly, and that the Baron made himself Terrible by his enormous Cruelties, Precipitating, Massacring, and Drowning without Faith or Compassion such as resisted him in any place; That *Tavannes* a zealous Catholick having retaken *Chaulon* and *Mascon*, preferred for a time; all *Burgundy* from being any further involved in the Civil War; That *Normandy* was all laid waste and desolate, the higher by reason of the Sieges of *Rouen*, and *Havre*; and the lower by the Count de *Montgomery*, and the Briton Troops which the Duke of *Estampes* had brought in thither to make head against him; That *Joyeuse* preferred one part of *Languedoc* in the Ancient Religion; That *Montluc*, as we may find in his Commentaries, rendered the King great Service in *Guyenne*, but that he exceeded the bounds even of severity it self against the *Huguenots*.

I shall add that their Party had the disadvantage almost every where, unless in *Languedoc* where they held all the best Cities, excepting *Toulouse*, which intending to seize upon in the Month of *May*, they were drove thence after an obstinate Fight of many days, and the loss of Three Thousand of their Men, not reckoning about Two Hundred more who were dispatched to the other World by several sorts of Death and Torments; That at *Lyons* they defended themselves against *Tavannes*, and afterwards against the Duke of *Nemours*, who besieged that City the one after the other; That above Fifty Thousand of theirs were Slain, as well in Battle, as in Tumults, Seditions and Up-roads; and that wherever they were strongest, they broke or melted all their Shrines, Reliquaires and sacred Vessels of Gold and Silver, which the Prince Coined into Money with the Arms and Effigies of the King, and this made Money much more common in *France* then ever it had been known before this War.

The dread the Pope was in lest they should hold a National Council in *France*, obliged him to assemble the General Council of *Trent*. The Cardinal de *Lorraine* went thither this year upon the fifteenth of November with great equipage, accompanied by forty Bishops and a good number of the most learned Doctors. His Holiness had some reason to take the Alarm upon it: the power of this great Cardinal gave him much jealousy, that he called him the Pope on the other side the Mountains; And apprehended

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hended he would bring the Doctors of the Ausbourg Confession into the List. For he had given some hints and tokens, at least in appearance, that he did not disapprove their Confession altogether, and they well knew that in his passage by *Innsbruck*, he had conferr'd with the Emperor. So that the Pope as if he had been to deal with the greatest enemy of the Church, Muster'd up all his Forces, sent for all the Bishops in his own Dominions, where they are very numerous, borrowed even of his Neighbours, and played the King of Spain to assist him with his to strengthen his party in the Council, that he might be able to make head against those of *France* and *Germany*.

Though Philip had lost his cause at *Venice* about precedence, he failed not to revive it again in the Council. Claude Ferdinand de *Quinones* Count de *Luna* his Ambassador, before he would come to *Trent*, had demanded of the Pope what place he should have there: the Pope instead of giving a direct answer, eluded and referred the decision of that right to those Legates who presided for him in the Council. The Cardinal de *Gonzague*, who was chief of them, found an expedient to satisfy the Spaniards, and not much prejudice the French. Which was that the Ambassadors of *France* should keep his place next the Emperor; and in their Congregation, he of Spain, should by provision only, have one apart by himself, either next to Ecclesiastiques, or on a Seat distinct just opposite to the other Ambassadors. The Cardinal de *Lorraine*, on of the apprehension he had lest this dispute should break up the Council, obliged Lantier the Kings Ambassador to accept of this condition; and to allow the Count should have a Seat apart near the Secretary to the Council. He took this place therefore, and having commanded his Orator to speak, went out the first of any for fear of some dispute at the Door.

But the difficulty was not determined as to the other Assemblies, particularly the Sessions of Council, and at solemn Mass, where the Seats were not placed in the same manner: so that the French denied the Spaniard the like favour there. The Legates durst not decide it of their own heads: but when they had received Orders from the Pope to give him the like rank at all ceremonies, they contrived another expedient. Upon Saint Peters Day the Fathers of the Council being in Chapel, there appeared a Seat between the last Cardinal, and the first Patriarch, and the Spanish Ambassadors sat there. They had likewise given private Order to have two Confessors that they might give the Sacrament to the French and him at the same time. The French would not suffer it; the Divine Service was interrupted, the Legates, the Ambassadors, and some Bishops, to prevent the scandal, endeavour'd to find a *Medium* which was that they should omit the giving of Incense, &c. that day.

After this Council, the same controversy was renewed at *Rome*, by Lewis de *Zuni-ga* Requens Great Commander of the Order of Saint James, Ambassador of King Philip; Henry Clutia de *Oysel* who was so for the King, courageously maintained the right of *France*. The Spaniard caused divers expedients to be propounded, whereby he aimed to preserve an equality: but they were all rejected by the French, who would not only keep his ancient place and station, but would have the Spaniard do so too, that is beneath him. So that the Pope after he had vainly sought to find out expedients, did most solemnly adjudge the precedence contended for to belong to the French, and maintained him in the possession of it. Which was performed on the day of Pentecost in the year 1564. Requens having protested against this Judgment, and not appearing at the Celebration of that Festival.

Notwithstanding since that time the Ambassadors of Spain have many times disputed for the Precedency with those of *France*, though for the most part to their own shame, as well at *Rome*, as in other Courts of Princes, till in our days, the most August King Lewis XIV. upon a contest happen'd in England between his and one from Spain, obliged Philip IV. expressly to renounce it by an Authentic Instrument in Writing.

The 12th of November, Dandelot Arrived at *Orleans* with Twelve Cornets of *Reifers* making Six and Twenty Hundred Horse, and Twelve Ensignes of *Lanque-nets*, under them near Three Thousand Men, whom the Landgrave of *Hesse* had furnished him withal, and some few days before *Duras* had brought in the Remnants of the Battel de *Vere*.

This Crime of bringing strangers into the Kingdom, was in some sort excusable in them by the example of the contrary Party, who had first caused both Horse and Foot to be raised in *Germany* by the *Rhingrave*, and Count *Rocafort* who were Protestants, and had likewise called in some Spaniards, which they might very well have let alone, since there were above an hundred Catholics in *France* for every *Huguenot*.

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The Princes Army being Twelve Thousand fighting men, took the Field. Their resolution was to go directly to *Paris*, believing that upon the first and sudden fright they might force them before the *Triumvirs* could return, or put the Queen in so much dread that she would be brought to a more reasonable accommodation. The event made the vanity of this Design plainly appear: he could not so much as take the little Town of *Cerbell*; and besides when he was lodged at *Arueil* and other neighbouring Villages, the Queen engaged him in divers Conferences, wherein the pretended mildly to yield to him in divers points, to hinder him from falling upon the Suburbs: till the Parisians were recover'd from their terrible consternation) and to debauch his best Officers; amongst which number was *Genlis* who retired to his own home, but yet remained ever a *Huguenot*.

When he had consider'd therefore that it was a foolish enterprize to take *Paris* for *Corbail*, he decamp'd the 12th day of *December*, and took his March towards *Normandy*, to joyne with the English who were at *Havre*, and receive some English Money to pay his *Germans* ready to Mutiny. The *Triumvirs* followed him so close that at his seventh or eighth halt, the two Armies found themselves engaged to give Battel near the City of *Dreux* the twentieth of *December*.

In the beginning the *Huguenots* had some advantage, they defeated the main Battel of the Catholics, took part of their Cannon, and even the Constable, being wounded with a Pistol Bullet in the Face; but they afterwards falling upon the Baggage, and their groſs of Reserve which consisted of twelve hundred Reiters, disbanding likewise to get their share, the Catholics had their full revenge.

The Duke of *Guise* in appearance commanded only his Company of *Gentlemen*, and a Body made up of some friends, of his who were *Voluntiers*: and yet his desert and quality made his advice and counsel pass for Orders. The *Marschal de Saint-André* led the Van-Guard; the Duke who stood on a rising Ground and repair'd himself for the Crowning of that Day, beholding the Enemies scatter'd, and scarce keeping any order, detached some parties from that Body to charge the Infantry who were defrauded of their Cavalry: then Marching himself turn'd upon their Horse and put them to the rout. The Prince of *Condé* who never gave Ground, was taken Prisoner by *Danville* the Constables second Son; the *Regiment* trotted away into a Neighbouring Wood: the Admiral joyned them with Four Hundred Horse whom he had rallied; and with these was resolv'd, if the *Germans* had but had so much courage, to have begun the Charge afresh the next day.

They Counted Eight Thousand dead upon the place, as many almost of the one party as of the other. The Field of Battel remained to the Duke of *Guise*, who did not judge it fitting to pursue the Admiral, but left him to make his retreat towards *Orleans*; whither they caus'd the Constable immediately to be carried fearing he might be rescued from them. In the Fight the *Marschal de Saint-André* (being by a great Body of Horse, made Prisoner of War while he pursued the Victory too eagerly) was kill'd with a Pistol-shot by a Cavalier named *Boligny-Mexiere* Son of a *Regiment* belonging to *Paris*, whom he had used too rudely in some *Rencontre*.

The Duke of *Guise* rendred all imaginable honour to the Prince of *Condé*, they supped and lay together with so many demonstrations of amity, that one would have guess'd they had laid aside and forgotten all their quarrels to live together like Cousin-Germains* as they were in intire confidence, as they had before done under the Reign of *Henry II*.

When the main Battel of the Royal Army was first defeated, there were some run-aways that rode Whip and Spur even to *Paris*, proclaiming that all was lost. Of these was *d'Orson*, who had acquir'd the name of brave in the Wars of *Italy*; and indeed the rage he fell into afterwards when he found his mistake had led to betray'd his courage as to blemish the Lustre of all his former Actions, himself condemn'd himself to death, and underwent the execution of his own Sentence by an obstinate resolution never to eat or drink more.

Upon the first news the Dutchess of *Guise* who had a numerous Court about her, found her self abandoned in a moment; and as for the Queen without being overmuch moved or concerned, she only said, *well, she must then pray to God in French*, & began highly to careſs those that were friends to the Prince and the Novel Opinions. But next day the contrary being certified by a Cloud of Eye-Witnesses, & Letters

* They were Sons of Brother and Sisters.

1562.

ters from the principal Officers, the crowd about the Dutchess of *Guise* was greater then ever, the *Huguenot* Cabal play'd the Diver, the Catholic one took the upper-hand and clapp'd their wings and crowed, the Queen order'd Bon-fires to be made, though with some reluctance, and gave with all the apparent willingness she could counterfeit, the command of the Army to the Duke of *Guise*, and whom the Army themselves had already conferr'd it.

In like manner the Princes Army intreated the Admiral to accept of the Office of General. When he had refresh'd himself for some days at *Paris*, he descend'd into *Vendosmois*, and crossing the *Loire* at *Taugency*, lodg'd his Men in the Countries of *Soulogne*, and in *Berry*, where he knew the Duke of *Guise* would have Lodg'd his, in order to the Siege of *Orleans* which was resolv'd upon.

1562.

January.

Having left his Brother *Dandelot* in the City with Two Thousand Soldiers, as many Inhabitants well arm'd, and a great number of Nobility, he repass'd the *Loire* at *Gergeau*, and takes his way towards *Normandy*. In that Country he ranfomed divers little Towns for Sums to entertain his Men, received the Money from *England*, and Must'r'd his Forces. Being invited by the *Huguenots* of *Caen*, he besieged the Castle wherein was the Duke of *Elbeuf* Brother of the Duke of *Guise*, and *N. de Baillet Renouard*, whom he had taken at discretion, had not the important news from *Orleans* oblig'd him to return that way.

The Duke of *Guise* had laid Siege to it the sixth day of *February* 1562. The Queen was at *Taugency*, and had shut up the Prince (whom she still lugg'd along with her) in the Castle of *Onzan*. Already the Suburbs were lost with eight hundred of the besieged, already the Bridge-Tower was gain'd; and the *Huguenots* in such consternation they could expect no help but some sudden blow from Heaven or from Hell, when a Gentleman named *Jean Pelrot a Merle*, prompted by a fatal and detestable Zeal for the defence of his Religion, watching his opportunity when the Duke of *Guise*, who had been to meet his Wife, returned to the Siege mounted upon a Mule and clemendly attended, shot him with a Pistol into the shoulder, whereof he died six days after; in so much reputation, even amongst his Enemies, as to be allowed the most generous Prince of his time, and the best hand in Christendom, ended with all the heroic virtues, and scarce tainted with any vice, either as Prince, or Courtier.

1562.

February

and March.

The Murtherer after he had rid hard all night, thinking he was far enough from thence, found himself by day-break; at the Bridge of *Olivet**, his Horse being tyred, he went into a House to repose himself, where the same Morning he was taken by one of that Dukes Secretaries.

* Half a League from Orleans.

Interrogated what were the Motives, who the Instigators made him commit that Crime? he said, as to the first, his zeal for Religion had push'd him on to destroy him whom he judg'd to be their Persecutor: touching the other point he vari'd much, accusing sometimes one, sometimes another: but in all his Answers and Confessions, and at his very death, he tax'd the Admiral. That Lord, to little purpose, purg'd himself by publick Writing, and made oath he detested that Act; in vain he petitioned the Queen by Letters, nor to hasten the Execution of that Assassin, that he might be confronted with him: the House of *Guise* believed he was Guilty: and whether he were really so, or not, the Children of that Duke took the most bloody revenge that we read of in any History of the World.

The Admirals request to the Queen seem'd reasonable enough; nevertheless *Pelrot* being carried to *Paris* the sixteenth day of *March*, was in few days judg'd, the Parliament condemn'd him to the same punishment as those that attempt the Sacred Person of a King; which was to have his Flesh torn off with red hot pincers, and drawn to pieces by four Wild-Horses. The same day the Duke of *Guise*s Corps was brought to *Paris*, deposited at the *Charrreux*, from thence born to *Nofre-Dame* with great lamentation and the real mourning of the whole City, and then inhum'd in the Sepulchre of his Fathers at *Joinville*. Charles Duke of *Lorraine* made a solemn service for him at *Nancy*, and the Pope another in his Chappel at *Rome*, with Funeral Orations, which certainly might be very noble without any mixture of Flattery.

The justice and moderation of that heroic Soul appear'd yet more eminently in the last moments of his Life: for he justifi'd himself of the Maffacre of *Vassy*, expreſſing a deep sorrow that that accident should have given occasion for a Civil

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Civil War, and advised the Queen to make a Peace, telling her positively that whoever obstructed it were Enemies both to the Kingdom in general, and to the King in particular.

And indeed, while he was yet living, he had begun to Treat about it, first at Saint Meslin with *Elizabet de Roy's* Wife to the Prince of Condé, whom she cared extraordinarily, giving her even hopes that her Husband should have the Licence as the King of Navarre's Brother had before. Then with the Prince and the Constable in the Isle *aux Bourgs* near Orleans, to which place they both were brought under a strong Guard. And as the Constable stood stiff not to allow of the Edict of January, and the Prince was as resolute on the contrary, the Queen permitted the Prince to go into Orleans to communicate with the Heads of his Party.

The Ministers insisted that at what price soever, he should maintain the Edict of January. The Officers who were weary of the War, and himself who already longed to enjoy the sweet Air of the Court, and the softer pleasures of Women, relaxed in many things, and contented himself with a more moderate Edict. It allowed such as were Lords High Justices to have a place for publick Preaching in their Territories, and to others that have mean or low Justice, to have private ones in their own Houses, only for themselves and Family, provided which they did not dwell in Burroughs or Parishes that held of any other Justice * but the Kings. Moreover it gave them Liberty to Preach within such jurisdiction, whence appeals may be made to the Parliament without any other Medium; as likewise in such Cities where they had enjoyed that Liberty till the fifteenth day of March last; and together with this it also contained a general Amnesty a discharge to the Prince for all the Royal Money he had taken, or caused to be taken, and an acknowledgment whereby the King owned that he was his faithful Kinsman and affectionate to the good of the Kingdom, and that all those that had followed him had acted nothing but with honest intentions and for his service.

The Queen did so earnestly press the conclusion of this Treaty, that it was signed on either part the eighteenth of March before the Admiral was returned from Normandy. He made bitter complaint to the Prince for having so ill managed the interest of his Party in a juncture of time when he might have mightily improved it: but the thing was done, and those complaints served for no other purpose but to evaporate his Choller. The Edict was published in Parliament about the latter end of March. That of Toulouse delay'd till they were commanded more than once, and moreover constrain'd to revoke all the difamatory Decrees they had made against the Counsellors belonging to that Body, and against the Capitouls.

The Soldiery that were at Orleans, having first celebrated their Communion in the Church called Saint Croix, Marched out of the City. They did the same in many others which they held in divers places, leaving them in a most desolate condition, having ruined their fairest Churches. Commissioners were sent into the Provinces by the King to restore the Huguenots to their own, and put the Edict in Execution: but the most part made all the difficulties in it they possibly could, excepting such as they could gain by force of presents.

If this liberty of Conscience which was allowed them, were a just cause for the Clergies complaint, an Edict made in the Month of May, at Saint Germain en laye for the Alienation of a Hundred Thousand Crowns Sol of their Revenue in fund, which was executed with great severity, made their complaints rise much higher and louder.

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Some while after the Chancellor de P. Hospital to fill their out-cries a little, granted them power to buy the same again, and caused another Edict to be published whereby it was ordained that the Tenth should be paid to them, which without doubt proved very effectual towards the strengthening and fixing the Catholick Religion; for had the Huguenots been exempt from those payments, the greater part of those whose Estates lay in the Country, would have gone over to them that they might at once have gained the tenths of all their Estates.

The Duke of Guise being dead, and the Peace made, the Queen lived somewhat more at her ease. Nevertheless four grand Affairs did yet perplex her mind; the Princes conduct, *Havre de Grace* which was still in the hands of the English, the dissatisfaction of the Parliament of Paris, and the eager pursuit and sollicitation of the Dutchets of Guise and her Children to have justice done them for the death of their Father.

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Whatever Artifice she could make use of; it, it was impossible for her to separate the Prince from the Admiral, nor to dazzle him with the fine Vision of the Kingdom of Sardinia, wherewith she had enchanted the King of Navarre's Brother: but *Elizabet de Roy's* Wife hapning to die, she endeavour'd to chain him to the Court with the Charms of a voluptuous life; and the tempting beauty of one of her Maids of Honour, who having refused nothing to serve her Mistress, found her self incommenced for nine Months after, and was for a time the discourse and entertainment of the Court, where the like accidents afford matter for more sport and diversion, than scandal. The Widow of the Marschal de Saint André, upon another Motive, which was the hopes of Marrying him, endeavour'd likewise to inspire him with love, but entertain'd in her own Breast so great a passion for him, as made her purchase her own satisfaction, at the Price of her Lands at Valery, which she bestowed upon him.

The Admiral observing that these Debaucheries, in the head of the Party, decay'd even all the Party it self, and fearing, withal left there should some new beauty appear whose periwave Eloquence might prove more powerful than his Preaching Ministers, made him such earnest Remonstrances, that he oblig'd him to break all those Bonds and Fetters of idle and pernicious wandering loves, by tying a second time the sacred conjugal Knot, taking to his lawful Bed *Brancet* Sister of *Leonor Duke of Longueville*.

Every thing was in a readiness for the recovering of Havre by force, for it was a plain case that Queen Elizabeth intended to keep it as a recompence for the loss of Calais. After she had therefore refused to surrender it, a War was declared against her by a Herald, and the King being at Gaillon, Brisac began the Siege of the Constable and his Son the Marschal came thither fifteen days after. The French went about it with much resolution, the Huguenots with more forwardness yet then the Catholics, to take away that reproach laid at their doors of having introduced those Forrainers into the Kingdom.

Ambrose Earl of Warrick was Governor there with a Garrison of Four Thousand Men. The assailants press'd hard upon them from without, and the Plague made so rude a War and such havoc amongst them within, as kill'd forty or fifty of them every day, and had cast down above two thousand on the Bed of Sickness, and of sorrow for being now useless: but that which amaz'd them more then all this, was to find that even the Huguenots whom their Queen had so much assist'd were become their roughest Enemies. These considerations forced them to surrender the place the twenty seventh of July, with all the Artillery and Ammunitions belonging to the King, and all the Ships and Goods belonging to the French. The next day there appeared a Supply of Eighteen Hundred Men within sight of the Port, which in few days had been seconded with a Navy of Threescore great Ships Commanded by Admiral Clinton: but finding the Capitulation concluded he returned again.

The English revenged themselves for this loss upon the Merchants Ships. That was all they could do, as being unable to commit further mischief upon France after the loss of Calais, but only to turn Pirates. They continued this War at Sea for some Months: after which they consented to a Truce, which was converted into a Treaty of Peace the ninth of April in the year 1564. wherein it was said that either of them should preserve their rights and pretensions. This was to be understood with respect to the English, as to the City of Calais, which King Henry II. by a Treaty made in Anno 1559. was obliged to restore within eight years, during which time nothing was to be attempted on either part. Now the French pretended the English had violated this condition, and had therefore forfeited their right as to the recovery of Calais.

During this Siege King Charles entered upon his fourteenth year. The Declaration of King Charles the wife, which perhaps was never well understood, will that the King be declared in Majority at fourteen years; and it was the Queens intent to do it at the soonest, thereby to arrogate to her self the whole authority under the name of the King, and exclude the Prince and the Constable. Now by common right the age of majorities ought to be full and compleat. The Chancellor de P. Hospital, the Queens only Council in these matters, persuaded her there was no necessity to wait the plenitude of fourteen years, and said that in a favourable account, the year commenced was reck'n'd compleat: but whether he suspected the Parliament of Paris would not be of that sentiment because they might justly doubt whether it would be favourable or prejudicial to

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in July.

1563. the Kingdom, or apprehended that Senate would see up a Council for this King as they had done for *Charles VI.* he was of opinion they should carry him to the Parliament of *Rouen* to pass this Act.

September. The King sitting therefore in his Seat of Justice, was there declared Major the Fourteenth of the Month of *August*; and at the same time he caused them to pass an Edict, which was after verified in all the other Parliaments, ordaining that the Edict he had made for Liberty of Conscience should be observed till such time as the Questions should be decided by a Council, or else by him should otherwise be ordained; That whosoever should violate the same should be Treated as a Rebel; That all Persons should lay down their Arms, and renounce all Leagues and Communication with Strangers.

The Edict of the Kings Majority was not Registered in the Parliament of *Paris* but with great difficulty. They sent to make great Remonstrances to the King by their first President accompanied by two more of their Members; He represented it was contrary to the Custom of the Kingdom to carry any Edict to another Parliament before it was passed in that of *Paris*, which represented the Estates General, which is the Court of *Paris*, the most August Throne of their Kings, the true Parliament of the Kingdom, whereof the rest are all but little Spirits. The King whose countenance and voice they had composed to a studied Severity, answer'd them, that they were to obey; that they should meddle no more with publick Affairs, and that they should lay aside that old and vulgar Error, That they were the *Tuors*, or *Guardians* of their Kings, defenders of the Kingdom, and keepers of the City of *Paris*. The Deputies having made their Report to the Court, they were equally divided; *Peter Signier* President in the Grand Chamber, and *Dorny* President *sous Esquiers*, carried their Division to the King, who ordered that the Edict should be Published and Registered without delay, and that all the Presidents and Councillours should be present upon pain of Interdiction.

The King would not return to *Paris* till the Parliament had obey'd. The Mother, the Widow and the Children of the Duke of *Guise* with a great train of Mourners, came to him at the same time to demand Justice upon the Authors of the cruel Murder of that Prince; It was well enough known they pointed at the Admiral. Some time before the Prince of *Condé*, and the Marechal de *Montmorency* had declared they would maintain his Innocency with and against all; and because he had some suspicion of the Parliament of *Paris*, the King had taken the business upon himself, and then refer'd it to the Grand Council, whence he had withdrawn it again to bring it before the Parliament. It was not possible to go thorough with it without raising a Civil War again: and therefore they found it expedient to suspend the prosecution for three years.

Before the Peace, the People of *Toulouse* had Mutinied against the Parliament upon occasion of some wall which they were making to enclose the Palace. Their thundering Decrees could not stop the Insolency of those whom themselves had nursed up in Blood and Licentiousness, by letting loose their rage against the *Huguenots*. Divers of their Members ran great hazard of their Lives in those furious Tumults; which afforded a specious pretence to the Cardinals *d'Armagnac* and *de Streffly*, to *Ternide*, *Negrepelisse*, and *Fourquevaux* to make a League, by which they were engaged amongst themselves, (after they had Communicated the thing to the Lord of *Joyeuse*) to stand united for the defence of the Religion of their Ancestors, against all Rebels, Sectaries, disturbers of the publick quiet, and that in each *Seneschauflé*, (or Jurisdiction of a *Seneschal*) they should take an Account of what Arms there were, and how many fit to bear them. The Articles were drawn with consent of the Solicitor-General, and by a Decree made, the Chambers being Assembled, entred into the Register of the Court, but yet with this Clause, according to the good pleasure of the King.

December. This was in my opinion the first League that was openly made amongst the Kings Subjects for the business of Religion. By this example divers others were formed in several Provinces; and out of all these at least from the disposition this Imprinted in the minds of the People, that great League was framed which gave *Henry III.* his death, and infinite troubles to his Successors.

During this apparent calm, the Chancellor labour'd in contriving most excellent Reglements for Polity and Justice. All Corates were declared exempt from Lodging and Providing, or quartering of Soldiers. There was an Edict that such as were Plaintiffs in Law, should lay down a certain Sum before they were

were admitted to plead: but the Parliament made great opposition, and in fine, whether it were that this Tax hindered Law-Suits and Process, or whether on the contrary they thought it scandalous and unjust in the King to turn the Obligation he had to do Justice freely, into a toll: this Edict was abolished by Non-usage, though it were never repealed.

Another in the Month of *December* established a Court of Judicature for Merchants, composed of one Judge and four Counsils, who were chosen out of a Hundred Citizens called together by the Prevost des Marchands, and the *Echevins*, to determine upon the place (and without any formal and tedious proceedings) all disputes or demands concerning Trade and Commerce, to the value of Five Hundred Livres absolutely and Sovereignly, and above the said Sum by way of Provision upon giving Security; The Appeal to be made to the Parliament. After this Example of *Paris*, Ten or Twelve of the chiefest Cities in the Kingdom would needs have the like Jurisdiction, and found it to be very good and useful. In effect, if there were one in every City, and the Sovereignty of their Power extended to give Judgment as far as a Thousand Crowns, it would prevent frauds, dry up deceit at the Root, and rid them of all those paltry Splitters of causes, who long so much to have a finger in the rich Merchants purse and to taste of that fruit of Trade.

December. The Fourth of *December*, the Council of *Trent* was closed, where the Cardinal de *Lorraine*, who Composed and Sung their Acclamations, (though according to ancient Custom, it was rather the Office of a Deacon then of a great Archbishop) seemed not to have regarded the Honour of *France* as he ought, forasmuch as I know not upon what considerations, he named only the Emperour in particular, and in gross the Christian Kings and Princes, although in the Address of the Bulls for convocation, the King of *France* was by name expres'd as well as the Emperour.

The one and Thirtieth of the same Month, which was the last day of the Year, was so likewise of the Marechal de *Brissac*, one of the greatest Warriours of his Age.

In another Edict given the year after at *Paris*, amongst many Rules contained therein to prevent delays in Suits of Law and reform their Decrees and Judgments, it was ordained that the year, which till that time in all Civil Affairs had still taken its beginning at *Easter*, should from thenceforward be changed and begin upon the first day of *January* according to the usage in the Church.

This was observed the following year in the Kings Council and the *Chambre des Comptes*: but the Parliament, which is as it were Guardian of the Ancient Orders of the Kingdom, opposed it, and could not be perswaded to follow this Reformation till after the Assembly at *Moulin*, to wit, in the year 1567.

By vertue of an Edict given at the Instance of the Queen at *Saint Maur des Fosses*, bearing that the void places in the City of *Paris*, namely that of the Palace des *Tournelles*, should be sold for the benefit of the King. She caused that Palace to be pulled down together with that of *Angoulême* very near the other, under colour of abolishing the very Memory of that fatal place where her Husband was wounded to death: but in truth to avoid, I do not know what finifter accident, with which she seemed to be threatened there. She gave part of it to the publick for a Horse-Market, and sold the remainder to private Persons to build Houses: and then began to Erect the Palace of *Tuilleries*.

Although the Factions seemed to lye asleep, notwithstanding the Heads of both Parties, turned every Stone under-hand to keep their Friends firm to them, to maintain the Zeal and Courage of their Parties, and to strenghen themselves with Foreign assistance. The King of *Spain* was privately courted by several of the Catholick Chiefs, who were very willing thereby to support themselves, that he should have some hand in the management of the Affairs of *France*. Upon their Solicitations he sent a Solemn Embassy to the King, amongst whom were likewise Deputies from the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Duke of *Lorraine*: to perswade him to depute some in his behalf at *Nancy*, where the Assembly of Christian Princes was assigned to consult about the most necessary means and ways to make the Council of *Trent* to be received, and owned, and to extirpate all Heresies out of Christendom: but the Queen Mother who foresaw the consequences of this demand, illuded it by many delays, and sent the Ambassadors back again with an ambiguous and indeterminate answer.

1564. Upon this occasion Master *Charles du Moulin*, the most profound of all the French Lawyers, put forth a Consultation, wherein he undertook to prove that the said Council was Null and Vicious in all its parts, contrary to the Ancient Decrees, prejudicial to the dignity of the Crown, and the Liberties of the Gallican Church. The zealous Catholics would not let this attempt, of so profane a Fellow, escape unpunished, but having accused him in Parliament of dangerous opinions and sentiments concerning matters of Faith, got him confined to a Prison: but the King by a Decree of Council set him at Liberty, with an injunction to write no more without his express Order and Permission, and forbid the Parliament to take any Cognizance of this matter.

The Five and Twentieth of July, the Feast day of the Apostle Saint James the great, the Emperor Ferdinand I. Brother of Charles V. died at Vienna of a lingering Fever, attended with a Dropsie: He had lived Sixty one years, and governed the Empire Seven years. Maximilian his Eldest Son, who was already King of the Romans, succeeded him.

Emperor Solymán and Maximilian, II. R. 22 years, and 3 Months.

July. The whole Kingdom was full of Factions, and Tumults: from all quarters complaints were brought to the King of the one and the other Party. The Queen Mother desiring to know the Strength of the Huguenots, and the different dispositions of Mens minds, or having some more secret design under deck, thought good to take a Progress with the whole Court to every City in the Kingdom, taking along with her the King, Alexander * Monsieur the Elder of his Brothers, and leaving Hercules the youngest at Bois de Vincennes. The Prince of Condé had retired himself to his House of Valery.

* He was 13 years old.

1564. and 65. The Court began their promenade about the end of Winter, visited Champagne, Barrois, Bourgogne, Lyonnais, Provence, Languedoc, Guyenne, making solemn Entries in all the great Cities, and arrived at Bayonne the Tenth day of June of the following year 1565.

1565. During the Kings absence, a controversy between the Cardinal de Lorraine and the Marechal de Montmorency Governor of Paris and the Isle of France, was very near breaking out into another War. The King had forbid all his Subjects wearing of any Arms, the Cardinal notwithstanding had a Licence under the Great Seal, to have a Guard that might bear them. The Marechal knew it well enough, but he expected the Cardinal should send to Compliment him upon it, and the Cardinal pretended that it belonged to the Marechal to pay him that Civility. Now when upon his return from the Council of Trent the Cardinal would have passed thorough Paris with the Duke of Anmale his Brother, and the Duke of Guise his Nephew, the Marechal de Montmorency knowing he drew near the City, sent to Command him by a Prevost des Marches, to make his men give up their Arms; the Cardinal went on, the Marechal well Accompanied goes to meet him, charged him in the Street Saint Denis. (The Duke d'Anmale was gone by Saint Martins Gate.) The Cardinals People were scatter'd here and there, and he escaped into a Shop with his Nephew. At Night they went all to the Hotel de Clugny, which was the Cardinals House.

The next day the Marechal passed and repassed in a bravado before his Door. The City of Paris being just on the point to rise: the Prevost des Marchands, on behalf of the Parliament, endeavour'd to find out some means for an Accommodation between them. He prevail'd with the Cardinal to go out of Town, and with the Marechal to permit that Princes Guard to wear their Arms, according to the Kings Licence, a Copy whereof he shewed. The Duke d'Anmale, nevertheless hovering about Paris with a numerous Train of Friends whom he had called to him, the Admiral was likewise sent for by the Marechal his Cousin, and brought a Thousand or Twelve Hundred Gentlemen along with him; and thus both Parties being in Armes, it was feared every Moment they would charge each other: but the King having heard the Complaints of both sides, sent a Command they should lay down their Armes, to which they obey'd.

The Queen Mother being so nigh the Frontiers of Spain, desired to see her Daughter Isabella * de la Paix, Wife of King Philip II. The King sent his Brother the Duke of Anjou to meet her, who being attended with the Flower of the French Court, passed over the River Marqueze, which is beyond Saint John de Pied de Port, and parts the two Kingdoms, met the Queen at Aragnis, and accompanied

* She was called Isabella because she was Married to King Philip. 1559. as a pawn for the Peace.

accompanied her to Saint Sebastian, where Ferdinand Alvara de Toledo Duke of Alva came and waited on her with a great Attendance.

He brought the Order of the Golden Fleece for the King: who went to receive his Sister at the Banks of the River Bidassé, and there gave his hand to help her out of the Boat. The Queen Mother had past over the River, whether so agreed upon, or impatient to embrace her Daughter, whom they set upon a Palfrey, Monsieur, and the Cardinal de Bourbon walking on each side, and so led her to Bayonne where she remained about Three weeks with her Mother.

During that time, all what the Luxury and Pomp of the Court of France, which surpasses all others in those profusions, could invent and contrive for Balets, Feastings, Caroufels and Bravery, were employed to let them see theirs was as stately and proud, and much more ingenious then that of Spain. The Queen Mother would have had it thought this residence of the Court at Bayonne was only to divert her Daughter: but her design was quite another thing; For under pretence of going to visit her by means of a close Gallery purposely built from one House to the other, the every Night held Communication with the Duke of Alva; and the event did afterwards plainly discover that all those Conferences tended to make a secret Alliance between the two Kings, to extirpate the Protestants.

The Huguenots who had piercing Eyes and quick Ears, imagined the Duke of Alva had advised the Queen to draw them all together to some great Assembly and dispatch them without Mercy. They said, likewise that he let these words fall, *That the Head of one Salmon, is worth more then all the Frogs in a Marsh;* and they believed that even at the Assembly of Moulins, the Queen had then given the fatal blow if all things necessary thereto had concurred as she desired. Now whether these things were true or imaginary, it is certain, they lost all that little Credit and Confidence there had been between them, so that they could never afterwards take any measures with her, and thus the Spaniard attained the end he aimed at, and so greatly desired, which was to maintain an irreconcilable Division in France.

The Court at their departure from Bayonne passed by Nerac where they restored the Exercise of the Catholick Religion which Queen Jane d'Albret had banished thence, visited afterwards Agenois, Perigord, Angoumois, Poitou and Anjou, and from thence going up the River of Loire, came and concluded the year in the City of Blois, and assigned an Assembly of the Grantees of the Kingdom, and the first Presidents of the Parliaments in the City of Moulins for the Month of January in the following year, 1566.

This was Memorable for the Famous Siege of Malta, which was fiercely Attacked by the Turks four Months together, and yet more Valiantly defended by the Grand Master John de la Valeta Parisot, and his brave Knights. Mustapha, Balla of Buda, landed on the Island the Seventeenth day of May. Piali Bassa was Admiral or Captain Bassa, the renowned Dragut and the old Occhiali, whom they called Louchali, both terrible for their Piracies, came and joyned the Fleet with more Ships belonging to the Corsairs of Africa, Garcias de Toledo Vice-Roy of Sicilia, had promised Relief to Parisot in the Month of June: but he performed it not till September, the Fort Saint Elmo being then taken, and that of Saint Michael and du Burg being both reduced to Powder; so that it was the indefatigable Courage of the Knights that saved it rather then his Assistance. The Barbarians after they had lost four Months time and labour, Seventy Eight Thousand Cannon Shot, Fifteen Thousand Soldiers, and Eight Thousand Mariners, retired in great Confusion. The following year they seized without resistance upon the Island of Chio which was in the possession of the Justiniani, a Genoese Family.

In the Spring time of the same year, 1566. Solymán enraged that his Force and Arms had so unfortunately split against that Rock of Malta, would revenge it upon Hungary, and fell upon it for the Fifth time. It was his last Expedition. Having besieged Ziget a place built in the midst of a Lake indifferently deep, and which consisted of two Towns and three Castles, he died of an apoplexy the fourth day of September which was the second Month of the Siege. Mehmet his Grand Viceroy concealed his Maximilian death with so much Artifice, that his Janissaries knew nothing of it till the place was II. and Sclim. taken by Storm; which was but three days after. The generous Count de Scrinio, who II. Son of Solymán, was Governour thereof, finding himself reduced to the last Castle, and environed on all sides with Flames (for the Turks had set Fire to those Fortifications of Wood) would

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needs go forth with his Sword in his hand, resolved to die gloriously or pierce through his Enemies. But he was overwhelmed with too great a number upon the Bridge to escape, and the place was afterwards taken and sacked and all put to the edge of the Sword. However the Infidels had no great cause to rejoice, when they found how that little handful of Earth, or Ashes, had cost them Seventeen Thousand Spahies, and Seven Thousand Janizaries.

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January,
&c.

In the Assembly of *Montins*, the Chancellor having represented how the King had spent almost two years in visiting his Kingdom to find what disorders the War had produced, declared that the greatest and indeed the source of all others, was that all those that were in Office did not only make advantage of their administration and their management as of their own proper Goods, but moreover abused of it to the damage and ruine of the publick, the contempt of Religion, of the Law and of their Prince. He afterwards treated and made mention of several particulars whereby Grievances might be remedied, as to retrench the multitude of the Chambers * of Parliament, and reduce it to its first Institution, to give honourable Salaries to the Judges, that they might take no more either Spices, nor Vacations, nor Presents, upon pain of destitution; that they might be only Triennial in each Parliament, and before they went off, to give an account of their Conduct before certain Censors chosen for that purpose.

* Or distinct
Courts of Justice.

Upon these excellent Propositions (and many more besides, which may well be desired but little expected ever to be put in practice, the Presidents of Parliament, and Councillors of State having delivered their Opinions and endeavour'd to out-vie each other, to shew their capacity) was made that celebrated Edit of *Montins*, given at *Paris* the tenth of *July*, which in the whole contains 86 Heads, some whereof were to confirm the Edit made at *Paris* two years before, and that of *Roussillon* which explained it; the other to make some certain Regulations in matters of justice. Amongst others, that a Debtor * though he have not engaged his person, may be detained Prisoner, if he do not make satisfaction within four Months, after Judgment signified to him, and be confined till either he hath paid or delivered up his Goods, that in the Civil no proof by * Witnesses shall hereafter be received or held valid for any Sum above an hundred Livers; that all substitutions * made before the Ordinance of *Orleans* which went to infinity, should be restrained to the fourth degree, (this Ordinance had reduced them for the future unto the second;) That they shall be published in Court and Registered in the next Registers Office belonging to the King; that donations between persons living should be annulled within four Months in such Registry's nearest to the habitation of the parties, upon pain of Nullity.

* Artic. 48.

* Artic. 54.

* Artic. 57.

Before the Court parted from *Montins*, they patch up an accommodation between the *Guises* and the *Colignis*. There being no clear proof the Admiral had any hand in the Murder of the Duke of *Guise*, and having purged himself by Oath, the King enjoyed them to embrace, forget and lay aside all enmities on either part. Which was performed between the Admiral on the one side, and the Widow of the deceased Duke of *Guise*, and the Cardinal de *Lorraine* on the other. The young Duke was not there, he being gone to make his first Campaigne in *Hungary*, from whence he returned not till the latter end of this year.

In the same place the reconciliation betwixt the Cardinal de *Lorraine*, and the Marechal de *Montmorency* was likewise made; the former having declar'd that it was not in contempt of the Kings Authority he had omitted to produce his Letters Patents which allowed him to go abroad armed; the latter that the Method he had proceeded in was not with any manner of design to affront him, but purely to observe the Kings Edict, as he was in duty bound by his Office.

In this year must be placed the beginning of the Civil Wars in the Low-Countries, which lasted till the time of the Peace of *Munster*, without any relaxation save during the Truce which was obtained by Henry IV. The fear and dread of the Inquisition was the principal cause of it. It was extremely detrimental and ruinous to the Flemings, for besides the too violent severities used against those that were tainted with the new Opinions, it wholly interrupted all Commerce, and frightened away the Germans, Danes and English from the City of *Antwerp* and other maritime Towns of the Low-Countries. The Clergy were but little less aggrieved by the erecting of Seven *Bishop-ricks*

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ricks dismembered from the Metropolitans of *Reims*, *Triers*, *Colen*, and the *Bishop-rick* of *Liege* and *Munster*, because they united to them this *Bishop-rick* of the Low-Countries and put in Prelates wholly devoted to the Council of *Spain*. So that under pretence of maintaining the ancient Religion, they laboured to sit upon an absolute and unlimited power, over those Provinces, who owed no further obedience than according to their Laws and Privileges.

The procedure of the Cardinal de *Granvelle*, who treated the *Grandeurs* of the Country very imperiously, exasperated them yet more. Divers Conspiracies were contrived against him, the fear of which forced him to retire to *Belanion*: but his Spies Reigned in *Flanders* still, and persuaded the Council of *Spain* not to abate in the least, but proceed and carry on the work with the utmost severity: The Council of State of the Order of the *Fleece*, and Governors of the Provinces, wherein *Margaret* Dutchess of *Parma* Governess of the Low-Countries presided, thought good to send *Raimont* into *Spain*, to represent the ill Consequences that would attend the publication of their too severe Edicts. He returned with fair words and great carests: but Philip sent Orders to the Governess to publish the Council of *Trent*, and set up the Inquisition.

The States of *Brabant* opposed it, the Religionaries heated the people, the Governess apprehending a revolt, was constrained to put forth a Declaration which revoked the Inquisition, and would not suffer the Council to be published but with restrictions conformable to the Privileges of the Country.

But the Populace, for the most part prepossessed with the Doctrine of the *Sectaries*, were not satisfied with that, but threatened to fall foul upon the Nobility: in so much as the Lords of the Country dreading their fury, or pretending so, assembled at *Gertrudenberg*, and made a League amongst themselves for the preservation of their Liberties. The Governess being much amazed at this Conspiracy, the Count de *Barlaumont* who hated them mortally, sold her they were only a Company of *Gueux* *. The Conspirators hearing of it, took that Epithet, or word, for the name of their Faction, and a nick name began to wear upon their Coats the figure of a wooden Porringer or Dish, with this Inscription, Servants of the King, even to the Budget. Immediately, as if that had been the Signal for their rising, the Religionaries broke loose in every part of the Country. They began to hold Assemblies, to destroy and break in pieces all what the Catholics esteem most sacred, and to seize upon some Towns, as the *Huguenots* of France did formerly, with whom they had kept intimate correspondence for several years.

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Of two Opinions debated in the Council of *Spain* touching the Method to extinguish this Flame, Philip chose that of the Duke d' *Alva* as most suitable to his merciless humour, and his desire of absolute authority; which was to use the utmost severities to quell those Tumults, and not to receive the people to any kind of Mercy, till they had given up their Privileges, their Estates, and even their Lives to his discretion. Wherefore, after he had pretended for three Months together, that he would go personally thither, to settle that people, he sent the Duke of *Alva* with Orders to execute those sanguinary resolutions of which he was the Author.

He Marched by *Savoy*, *Breiss*, the *Franche-Comté* and *Lorraine*, with the Forces of *Milanois*, and of the Kingdom of *Naples*. Whilst he was yet in Italy he advised *Queen Catherine* to arm on her part to exterminate the *Huguenots*, at the same time as he would destroy the *Gueux*. In effect she raised six thousand Swiss, and ordered the Governors of Provinces to send the Companies already on foot (called d' *Ordonnance*) and to levy new ones, but it was under pretence of Coasting the Duke, to observe and hinder him from undertaking any thing upon the Frontiers of the Kingdom.

Before he left *Spain* the *Marquis* de *Bergue*, and *Floris* de *Montmorency* Montigny were arrested, having been sent on the behalf of the States of the Low-Countries to make their Remonstrances to King Philip. The first died either of grief, or some morfel prepar'd for the purpose, the second had his head cut off, though both of them were very staunch Catholics, which made it apparent that the Council of *Spain* intended no less against the liberty of the Low-Countries, than against the new Religion.

Now it is certain that the Duke of *Alva's* Army kindled the flame of Civil War again in France. The *Huguenots* seeing them march imagin'd, That the *June*, &c. Pope and the House of *Austria* had conspired their ruine; that this design was evident, because they every day restrained them more and more of that liberty which had been granted them by Edicts, so that it was almost reduced to nothing, that

1567. that the people fell upon them in all places where they were the weaker, and where they were able to defend themselves the Governors made use of the Kings Authority to oppress them; that they dismantled those Cities that had favoured them, that they built Citadels there; that they could not have justice done them either in Parliaments, nor by the Kings Council; that they Massacred them impunitively; that they restored them not to their Estates and Employments.

These were in substance the complaints they carried twice or thrice to the Prince of Condé and Coligny; who having met them two several times, still answered them, that they must endure any thing rather than take up Arms again; That a second disturbance would make them become a horror to all France, and the particular object of hatred to the King, in whose mind it would make so deep an impression of prejudice against them, in his blooming youth, as nothing hereafter would be able to blot out. But when one of the Chief Persons about the Court had given them certain notice, that it was resolved on to seize upon the Prince and the Admiral, the first to be detained a perpetual Prisoner, the other to be brought to the Scaffold: Dandolos the boldest of them made them resolve not only to defend themselves, but to attack their Enemies by open force, and to that purpose drive away the Cardinal de Lorraine from the King, and cut the Swiss in pieces: this was their first aim: but no man alive, nay not themselves could have told to what height their success might have carried them, had it proved such as they desired.

The little City of Roissy in Brie was Assigned for Rendezvous of the Nobility of the Party, on the eighth and twentieth day of September. The Prince with the Admiral, Dandolos and the Count de la Rochefaucault, seized upon it without any difficulty, there being Arrived several Gentlemen from divers parts, one by one till they made up the number in all of Four Hundred Masters. They had a mind to surprize the Court which was then at Montceaux, on the Feast day of Saint Michael when the King was to have held the Chapter of his Order: but the Queen having information that they were upon their March, immediately retired with the King to Meaux. And to give her Swissers time, who were quarter'd in the Neighbouring Villages, to get into the Town, she sent the Marechal de Montmorency to amuse the Prince of Condé who was making ready to Charge them, and had no doubt cut them all off as they lay then scatter'd. The Marechal having demanded what business brought them thither? carried back a Petition from them, which they had drawn up to present to the King.

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The Constables advice was, that the King ought not to remove from Meaux, because they could not convey him thence without hazard of a Battel, whereof the event must be uncertain. The Chancellor said the same, and added, that if once both parties drew their Swords, there could never be any more accommodation, for the King would have an eternal resentment, and the Huguenots who had offended him, be under the perpetual necessity of keeping still in Arms against him. The ill-favour'd destiny of France was more prevalent than those prudent Councils: they rather adhered to what the Cardinal de Lorraine said, and so the King was by night persuaded to take his flight towards Paris. He was placed in the midst of his Swiss, who cover'd him on the right and left, together with eight hundred Horse belonging to his Train, more likely to hinder and embarrass, than to fight.

At the first birth of day, when he had Marched four Leagues, the Prince appear'd with four or five hundred Horse well armed. The Constable fearing an Engagement, sent the King away before with two hundred Horse out of the common road; so that he got safe to Paris that very night. The Princes Cavalry, who knew nothing of this fell upon the Swiss: but having often struggled to break in amongst them found them stand so firm, that he only followed them to Bourges, disturbing them now and then in their rear.

The Princes party rested four days at Claye waiting for an answer to their Petition. In the interim Forces came to them from several parts, with which they designed to seize upon the Avenues to Paris, particularly Montreuil Fontaine above, and Saint Denis below, which lies near the River of Seine, and commands all the Country on that side. In the former they placed a Garrison; the Prince himself lodged in the latter. In his March he burnt all the Mills between the Gates of the Temple and Saint Honoré, but without any other effect save only that it increased the Kings Anger and the Parisians hatred.

For

For eight days together there was nothing but Messages to and fro, the Constable and Chancellor desiring to try all means whereby to prevent the French from cutting one anothers throats. The first nevertheless would relinquish nothing in prejudice of the Catholic Religion, and always stood upon it with the Huguenots that the Edict of Pacification which they urged, was but provisional. Thus wrangling upon that point, which was indeed the most essential they broke off all Conference.

Some Troops being come out of the Provinces to the Huguenots, they seized upon the Bridge at Poissy, and of Argenteuil, and a great many small Castles on the other side the River with whom they made a communication by means of certain Postons, (or Bridges) which they had at Saint Ouen: so that they commanded and beat about all the roads to Normandy, the Countries of Perche, Maine, and Anjou, and stop'd all provisions which come in vast quantities to Paris from those quarters. The people began therefore to cry out against the Constable, as if he had some correspondence with the Admiral his Nephew, and their murmurs not ceasing, even after he had retaken all those Posts, he was so nettled that they should suspect his fidelity, that he resolved, though he had ever been a wise Counsellor, to go forth and drive the Enemies from all their Lodgments. They held three, Saint Ouen, Aubervilliers, and Saint Denis which lay between the two others.

He did not believe that they durst stand him in the Field, having but a handful of Men, for they were in all but twelve hundred Foot, and fifteen hundred Horse, mightily harass'd and most of them ill armed, having instead of Lances only some kind of Poles they got at Saint Denis which they armed with Iron heads. I do not reckon the five hundred which Andelos had at Poissy, who could not come to the Fight because the Pontons at Saint Ouen were sunk by the Kings Soldiers. The Royal Army consisted of sixteen thousand Foot, and three thousand Men at Arms, without including the City Companies, who did much more encrease their number, than their strength.

The day before having resolved to attack them, he caused them to be harcelled all the day and all the night long by fifteen hundred Horse, as well to discover as to tyre them. The following day being the tenth of November, he Marches out with his Forces, having told the Parisians that very day should see proof of his fidelity, and that they should not see him again but either dead or victorious. His Son the Marechal broke in amongst the Enemies and cover'd the Field with their slain: but as for himself the Body he Commanded was routed, and he abandoned by most of his Men. However he did not forsake himself, but did all that belonged to a General, and a resolved Cavalier, till he was wounded in six places, the last of which was mortal: This was a Pistol-shot which Robert Stuard discharged in his Reins. D'Anville his Son and the Duke of Anmale disengaged him. Night put the Combat on an end and saved the Huguenots who were defeated on the right Wing, and very much shaken in the left.

But few of the Infantry fell upon the place, of which the most were Huguenots, and six or seven hundred Cavaliers, amongst whom were near two hundred Gentlemen, as many of the one as of the other party.

The night after Dandolos Arrived from Poissy, and passed over the River at Saint Ouen upon those Pontons which he weighed up from the bottom of the water and patched together. He was of Opinion that to stop the report which was spread abroad of their defeat, it were fit they should draw their Forces up in Battalia, and with them he with a marvellous resolution charged the Enemies to the very Walls of Paris. From the top of the Walls and Envoy of the Grand Signors who beheld the Fight, observing them return so often to the Charge, said to those that stood about him; That if his Master had but Six Thousand Horsemen equal to those white Coats, he would soon conquer all Europe.

The Field and Spoil was the Catholics, but the Honour was the Huguenots; who without Cannon and being so small a number had withstood the effort of a Royal Army that had Paris to back them. The Constable died the next day of his wounds, with a courage truly heroic, and a virility of strength in his almost decrepit age. It is said, That a Cordelier importuning him with his tedious exhortations, he desired him to leave him in peace, telling him, That he had not liv'd four score years, without learning to die a quarter of an hour. At his Funeral Pomp they

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1567. they carried his Effigies, which is an honour done to none but to Kings and to the Sons of France.

The Queen very glad to be rid of him who alone did in a manner limit her power within bounds of reason, would not fill up that Office of Constable, but that he might retain the general Command of the Armies in her own hands, gave it to her Son the Duke of Anjou, who was not yet fourteen years of age, and placed trusty people about him to dispose both of his person and that great Command as she directed.

The fifth day after the Battel the Huguenots fearing they might be overwhelmed by those of Paris, took their March towards Montreuil to meet John Casimir Son of Lewis, Elector and Count Palatine, who brought them an Army from Germany. The Royal Army did not pursue them, but kept within Paris, there being since the death of the Constable no General as yet appointed.

The Queen-Mother had by Lansac and Bechelet Bishop of Rennes her Ambassadors, declared to the Protestant Princes of that Country, that in this War Religion was not at all concerned, (since the Huguenots were allowed all manner of liberty) but the Regal Authority, which they directly opposed; so that the Electors William Duke of Saxony and Charles Marquis of Brandenburg, had denied the Prince to make any Levies in their Territories, but had allowed it to the King. The Palatine being also prepossessed had for a while kept back those Forces, his Son was to command: but being afterwards otherwise informed by an Envoyé who accompanied Lansac to the Court of France, and who upon his return saw the Prince of Condé, he exhorted his Son to go on with his March.

They sojourned at Montreuil fifteen days to wait for the Troops which their Chiefs were raising in several Provinces; as the King had likewise ordered his part to encrease his Army. Those that were raised for them in Poitou, Angoumois, and Saintonge had for Commanders, Francis de la Rochebeaucourt, Claude de Lauder-Mony, Giron de Luxignan Bussy, and Francis de la Noué, whose wisdom and probity was held in admiration amongst the very Catholics. In their favour the City of Rochel by means of Truchard their new Maire, and perhaps by the connivance of Guy Chabot Jarnac who was Governor for the King, entered into their party, whereof it hath been as it were the strongest Tower and Asylum for sixty years together.

In their March la Noué being detached to get Orleans for them, managed the Business so well, that with the help of the Inhabitants who were of the Religion, he made himself Master of it the eight and twentieth of September, and forced out the Governor who had cantoned himself at the Porte-Baniere. From Orleans they Marched towards Montreuil, and forced Ponts Sur-Tonne. The Admiral having joyned them there with a grove of Cavalry, would try the City of Sens: but he there found the young Duke of Guise, who having season'd his courage in the War of Hungary, endeavour'd to let him see that he should find in him an Enemy as brave and more dangerous than his Father.

Those of Languedoc were employ'd by James Crussol d'Acier in taking the Castles of Nismes and Montpellier, they having the Towns already by means of the Inhabitants. Those of the Countries of Foix, Albigeois, and Lauraguais, conducted by the Vicount *, (those were seven Gentlemen bearing that Title) having joyned him, assisted him in the taking some places about Avignon and in Dauphiné. From thence they went to Orleans, where by their Arrival they freed the Princess of Condé and the Wives of the other Chief Commanders from the great fear and trouble they were in, who having but few Soldiers, were every hour under some apprehension of being taken with the Town itself.

As for the Forces of Auvergne, Forez, and Beaujolais, led by Poncenus and Verbelay, they received a check in the Country of Forez, from Terride la Valette, and Monsalez, who were bringing some Levies out of Guyenne to the King: but however they made a shift to get clear. Poncenus upon another occasion in the night, was kill'd by his own Men.

The Duke of Nevers who had an Army of twelve or thirteen thousand Men, six thousand being Swiss, and the rest made up in Piedmont and Italy, took as he was on his way the City of Mafcon whereof la Loue was Governor: but as he was passing thorough his own Dutchy of Nivernois, he met with some Huguenot Horle of the Garrison of the little Town of Amrain; he charged them, and pursuing them in their retreat, was wounded in the knee with a Pistol-shot, which made him lame all his life after, and much exasperated against the Huguenots.

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The Huguenot Army at their departure from Montreuil took their March thorough Champagne by Chaulons, passed the Meuse and went into Lorraine. They were five or six dayes in great pain that Prince Casimir appeared not, and no less afterwards, when upon his first Arrival he demanded an Hundred Thousand Crowns the Prince had promised to pay him when he could joyn him. At this time hapned what had never till then been known; the Princes Soldiers, even to the very Snap-fack boys, freely disbursed to make up part of the said Sum; and thus one Army paid the other, which consisted of six Thousand five Hundred Horse and about three Thousand Foot.

With this considerable Re-inforcement the Confederates returned into France. They took the Garrisons of Joinville and Chaumont, passed the Marne, and crossing the Bishoprick of Autun, came to the head of the Seine, the Forces under the Duke of Nevers, not being able to hinder their passage over it. From thence they steer'd their Course by Auxerre, Chastillon and Montargis; whence they extended into la Basse. The Prince having been at Orleans to receive those Troops were brought him from Guyenne, marched Twenty Leagues in one day to lay Siege to Chartres. He thought when he should have taken this Town, he might promise to himself, it being one of the Granaries of Paris, that he might return to Block up that City its self: so deep the Imagination was imprinted in him, that he should never attain the ends he designed, but by mating that great City by Famine, and other inconveniences attending War.

The enterprize proved more difficult than he expected. Antony de Lignieres was got into Chartres with a Strong Garrison, and had put all things in good Order; If nevertheless he had at first, (which he did not till the latter end) turned the River another way which wrought their Mills, the Besieged would soon have wanted bread.

During this Siege the Conferences for a Peace were again set on foot, the Cardinal de Chastillon going to Longjumeau treated a long while with Charles de Gontaud Biron Marechal de Camp *, and Henry de Mesme Master of Requests, * Or Fielding friendly Mediators, it was agreed upon the second day of March. The Edict was verified in Parliament the twenty sixth of the same Month. This convening and restoring intirely that which had been made for them five years before, March, 1568, annulling all Exceptions, Declarations, and Interpretations which had been made to the contrary.

The more quick-sighted amongst the Huguenots were not for making this Peace, which scattered them so wide assunder, and exposed them to the mercy of their Enemies, without any other Security but the word of an Italian Woman; and indeed they named it the Baiteuse *, i.e. Lame, and the Mal-assise. But Peace, luding to Biron who was Lame, and Mesme who was Lord de Mal-assise. The Prince protested he was constrained to it, because the greatest part of his Forces disbanded, the Nobility were returning to their own Homes which were exposed to Pillage, and the Germans might perhaps have sold them for want of pay. The Parliament of Toulouse did not verify it till after they had four expresse Commands, nor before they did cut off the head of Rapin whom the Prince had sent thither to pres the Verification, having raked up some old Crime against him upon which they made his Process in great haste.

In consequence of this Treaty, the Huguenots raised the Siege of Chartres, and gave up several Cities they had taken, amongst others Soissons, Orleans, Auxerre, Blois, and la Charité upon the Loire. Rochel refused to obey, and after their example many others. Prince Casimir led back his Forces into Germany, and went to Heidelberg to give an account of his expedition to his Father the Elector. He there found William of Nassau Prince of Orange, who having made his escape from the Low Countries, implored his Assistance for the maintenance of their Liberty and his Religion against the Duke of Alva.

The Cruelties of that Duke, the Deaths of the Counts of Egmont and Horn, the Troubles of the Low Countries, and the Foundation of the States of Holland, by the Marvellous Conduct, and un-forgotten Courage of that Prince of Orange, are the noblest Subjects for History that can be met with in all these latter Ages. And indeed it hath been Treated on by several Authors and of so great Merit, as they have almost equall'd the grandeur of the Theam, and Matter. We shall observe only as the most monstrous adventure

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* Boucaucourt
Montclar,
Paulin, Serignan,
Catonon,
Rapin and
Monsaigne.

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adventure that can be Imagined; How Philip King of Spain being inform'd the Infant Don Carlos his only Son, and his presumptive Successor (who indeed was of a roving Spirit, unratable and very dangerous) held Correspondence with the Confederate Lords of the Low-Countries who endeavour'd to draw him into Flanders, clasp him in Prison and deprived him of Life, either by Slow Poison, or by Risting him; and in a short while after upon some kind of jealousy, Poisoned Elizabeth de la Paix his Wife, making her Perish with the fruits then in her Womb, as Queen Catherine made it appear after the Secret Informations she had taken, and by the Domestick Servants belonging to that Princess when they were come back into France.

In the time of Peace, one of the Admirals principal Cares was to encrease the Navigation and the Trade of France, chiefly in those Countries of the other Hemisphere, as well for the Credit of his Office, as to plant Colonies there of his own Religion. He had sent the Chevalier de Villegagnon to Florida, as believing him fixt in the new opinions: but this man failed him in his promises, and rudely handled those of that Profession. Afterwards in the year 1562. he dispatched John Ribaud thither with two Ships, who sailing a quite different Course then the Spaniards had wont to do, most happily Landed at Florida. When he had made discovery of the Country, Treated an Alliance with the petty Princes, and given Names to several Capes, Rivers and Gulphs, he built at the end of the Streight at Saint Helens, a Fort, which in honour of the King was Named Fort Charles, and leaving a Lieutenant there together with some Soldiers well arm'd, return'd into France, after he had promised to come again to them as soon as possible, to bring a reinforcement and refreshments.

Not being able to make good his word, by reason of the Civil War that hapned, their Provisions failing they ship't themselves. In the midst of the Voyage they were so pressed with hunger, that they killed one of their own Crew who was Sick and fed upon him. An English Vessel who fortunately met them, supplied their wants, and carried them into England.

The Admiral not knowing they had quitted the Fort, fitted out three Ships at Hairs de Grace to go and relieve them. René Laudonniere Commanded this Fleet: he landed at the Gulse to which Ribaud had given the name of May, and made an Alliance with some Petty Kings of the Barbarians: but it hapned, that whilst he was Sick, part of his men debauched by some that were Fagious, forced him to permit them to go to New Spain to seek for Provisions, where having taken a huge Vessel fraught with Riches, wherein was the Governor of the Havana, they were afterwards surrounded and seized in that Island, and all sold or carried into Spain.

This Piracy gave the Spaniards a fair pretence (who were already grown very jealous that the French began to settle in those Countries) to fall upon them, and allow no quarter. They pretended those Territories belonged to them, affirming they were the first Discoverers. But in truth a Venetian Named Stephen Gaboury, prompted in Emulation of Christopher Columbus to seek out new Countries under the auspicious favour of Henry VII. King of England, had found out and landed upon those Coasts even in the year 1496. long before there Ponce de Leon, who was indeed the Person that gave it the name of Florida, because he went first on Shoar there upon Palm-Sunday.

When Laudonniere was ready to return, he spied Seven Vessels at Sea: this was John Ribaud a very good Sea-man; but an ill Soldier and much worse Captain, who was made choice of by the Admiral as very affectionate to the Interests of his Party. The Spaniards had at the same time sent one Peter Melandez with some Ships to hinder the French from taking root there. Ribaud quitting his Fort which he left but slightly furnished with Men, went on Board his Ships to Fight them. When he was out at Sea a Hurrican, a strange kind of Storm very frequent about those Coasts, forced and beat all his Fleet in pieces against the Rocks: His men getting to Land with their Long-Boats, fell into the Hands of the Spaniards; who having taken the Fort, slaughter'd them all with a more then Canibal Cruelty, tearing them piece-meal, and plucking out their Eyes. They said they treated them after that manner, not as French-Men, but as Lutherans. Laudonniere having pick'd up as many as he could with the Boats he had ordered to creep along the Shoar, set Sail for France.

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The King's Council who were half Spanish, not minding to take any Revenge for this Massacre, a private Person, by Name Dominiqué de Gênes, Native of Mont de Marfan in Gasconie, a man of Heart and great Resolution, offended for that the Spaniards having otherwise taken him Prisoner in the Wars of Italy had put him in their Gallies, undertook to avenge both his own Injury and that of France. With part of his Estate which he sold, and what his Brother, President of the Generality of Guyenne, lent him, he equip'd some Vessels with Two Hundred Soldiers, and a Hundred Sea-men, went and Landed in *Playla*, and joining with the Barbarians of the Country who mourn'd and groan'd under the Oppression of the Spaniards, attack'd and by Storm took the Fort *Chibley*, and two more which they had rais'd in two places at some distance. In them were above Eight Hundred men. The Barbarians beat out the Brains of such as thought to escape into the Woods, and he caus'd all the rest to be hang'd who Surrendered at discretion, with this Writing, Not as Spaniards, but as Pirates.

Upon his return into France, the Avenger of his Country, and the Deliverer or Redeemer of Florida, instead of Elogys and Rewards, met with Accusers; and a mortal danger: the Ambassador of Spain demanded his Head, and the Council was ready to give it him; so that he was forced to hide himself till after the Peace, when the Admiral and his Friends brought him off from all trouble.

Peter Bertrand Son of Blaise de Montluc, gained no less Honour in his Enterprize, but had less a fortunate Success. He had a design to build a place, either by fair means or by force in such a post as he should find most convenient in the Kingdoms of Manicongo, Mozambique, or Melinda, to serve as a Retreat for the French to carry on the Trade of Africa, and the East-Indies as the Portuguese did. For this purpose he fitted three great Vessels and some Barks, with Twelve Hundred Soldiers. His younger Brother Fabian, and a Cadet of the House of Tampadour, accompanied him.

A Tempelt having call him upon the Coasts of Madera, his men would needs go on Shoar for fresh water: the Portuguese received them with Cannon shot, and made a Salley to cut them off. Bertrand enraged that they should thus violate the common right of Mankind, and the Alliance between the two Crowns of France and Portugal, Lands Eight Hundred Men, goes directly to them whilst his Brother cut off their Retreat, and so slew them all. At the same time he Marched towards the City which bears the same Name as the Island, puts his Cannon in Battery, forced and sacked it: but as he was Assaulting the great Church, where part of the Garrison yet defended themselves, he received a wound in his Thigh whereof he died in a few days after.

Thus was that Enterprize interrupted, which would have been no less useful then glorious. All those that went along with him ran great hazard of their Lives, when they were come back into France. They were vain to hide or keep out of the way a long time: the Credit and Interest of Montluc, nor the power of the Admiral, who stood up stoutly for every thing wherein the Honour of the French was concerned, had much ado to secure them against the Complaints and Influences of the Portugal Ambassador, who prosecuted them before the King's Council as Pirates.

The intention of those that made the Peace of Charentes was not to keep it, but to take their advantage better than they had done before. So that it could not last long. The Huguenots contravening to the Treaty, retained several places, amongst others Sancerre, Vezelay, Montauban, Castres, Millaud and Rochel, which they Fortified in all haste. They manifestly had Intelligence with Queen Elizabeth, and with the Princes of Germany: and the Admiral had particular Correspondence with the Prince of Orange. A Normand Gentleman Named Coqueville, had rais'd Seven or Eight Hundred Men in the Country of Caux to carry to him: but being charged and then invest'd by the Marechal de Cossé in Saint Valéry's, they threw down their Armes, and Coqueville was Beheaded.

On the other hand they did not let the Huguenots enjoy either Peace, or their Liberty of Conscience: they were more in danger than in the time of War. In three Months time above Two Thousand of them were kill'd in divers Places, either by their particular Enemies, as René Lord de Cipierre, Son of Claude de Savoye Count de Tende, and Thirty Persons of his Train, whom Gaspard de Villeneuve Marquis d'Aris, Massacred in Frejus, as he returned from Nice, whether he

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went to see the Duke of Savoy his Kinsman; or by popular Tumults, as at *Anisy* near a Hundred People, at *Auxerre* an Hundred and Fifty, many at *Blot*, at *Bourges*, at *Issoudun*, at *Troyes* and in twenty other Places. But nothing seemed more cruel than what the People did at *Ligny* in *Barrois*, where a *Huguenot* upon a Holy-day having refused to comply in some trivial Ceremony, and committed some little Indecency, was hated out of his House by the populace in the Magistrates presence, and burnt upon a pile of Wood which they fetched from his own dwelling.

The Prince was then at *Noyers* in *Burgundy* a Castle of his Wives. A Soldier was surprized measuring the Fosse and the Wall to Scale the place; and that design being detected, the Queen order'd those forces to go into *Burgundy* which were rais'd for the besieging of *Rochel*, and to take him by Force, since they could not catch him by craft. At the same time as they aimed at his Person as Head of the Party, so they used all means imaginable to divide the *Huguenots*, and unlink those from him who appeared most zealous to follow him.

On the contrary he endeavour'd to keep them United, and make them all speak by his Mouth. He sent *Telligny*, then *Jacqueline de Rohan* his Wives Mother to Court, to supplicate the Queen Mother to maintain the Peace and the Edicts: but that was what he ought never to have hoped for, when he could not but observe that if any one were of his opinion he was called *Liberine* and *Politician*, as much as to say one that had no true Love to Religion, and that the Chancellor de *P. Hospital* who gave pacifick Counsels, was discharged from Court and confined to his House at *Vignay* near *Estampes*, as suspected to be a *Huguenot*: and indeed, his Wife, his Daughter, and his Son in Law were so. The Seals were given to *John de Morvillier* Bishop of *Orleans*.

Hardly was the Princes Mother in Law gone from Court, when he had News that some Forces by secret Order were drawn about *Noyers* to surround him, and that if he staid four or five days longer, he would have no way left him to make his Retreat. *Coligny* penetrating into the designs they were contriving against them, came to the Castle of *Tenay* belonging to *Dandelo* his Brother. From thence going to the Prince, both of them parted from *Noyers* with a Convoy of a Hundred and Fifty Horse only, in the midst of whom (a Melancholly Spectacle) were their Wives and Children, the most of them as yet in their Nurseries Armes, or not out of their hanging Sleeves.

The better to conceal their Retreat, the Prince wrote a long Letter of Complaints and Remonstrances to the King, declaring he would wait for an answer to it; In the mean time he hastned forward, and pass'd the River of *Loire* at a Ford right against *Sancerre*. Scarce was he on the other Shoar, when the *Burgundian* Troops who pursued him, appeared on the higher side at *Saint Godon*. The River was at that time fordable, but the next day it swell'd so high, that it left them no passage to get over to follow him. Which the *Huguenots* cry'd up for a Miracle.

1568.
September,
&c.
Blaise de Montluc Governour of *Guyenne*, and the King's Lieutenants of *Limousin* and *Perigord*, were up in Armes to intercept his Passage, and the *Maréchal de Villeroie* upon the rumour of his March came to *Poitiers* to know what business led him thither. He out-strip them all by his diligence, and Arrived at *Rochel* the Eighteenth of September. The Queen of *Navarre* *Jane d'Albret* came there soon after with her two Children, *Henry* Prince of *Beauv*, and *Catherine*. The Cardinal de *Chastillon* who was at his Castle of *Bresse* in *Beauvois*, not being able to get to his Brother thorow so many of the Enemies Provinces, made his escape by Sea into *England*.

There is reason enough to believe that the Prince, or rather the Admiral, who was the *primum Mobile* of the Party, had taken his measures long before: for the *Huguenots* Captains flock'd to *Rochel* from all Parts as if appointed at that very time, and Queen *Jane* brought him near Four Thousand Men. *Dandelo* who was in *Bretagne* had gotten about the like number together out of the Provinces of *Normandy*, *Maine* and *Anjou*, who were joyn'd by *Montgomery*, la *Roche*, and some others. All these together after some Ren-counters they had with *Sebastien de Luxembourg Marquis*, pass'd the River, *Montgomery* having very luckily lighted on a Ford for them; the Duke of *Montpensier* who Commanded the King's Forces in that Country, nor *Marquis* ever offering to obstruct it.

Together

Together with their Swords; both the one and the other, made use of the fair pretence of Justice. The Prince drew up the Form of an Oath, whereby all those of his Party engaged upon their Faith to follow and obey his Commands for the Defence of their Religion, and to pursue the Cardinal of *Lorraine* to the utmost, whom they supposed to be the Author of the War, and their sworn Enemy. The Manifesto for his taking up Arms which he published at the same time, expressed the very same thing. It was necessary to set up some mark to Level at, not daring in the least to pretend any Controversie with the King, or the Queen his Mother.

On the other side, an Edict was set forth by the King, whereby he promised to take all the *Huguenots* of his Kingdom into his Protection as much as any of other his Subjects, and assured them they should have due Justice done for all the Injuries had been Committed against them, provided they would quietly remain in their own present dwellings. But afterwards when the Queen and the Cardinal de *Lorraine* perceived that this favour was interpreted by them as an Artifice which tended to oppress them separately one after another, did but the more animate them to run after the Prince from all Parts: they put forth another quite contrary which prohibited the exercise of any other Religion but the Catholicick, and commanded all *Huguenot* Ministers to leave the Kingdom within fifteen days. By a third, all such of them as held any Offices or Employments, were enjoyned to Surrender the same up to the King. The Parliament added in the Verification, That no Person from that time forward should be admitted into any Office, that did not first make Oath to live and die in the Catholicick Religion.

During the Month of *October* the Prince and his People got themselves into possession of most of the places in the Countries of *Aunis*, *Saintonge*, *Angoumois*, and *Poitou*, excepting *Poitiers*. They had proved happy in all their enterprises, if their Forces to the number of twelve Thousand Men who came from *Dauphine*, *Lauguedoc*, and *Guyenne*, Commanded in Chief by *Dacier*, had not received a shrewd Check at their Marching out of *Perigord*. *Mourens* a valiant Soldier, but too presumptuous, had lodged himself alone with three Thousand Men, upon some pick he had with *Beaudin* Brother to *Dacier*, the Duke of *Montpensier* gave *Brissac* order to fall upon him, whilst himself would skirmish with *Dacier* that he might not relieve him. *Dacier* knowing how things stood, sent to *Montpensier* not to stir out of his Quarters that day, for there he could not be forced: but he did not observe those Orders, for *Brissac* making as if he retired, *Mourens* would needs be going that day, so that he fell into an Ambuscade laid ready for him in his March. He was there slain with a Thousand of his Men, the rest saved themselves in the Neighbouring Woods. *Dacier* pickt up a Thousand of them the day following, the remainder were scattered or knocked on the Head by the Peasants.

The Prince going as far as *Amboise* to meet *Dacier*, it was then *Montpensier's* turn who before pursued him, to retreat to *Chastelleraud*. When the Duke of *Anjou* Arrived at the Kings Army, they were found to be four and twenty Thousand Foot, and four Thousand Horse; the Princes were less in number by a fourth part, but all resolute men, who having forsaken their Families and Estates, had no other hopes but in the keenness of their Swords.

So that the Prince relying on their Valour, sought all opportunities to give Battle; The Duke of *Anjou* avoided it for the same reason, but was in honour obliged to keep the Field. The severities of the Winter Season could not persuade them to go into Quarters, till at length their men overcome by the extremity of Cold, refused to contend any longer with the Frosts and Snowes. Above Eight Thousand on both sides died by the many inconveniencies they met withal.

The Prince wanted Money, without which he could not long maintain his Forces, to plunder was both very odious and casual, what those *Huguenots* that staid at home could contribute to the Cause (so the Party called it) was inconsiderable. In this great necessity, they were mightily relieved by a Loan of Sixteen Thousand Crowns of Gold disbursed by the *Rochellers*, and a Hundred Thousand Angels^o, with some Cannon and many Thousand weight of Powder sent them by Queen *Elizabeth* upon the instance of the Cardinal de *Chastillon*.

1568.

But their Piracy made them a greater and a more lasting kind: the Prince inciting both by honour and profit some of the ablest Citizens of *Rochel*, they equipped a small Fleet of Nine Vessels and some Frigates, who went out to make prize of the trading Ships belonging to *Brittany*, *Normandy*, and *Flandre*, having the Ports of *England* to friend whether they might with security shelter themselves and the Prey they gained, which shewed that Queen did by consequence approve the *Huguenots* taking Armes, and engaged in their cause against the King.

Both Parties had sent to have Men raised in *Germany*, the one in the Countries of the Catholick Princes, the others in the Protestants; those for the King were soonest ready. Which were Five Thousand Five Hundred Horse Commanded by divers Captains: of whom *Fyederick Marquis of Baden*, the *Rhinegrave Philip*, and *Christopher de Balfompierre*, were the principal. The Princes Levies were conducted by *Wolfang de Bavaria Duke of Duke-Ponts*. The Duke of *Almale* with Six Thousand Men, and the Duke of *Nevers* who was gone to join him with the Catholick Forces of *Lyonnois* and the Countries adjacent, had orders to lay in *Lorraine* to hinder his passage.

1569.

March.

The Sharpest Frosts being over, the King's Army Commanded by the Duke of *Anjou*, and that of the Princes (we shall call it so, since all Orders were given in the names of the Princes) took the Field again. The Royal one was newly reinforced with Three Thousand Men, brought by the Count of *Tindis* from *Dau*, *fin*, that belonging to the Princes was marching to meet the Troops of the Vicounts conducted by *Piles*. The Duke of *Anjou*, who from *Cohsans* in *Limousin* had passed *Vienne* to come *Pertuis*, knowing they marched to *Cognac* for that purpose, and that as soon as they had joyined with those, they would return towards the *Loire* to wait the Succours of the Duke of *Dux-ponts*, resolved to get the Start of them and pass over the *Charente*.

The *Huguenots* held the Bridges of *Jarnac* and *Chasteau-neuf*, and their Forces were lodged much at large in the Country along the River side. The Duke not able to gain *Jarnac* at first brush, went to *Chasteau-neuf*. There were but Fifty Men in it, who immediately surrendered. *Armand de Gontaud Biron* repairs the Bridge with such diligence that half the Kings Army were got over by break of day, which was the Thirteenth of *March*. The Admiral having notice, sent Orders to his Foot and Baggage to file off before towards the Burrough of *Bassac*, whilst the Horse could draw together from their distant quarters. The sluggish delay of some Troops who were not on Horse-back till about Nine a Clock, engaged them to the Combat. *La Növe* who closed up the Rear-Guard with Four Hundred Horse, was rudely handled at the first Charge; *Dandelot* did second him, but yet at the second which was much fiercer, he was beaten off his Horse and taken.

In the mean while the Royalists having made themselves Masters of *Bassac*, the Admiral sent word to the Prince who was retreating with his Van-Guard, that he wanted his presence, and the Prince who never ran from danger, came back upon a round Trot. He fell stoutly upon the first he met; but when all the Kings Army was come up, he was surrounded. His Horse being wounded, falling under him, he presented his Gantlet to a Couple of Gentlemen, *Argence*, and *Saint Jean*, who gave him their Faith. Having set him down at the Foot of a Bush (his Leg being broken with a kick of a Horse) comes *Montesquieu* upon a hand Gallop, Captain of the Duke of *Anjou's* Guards, who had left his Master to do this worthy exploit, and kills him with his Pistol.

This act which in the midst of the Scuffle would have appeared brave, being done in cold blood, was looked upon by good Men as an execrable parricide, and worthy the punishment due to such as attempt any of the Royal blood. The Duke of *Anjou* neither blamed nor owned it; but suffer'd the Princes Corps to be carried, whether by chance, or in derision, upon a he Ass to *Jarnac*. He afterwards gave to the Prince of *Bearn*, his Nephew who caused it to be interred in the Sepulchre of his Ancestors at *Pendolme*.

After his death the Royalists gave the *Huguenots* chase till Night approached, but there being none but the Cavalry engaged the Slaughter was not so considerable as the Victory. There fell not above Six Hundred of the Princes Party, amongst whom were above an Hundred Gentlemen, and Twelve or Fifteen Lords. The number of Prisoners did far exceed the Slain. The Royalists lost about two or three Hundred of theirs, whereof seven or eight were Persons of Note. The Admiral and his Brother, with the Horse of that Battalion he Commanded, directed

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rected their Course toward *Saint Jean d'Angely*, and got thither the same day. The Infantry without sustaining any damage, soon passed over the River at *Jarnac*, and breaking down the Bridge, from thence retired to *Cognac*.

To the same place came the other Commanders, with the broken Remnants of the Horse that were left of the Van and the Rear-Guards. The Queen of *Navarre* a Princess endowed with Courage above her Sex, came thither likewise with great speed, bringing the Prince of *Bearn* her Son with her, as also the eldest Son of the Deceased Prince of *Condé*; both were named *Henry*. Her generous exhortations, and the presence of those two Princes, did somewhat revive their shaken resolutions and drooping Courage.

Two days after, this Queen and the Chiefs going to *Saintes*, *Coligny* and his Brother came to them, and there it was resolved they should refresh themselves and wait the success of the Sieges of *Cognac* and *Engoulesme*, wherewith the Duke of *Anjou* had threatened them.

March.

The noise of this Battle of *Jarnac* was much greater than the advantage. The King arose at Mid-night to have the *Te Deum* sung, gave notice of it to all the Neighbouring Princes, and sent the Colours they had taken from the *Huguenots* to his Holiness, as if they had fought his Battels. The Duke of *Anjou*, though Conqueror, met with such as knew how to deal with him, he attacked *Cognac* in vain, where they had Seven Thousand Men in Garrison, and the Intelligence he thought would have prevailed in *Engoulesme* failed his purposes. So that he withdrew into *Perigord*, to maintain his Forces; and this was about Mid-April *Blaise de Montlieu*, and *Francis d'Esclars* had besieged *Macidan*: he sent *Brisfac* thither, who rebouled the Assaults, but was unfortunately Slain there. As the Lord de *Pampadour* his Friend, had been some days before. The Place Surrendered upon Composition, which was but ill observed: for the death of those two brave Lords had so enraged the Catholick Soldiers, that violating the Faith of the Treaty, they reveng'd it by the Massacre of the whole Garrison. These cruel Infirmities were much used during this whole War.

At this very time, *Dandelot* having a little refreshed the *Huguenot* Forces, who were yet near Four Thousand Horse, besides their Foot, made an incursion by *Poitou*, as far as *Clisson*. At his return he was seized with a Pileusential Fever, whereof he died at *Saintes*. The Princes gave the Command of Colonel of the Foot to *James de Cresset Dacur*, the King did the like to *Philip de Strossy*, Son of *Peter*, who had been Marechal of *France*, and was near of kin to the Queen Mother.

The last day of *February* the Duke of *Dux-Ponts* parted from *Sauvama*, and had taken his March by *Alsacia* and *Lorraine*: he had Seven Thousand Five Hundred *Reitres*; and Six Thousand *Languenets*; *William of Nassau*, Prince of *Orange*, whom the Duke of *Alva* had thrust out of *Flanders*, and *Lewis* his Brother, came and joyined him with some Troops of Horse, and Fifteen or Twenty French Captains of *Dausin*, with Six Hundred Horse, and Eight Hundred *Orquebristes* they had pick'd up about *Strasbourg*.

The Duke of *Almale* finding he was unable to make head against him, followed him in the Rear almost as far as *Cisteneux*. When they had pass'd the *Saone* at *Montier*, he left them that he might get before them and wait their passage over the *Loire*, where he was to join the Duke of *Anjou's* Army which lay at *Gien*. But the Duke of *Dux-ponts* *, pass'd it at a Ford near *Ponilly*, and also took the Town of *la Charité*, a place very weak in those days, but of great Importance, * Duke of upon the same River. or Two-Brid.

As soon as the Admiral knew he had pass'd the River, he drew out a Party of his Forces to go and meet him, having left the care of all Affairs in *Guyenne* to *la Noire*, and sent *Montgomery* into *Gascogne*, as well to reconcile the Vicounts, whom the ambition of Command had set at variance, as to stop the Progress *Montlieu* and *Terrie* were making in *Bearn*. The Queen of *Navarre* had inveigled all that Country to be of the New Religion. She pretended to be absolute Sovereign there, and yet many of the Nobility adhered rather to the King, than to her.

The Duke of *Anjou* in the mean time advanced to *Limoges*, and placed Guards upon all the Passages of *Vienne*; but the Forlorn of the Duke of *Dux-ponts* Marched over the Bellies of them. Thus after a three months March, this Army of Strangers Arrived in Safety; but the Duke of *Dux-ponts* who was very corpulent, and labouring under the reliques of a Quartan-Ague, died at *Niffon*, within

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within three Leagues of *Limoges*, the Eighteenth day of June, by his Will he left the Conduct of his Forces to *Polignac* and *Montluc*, and within four days after they were joined in a body with the Admirals.

The two Armies being near by the Prince of *Saint-Vier*, the Duke of *Angoulême*, at *Richelieu*, they had so great a skirmish, as had almost engaged them in a general Battle. On the Royalist side, *Stroff* was taken Prisoner, *Rochefort*, and *Saint-Louis*, two valiant Captains were killed, with four Hundred of their Men, to which the Duke of *Angoulême* put his Army into Garrisons, and discharged the Nobility, with Orders to return again about Mid-August.

During all which time, there elapsed nothing remarkable but the Siege of *St. Simeon* by the Count de *Lude*, Governor of *Poitou*, and of *la Charente* by *Sanjac*, where neither of them gained anything but blows; but *Tellier* seized upon *Chastelleraud*, and forced the Castle of *Luzignan*, no less famous for the Fables of *Madame*, than for the reputation it had of being impregnable.

June, &c.

During this time, *Montgomery* was sent into *Burgundy* to recover for the Queen of *Navarre* for the Count de *Terride* had very near subdued it all. Having therefore gotten some Forces together in *Limousin*, passed the *Coronne* and *driggs*, surprised the City of *Val-de-Bis*, he entered that part of the Country where *Terride* at that time besieged *Neuvrins*. At the Noise of his approach, *Terride* makes up his Bundle, and retreats to *Ortez*; *Montgomery* besieges him there, and forces him to Surrender. He had four Barons of that Country with him, *Saint-Colombe*, *Poitel*, *Gode*, and *Papay*, who were complicit in the Capitulation; but *Montgomery* caused them all to be Ponarded, having more regard to the Orders Queen *Jane* had given him to use them as Traytors, than to his own Honour and Faith.

But for the discord which was between *Terride* and *Montluc*, and between the latter, and *Danville* Governor of *Limousin*, he had not entered so easily into that Country, or at least had never got out again. However *Montluc* not to remain idle, borrowed some Companies of *Danville*, with which together with those *de Valois* had Raised, he forced the City of *Mont de Marsan*, where another *Force* Commanded, a Native of *St. Martin*. Whilst this Captain was Treating with him, he caused the Cattle to be burned on the back part, and put all to the Edge of the Sword, in revenge for the death of the Four Barons.

After the taking of *Luzignan* which was followed by that of *S. Maxian*, and *Mirebeau*, the Admirals thoughts were to seize upon *Saumur*, which he would fortify to have that convenient passage on the *Loire*; and carry the War the fourth time to the Gates of *Paris*. Unfortunately for him, he changed his design, and besieged *Poitiers* a great City, above two Leagues in circumference. The young Duke of *Guise* whom the Duke of *Angoulême* had sent to succour *Luzignan*, puts himself into it with the Marquis de *Majenne* * his Brother, and great numbers of the Nobility, and gained to himself no less Glory than his Father had done formerly by defending the City of *Metz*. The Count de *Lude* Governor of *Poitou*, was likewise gotten in with six thousand Soldiers; but there were very little Stores and Provisions, for so many Mouths.

The Siege began the five and twentieth of July, the Attacks the Besiegers made upon them did not give them so much trouble, as the want of Food, Forrage, and Mills did put them to. In the mean time *Montluc* having drawn his Forces together, laid Siege to *Chastelleraud* to make a diversion. The Admiral was glad of such a fair pretence to raise his Siege from before *Poitiers*, where he lost both his time and reputation. He decamped the seventh day of September, and approaching near *Chastelleraud*, put in four hundred Arquebusers, who entered by the Bridge conducted thither, and cover'd by the Cavalry of his Van-Guard.

Upon his Arrival the Catholics drew off their Cannon, and afterwards their Men with so much diligence, that their Army was lodged at *la Celle*, which is six Leagues from thence; and on the other side *la Crense*, before he knew they moved, he follow'd with a resolution to attack them; but finding them in a Lodgment where he could not bring up his Cannon by reason of the Marshes he repulsed the *Crense* and *Pienne*, and came and lodged at *Fae la Veneuse*.

When Monsieur had remained fifteen days at *Celles* and *Chinon*, and his Forces (whom he had given leave till the fifth day of October, and those of *Poitiers* whom

the Duke of *Guise* had refreshed in *Tournay*) were returned to his Camp: he passed the *Vienne* drawing towards *Bordeaux*; as soon as the Admiral had notice thereof, he decamped from *Poitiers*, and went towards *Angoulême*. Monsieur instead of following him, gets before, and taking a cross way meets him near *Montcontour*, which is a Castle upon a high Ground, with a small town lying on the descent, at the foot of which Hill runs the River of *Dive*, (a very considerable though but narrow.

Between this River and that of *La Thoule*, the Admiral had encamped his Army, extending it a little more towards the small City of *Ervaux*, above two Leagues thence. Monsieur having passed over above the head of the *Dive*, the two Armies put themselves in Battle with intention to fall on. That of the Huguenots was led to fight by necessity and despair, the tedious length of the War being ruinous to their Families & to their Party, that under Monsieur out of a desire of gaining honour, & because they reckoned themselves the third part stronger.

With these intentions they were ranged in those fair and spacious Plains, interdicted with several Valleys, and rising Grounds, which are of much use in a day of Battle. It is observed, that the Ground the Catholic Army stood on was called *Champ-Papay*, and that which the Huguenots possessed, *Champ-Pied-gris*. Both the one and the other, although they had divided their Armies into Van-Guard and *Batalia*'s, had notwithstanding disposed their Men in such sort, that they might all fight at the same time.

The Engagement began about eight in the morning, upon a Monday the third of October, and lasted two hours. The fight of the French Foot on the Huguenot side, the ill condition their Horse were in, the good order *Tavares* put Monsieur's Army in, and the Valour of the French Nobility, who accompanied that young Prince, gave the Catholics an entire Victory. Their Enemies lost only three hundred of their Horse, but with them four thousand *Lanquenets*, and five thousand of their French Infantry, almost as many Camp-Boyes, all their Artillery, and the greatest part of their Baggage, without which an Army can scarce subsist long. The Lords of *la Noie* and *Dacier* were taken Prisoners. On the Catholic side few of their Foot were slain, but above six hundred Horse most of them *Reiters*. Almost as many were wounded. The Admirals *Germain* Horse, conducted by the Counts *Ludovic* and *Manfred* retreating in excellent order, stop the pursuit of the Catholics, and got to *Ervaux*, and from thence to *Partenay*, which is six great Leagues from *Montcontour*. They arrived there at ten a Clock that night, and the day following went to *Niort*.

The Wisdom and Courage of the Admiral never shewed it self so much as in times of adversity: the greatest difficulties enlightened him, and dangers made him become more firm. Besides that great shock, which would have made any other let go the helm, he had reason to expect attempts against his own person from all hands: the Parliament of *Paris* had Condemned him to death, and promised to those that could bring him before them either alive or dead, fifty thousand Crowns in Gold for a reward, which should be paid by the Town-Hall of *Paris*. The *Pidame* of *Charries* and the Earl of *Montgomery*, were also condemned to lose their Heads, and all three Executed in Effigie at the *Greve*. About that time a discovery was made that one of his *Valais de Chambre*, named *Dominique* & *Alva*, would have poison'd him; The wretch was hanged, with a Writing which stiled him, *Betrayer of the Cause of God, his Country and his Master*.

The same night the Battle was lost, having held a Council with his Officers, he sent to the Princes of *Germany*, the Queen of *England*, and the *Swiss*, giving them an account of what had passed, diminishing the loss as much as he well could, and craving assistance both of Men and Money; because upon their success depended the welfare of all other Protestants. These orders dispatched, he retired towards *Niort* to refresh his Men in *Saintonge*, the Counties of *Aunis*, and *Gascogne*, making account to provide the places so well in those Countries, as should hold the Royal Army in play, and allow him time to recruit his own.

The King did not wholly succeed as he projected: for the Garrisons in *Poitou* finding themselves at too great a distance from any relief, agreed together to retire, crossed over *Berry*, and went to *la Charité* upon the *Loire*, which *Sanjac* had Besieged two several times in vain. The Baron de *Mirebeau* surrendered *Luzignan* upon composition. *Partenay* was abandoned, soon after the Army was gone thence, and *Niort* likewise, when the Lord de *Mony* who undertook to defend it, was slain by a Pistol-shot discharged at him by *Francis de Lowiers*.

U u u

* Moreau

1569.

* Not mistake
him for the
Count de Mon-
treuil whose
name is la
Baume.

Marquet. This devoted Assassin went from the Catholic Camp to the Huguenots to kill the Admiral, and not finding an opportunity, would needs execute it upon this unfortunate Lord, and then made his escape to the Duke of Anjou as then at *Glandien*.

The Protestant Forces who retired to *la Charité*, had accommodated themselves with divers little places in *Berry* and *Nivernais*, nay even in *Sologne* and *Beauvais*, whereby they commanded all the roads of *Lyon*, *Paris*, and *Orleans*. Those of *Languedoc* and *Dauphiné* had cantoned themselves in *Auvergne* at *Grillan*. Some of their Commanders had surprized *Nismes* in *Languedoc*, by an *Agueduct*, the Gate whereof they broke open, and others in *Burgundy* were become Masters of the City of *Patey* by means of scaling Ladders which they set up just at the break of day, the most opportune and dangerous hour for attempts of that kind. *Sansac* Besieged them twice in the last, but without success.

The best counsel the Catholics could take after the Battle of *Montcontour*, was to pursue the Princes Forces without intermission, and so utterly disperse and break them: but that old Maxim, *That we must leave no Garrison of the Enemy behind*, being not well understood, made Monsieur fall upon the Siege of *Saint Jean d'Angely*, the loss of which he imagin'd would be the ruin of the Huguenots in all those parts. Captain *Piles* of the House of *Chermont* was in the place with many of the bravest Officers, and Two Thousand Soldiers. The Siege being formed, the King came to the Camp upon the sixteenth of October.

The resolution, the valour, and the indefatigable labour of the besieged, rendered the place much more difficult to be gained than its fortifications; at first nothing less was talked of, but putting all those to the Sword that were within; But when upon several assaults they found it would cost them too much time and blood to gain it by force, they offer'd them conditions, to which they refusing to give any ear, unless upon a general Treaty, they began one, and immediately news was sent to all the neighbouring Protestant Princes, that the Peace was concluded and even ratified, thereby to hinder those Levies they had commanded for their assistance, and to allay the heat of such as were cantoned in the Provinces.

They perceived the craft of it at the very first beginning of the Treaty, so far much as it was plainly declared the King could grant them only a liberty of Conscience, and not the exercise of their Religion. And at the same time they intercepted Letters, written by the Cardinal de *Lorraine* to *Paris*; which importeth that they had undertaken this Treaty only to amuse them in expectation of an Answer from the Pope and the King of *Spain*.

All the defence of the place was on the Land-side, the besieged half dead with over-labour, and their Ammunitions spent; they could hold out no longer, yet thought it no way safe to surrender themselves: so that they had resolved to fall out by night, and force through the Enemies Guard to get to *Angoulême*, or lose their lives in the attempt. But the Catholics were yet more tired and sick then they of this Siege which had lasted two Months, and by Sword or Sicknes had destroy'd them above Ten Thousand Men; amongst others *Sebastian de Luxembourg* Count de *Martignac* who was kill'd in the Trenches by a Musket-shot.

They therefore renewed the Propositions of Capitulation. The besieged had some confidence in *Biron* Marechal des Camps for the King, who was a Huguenot by inclination, but a Catholic for his interest. It was agreed they should go forth Bag and Baggage, with their Horse and Arms, and Ensigns furled, that they should be convoy'd into a place of safety, whither themselves should choose, but not bear Arms against the King in four Months time. There Marched out but only eight hundred Foot and one hundred Horse. The Duke of *Anmale's* Forces having plundered them, though it were in a Military fury, and wholly against the Officers wills, who could not possibly prevent it; yet this infraction gave *Piles* a fair pretence to hold himself quit of the Capitulation, and immediately put himself into *Angoulême*.

November.

Nothing therefore was left the Huguenots in *Poitou* and *Saintonge* but *Angoulême*, and *Rochel*. They found themselves best in the last after they had taken the Islands about it, with *Marans* and *Beauvoir*; and the place it self was put to great inconveniences by Sea, as well as by Land; the Baron de *la Garde* having brought eight Gallies thither from the *Levant* Seas. Nevertheless they recover'd themselves

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themselves by means of their Ships and Piracies, also by the preference and courage of *la Noüe*, and the Count de *la Rochefoucauld*; so that they regained *Mediers*, *Luçon*, and the Sands d'*Olonne*, where they found a rich Booty, and afterwards ran over all *Poitou*. To put some stop to them, the King was forced to send *Thy Galliard* Governor of *Angers* thither, with a small Army.

When the Catholics laid their Siege to *Saint Jean d'Angely*, the Admiral who had appointed the rendezvous for his Forces near *Saintes*, parted from thence the eighteenth of October, resolved to go into *Bearn* to join *Montgomery's* to his own, afterwards to pass thorough *Gascogne* and *Languedoc*, attend into *Dauphiné* and *Vivarez*, where *Montbrun* and some other Chiefs of that Party had promised him considerable recruits of Arquebustiers; then passing by *Burgundy* come to *la Charité*, and maintain'd himself as well as he could till the Arrival of the *Reifers* and the *Lansquenets*, which he expected from the Count *de Ratisbon*, and the Prince of *Orange*. This latter had left the Army a long while before the Battle of *Montcontour*, to go into *Germany* and hasten those new Levies.

They passed the little River of *Drons* near *Bratolme*, that of *Riste* near *Novembre*; *Mucidan*, the *Veser* over the Bridge that bears the same name, then the *Dordogne* at *Bourg* which they surprized, deceiving d'*Esclars* who had lined all the Shoar with Soldiers, and the Lot at *Cadenac*; so that they arrived in the neighbourhood of *Montauban* about Mid-November, where they refreshed themselves some days, and met with some Money which had been gathered for the Cause, as well out of the Plunder of Churches, and ransom of Prisoners, as the collected contribution of their Brethren. With this they paid the *Reifers* some Must-ers.

Towards the end of November, they made themselves Masters of the Passage over the *Garonne* by taking of *Aiguillon*, which is on the confluence of the Lot, with that River. The disagreement that continued between *Danville* Governor of *Languedoc*, and *Montluc* Lieutenant for the King in *Guyenne*, proceeding from the haughtiness of the first, and the incompatible and techy humour of the second, gave them fair play in those Countries. And indeed, they had designed to take an opportunity by this division to seize upon *Guyenne* and the Cities above the *Garonne* and the *Dordogne*, even *Bordeaux* it self: but *Montluc* having made them lose a great deal of time, by breaking down a Bridge they had set up near *Aiguillon*, they changed their design. The Method *Montluc* did take to execute so important a piece of Service, was, by letting loose some Mill-Boats that were chained to the sides of the River, and suffering them to drive down with the stream; The force thereof was so violent that it broke down the said Bridge.

When the Huguenots had rebuilt a new one, and *Montgomery* who was at *Condon*, rich with the spoil of *Gascogne* and *Bearn*, had joyned them, they Ascended along the River *Garonne*, and lodged themselves in the Neighbourhood of *Toulouze*. They set fire to all the Farms and Counsellors houses thereabouts, in whose Alms the Soldiers with flaming Fire-brands wrote *Revenge for Rapin*. * Vide before in March, 1568. The terror of these dreadful Incendiaries, and the incursions they made to the very Suburbs, struck that great City with amazement and horror, *Joyeuse* who was within with eight thousand new raised Men, not being able to dispel their fears, nor daring to stir out of the Town.

From thence being strengthened with three hundred Horse brought from *Rochel* by *Piles*, they Marched farther into *Languedoc*. Being near *Cassès* they met with five or six hundred Horse more which came from the same place, conducted by *Baudin* and *Remy*, who were weary of staying at *Rochel* without Pillage. They drew near the foot of the *Pyreneans*, whence they brought some Companies of *Bandits*, then coasting along the Sea-side they repassed the *Aude*, not far from *Narbonne*, and rested in those Countries till the end of January. Afterwards they directed their March by *Beziers*, *Pezens*, and *Montpellier*, whose Garrison gave a check to some of their Men that came too nigh. *La Louis* their Field Marshal was kill'd as he lay fast asleep in a Lodgment.

They after this went to besiege *Lunel*, whence they were repulsed, took up at *Nismes* both Money and refreshments, from that place Marched towards the *Vivarez*, reposed themselves for some days at *Aubenas*, passed the *Rhône* by *Ponsin* which they held, and under the favour of a Fort, which *Montbrun* (sent before by the Princes for that very purpose) had built on the other Shoar, then coasting

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along the River they in vain Attacked *Montlaur*, and having sojourn'd a while at *Doulin*, took their course towards the Country des *Foies* where they besieged the City of *Saint Etienne*.

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In this place the Admiral was taken sick of a Fever which put him in great danger of his life, and stay'd there above three weeks there. When he began to recover, *Saint Jehu*, younger Brother to *Montmorancy*, seized this Bridge called *Saint Remond* upon the *Loire*, and *Brissac* came down by the Princes; brought them from the *Charente* fifteen Companies at well Footed Horse, which made up fifteen hundred Horse and two thousand Foot: Their Army being thus reinforced defend- ed into *Surgency* and having given the Alarm to *Chabot*, surprised *Arnaud le Duke* by means of a long March they made in one day for that purpose.

The King's Council could never have believed it possible they should March so fast by so many Obstacles; from Rocks, over Rivers, narrow Heights in Mountains; and such hill and smooth Countries; or that they could have the strength and good fortune to break through so many Garrisons of these Enemies and Multitudes of People risen up in Arms against them, who night and day lay in wait to destroy them, and at the same time endure the severity and inconveni- ences of a sharp and uncomfortable Winter; the difficulties of the ways, and the opposition of several of Eight Provinces. Besides they relied upon a Negotiation for a Peace, to which end there was a perpetual sending backward and forward from the time of the Surrender of *Saint Jean d'Angely*; so that they were much amazed to find they were come so high and upon their March directly for *Paris*, threatening to execute the same vengeance as they had done in the *Poissin* of *Thoulous*. Then that peril they had neglected whilst they were in distant Provinces appearing greater by how much nearer it approached, they gave Orders to the Marshal de *Cassé* to draw the King's Forces together, and go forth to meet them.

In all this long and toilsome March, the Princes had maintain'd their Forces, as well by the plunder of above fifty small Towns which they had taken, and twice as many which they had ransom'd, as by the reinforcements of Horse that came to them; and a great number of Artillery of those Countries thorough which they Marched, serpentine and turning every way to receive such as desired to join with them, and who being scatter'd here and there, could never of themselves have made their way through those Crowds of common people who stopp'd up in Arms in every part against them.

But after all, they notwithstanding lost greater numbers than they could pick up: for those that had been in *Beaune*, as soon as they drew near their own habita- tions retired thither and desired to stay at home both to repose themselves and to protect and defend their Families. The incommodities of the Winter, the fatigues of the March, the wants they met with in their Lodgings or Quarters, where most commonly there was neither Bread nor Wine, (for the Peasants fled the continual attempts made upon them by the Catholics, not sparing so much as any one that fear'd never so little from the main Body, had made them lose above six thousand. Of five hundred *English* they had at first amongst them, but twelve were left, above the one half of their *Knights* were dead, and the rest were most of them disarm'd, for not being able to have Carriages in so tedious a March and thorough such rugged ways, the greater part had left their Corselets and Head-pieces behind them; with all their Horses; as likewise those that belonged to the *French*, were grown so poor and weak they could scarce support themselves. And as for the Foot, their condition was not much better, for a great part of them were but raw Soldiers (in those times they named them *Bisgones*), but they had this advantage, most of them were mounted upon little Nags, that they might be enabled to make long Marches and yet be little tyred.

The Marshal de *Cassé* having about Orleans drawn the Royal Forces together to the number of thirteen or fourteen thousand Men, passes the *Loire* at *Dezise* and Marched directly towards the Princes, imagining that being so tatter'd and out of sorts as they were, he need but only attack them, to defeat them. He soon changed his opinion, when he found upon a great Skirmish between the two Armies near *Arnay le Duke*, that they would put him to half the trouble at least. After this he would run no more hazards, but let them go quietly towards *la Charité*, contenting himself with coasting along by them upon the right hand.

During these times there were divers other exploits performed in the other parts of this Kingdom, but the most observable about *Roche*. The Baron de la

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Garde, *Puy Galliard*, and *Puy Taillé*, pressed mightily upon these three were retired to that place. *La Garde* and *Puy Taillé* having besieged *Roche* and made upon the *Avignes* of the Islands, were driven thence by the *Princes*; whom notwithstanding they soon afterwards forced to take shelter in *Roche*. Afterwards *Puy Galliard* with an Army of ten or twelve thousand Men, took all the *Forces* of the *Princes* who had seized in *Beaune* after the surprisal of *Montlaur*; and to strengthen them the more, he built one at *Lucan* upon the Avenue to the *Marais*. The *Princes* who understood the consequence immediately laid Siege to it, *Puy Galliard* draws all his Men together again, whom he had disbanded in the higher *Princes* and Marches up to him, but lofts the Battle between *Saint Germain* and *Lucan*.

La Noue follows his blow, Besieges *Ponsenay*, and receives it upon composition. He afterwards regains *Oleron*, *Admiral*, *Soubise* and *Blaye*. In those very days *Brionne* was of great importance for its situation upon a Canal, very difficult to enter, and wholly surrounded by Salt-Marshes, which produce the greatest Riches of that Country; it was begun to be fortified by *Jacques de Pourville*, *Comman- dant*, who being Lord thereof, would have given in the name of *Brionne*. All the Catholics of those quarters were forced to retire to *Saint Jehu d'Angely*. The Baron de la *Garde* having kept the Seas a while with his Gallies brings them back into the River of *Bordeaux*. To stop the further Progress of the *Huguenots*, it was resolv'd Prince *Henry* Dauphin of *Auvergne* Son of *Louis de Bour- bon* Duke of *Montpensier* should go into that Country, and he was preparing himself for that expedition when the news of the Peace discharged him both from that trouble and expence.

The Army of the Princes had pass'd the *Loire* and advanced towards *Paris*, between *Montargis*, *Blennay*, and *Chastillon sur Loing*. The King's was come to the Valley of *Aillen* as it were to stand betwixt them and home, and barricad- ed the way to *Paris*: when after a Truce of some days, the Negotiation for a Peace often broken, and as often renewed again, finally succeeded to a Treaty of Peace; which was concluded the fifteenth of *August*, notwithstanding the Re- monstrances and great Offers made by the King of *Spain* to obstruct it; for he apprehended least after a Peace, the two Armies should be United to fall upon the Low-Countries.

The King, the Queen his Mother, the Princes of the Blood, those of the Council, and all the *Grandes* among him, swore to it solemnly at *Saint Ger- main en Laye*. On the *Huguenots* part, *Beaumont la Noe* was dispatch'd to carry the News to *Roche* and *Guyenne*, and *Tilly* to the Army; where it was Pro- claimed the one and twentieth of the Month, and sworn to by all the Protestant Nobility expressly assembled. Five days after it was so likewise in the Catholic Army which Marched towards *Lorrain* to Convey the *Germans* home again and dismiss them. That of the Princes went as far as *Langres*, when they caus'd theirs to be conducted to *Put a Moulin* by the *Marquis de Renel*: they then re- turned towards *la Charité*, and from thence crossing *Livon* and *Angoulême*, they proceeded to *Roche*, having Count *Ludovic* with them.

That which was most particular in this Edit, besides the Articles in the for- mer, was, That they allowed them to Preach in the Suburbs of two such Cities as should be Assigned them in each Province; That they should be admitted differently in the Universities, Schools, Hospitals and Spittles; as also in all publick Offices, Royal, Seigniorial, and belonging to Cities and Corporations. Moreover, that they should have the Liberty to except against an Appeal from a certain number of Judges in all Parliaments, in some more, in others fewer, and generally from the whole Parliament of *Thoulous*, to the Requests of the *Hofes*, who should be Sovereign Judges in those Cases; That to take away all possible suspicion, doubt or jealousy, they should keep as Pawns for security in their own hands, the Cities of *Roche*, *Montauban*, *Cognac*, and *la Charité*, upon condition the two Princes and twenty Gentlemen with them would oblige them- selves jointly, and swear to surrender them up in the same condition at the expi- ration of two years. It was likewise stipulated that they should restore to the Prince of *Orange* and *Ludovic* his Brother, the Principality of *Orange*, and all other the Lands belonging to them in *France*, together with all their Titles and Writings that had been taken from them.

The reasons that inclined the *Huguenots* to this Peace were manifest, the long and tedious absence from their Families, the eminent and perpetual dangers they were in, the utter ruin of their Estates and Goods, as well by the Invasions of the

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the Catholics, as the exponents themselves were at to maintain the War, their Dwellings exposed to Plunder and Firings, their Wives and Children to Affronts and Maltresses with this their ill fortune which had ever disappointed them in their great enterprises. And in fine, the cutting reproaches to all that were honest amongst them, for laying open so often to Rebellion against their Sovereign; and being looked upon and accounted the glowing Fire-brands of their Native Country.

The Motives which led the Court to this agreement, were variously guessed at and talked of. The Queen Mother would have it believed that she had considered the prayers of the Princes of Germany, and the Emperor's Advice. Some fancied she made this Peace, that she might have leisure to think upon the Marriage of her Son; others that she condescended to insidious of the jealousy she had to find the Spaniards concerned himself so much in the Affairs of France, not as a friend only, but as one interested, and apprehensive that having subdued the Low Countries, he might endeavour to bind the French in the same Fetters. Many believed with good probability, that this Princess a great lover of Diversions and Pleasures, was quite wearied with such continual troubles and melancholy consultations, and the eternal danger she was in.

And indeed, never any one that was more fond of, or did more delight in the soft Past-times of the Galantries, Dancing, Hunting, Feasting, and all sorts of Sports, than she. Wherever she went, she always carried a complete Equipage of the most voluptuous Diversions in her Train, and particularly two or three hundred of the most beautiful Women of her Court, who drew a Pack of twice as many Courtiers after them. In the midst of the greatest Embraces of War and Affairs, the Balls and Musick must be sure to go on, says Montluc. The sound of the Violins must not be stifled by the Martial Trumpet, the same Teams dragg'd along the Machines for their Plays, and their Engines for War; and in the same Lists were to be seen the Sons of Mars cutting each others Throats, and the fair Off-Spring of Venus at their Carousels where the Ladies freely tasted every pleasure.

Others more penetrating believed that her designs tended to disarm the Huguenots, tired with the miseries of War, and by degrees calm and lay all their jealousies asleep, that they might the more easily be led into their snares which time and opportunity might direct her to contrive hereafter for them, if perhaps she had not long before resolved which way to bring it about. The event seems to confirm this suspicion, though it is very probable that the many Accidents, different Interests, and various Humours and Minds of those that contributed to such a terrible Council, made them often shift and change their Methods and Resolutions.

She had two excellent Lures to deceive and decoy the Queen of Navarre and the Admiral, and consequently the whole Party; I mean a War against the Spaniards in the Low Countries, which all the Huguenot Chiefs blindly gave credit to, because they desired it with passion; and the Marriage of Margaret the Kings Sister with Henry Prince of Navarre. This last had been already propounded, but the great Love the Duke of Guise had for that Princess was some obstacle. The King who was extream Cholerick and Violent, having observed it, commanded Henry d'Angoulême his bastard Brother to kill him, when he went out to Hunt; the Duke having a hint of it, was advised to avoid the anger of the King by marrying at soonest, as he did, with Catherine de Cleves, Widdow of Anthony de Croisy Prince of Portian.

Some Months before Lewis de Bourbon Duke of Montpensier, had for his Second Wife Married in the City of Angers, Catherine Sister to that Duke. The Cardinal de Lorraine negotiated this Alliance to gain the said Prince, who before was much an Enemy to their House, though at the same time he had a mortal Averfion to the Huguenots.

It was high time likewise to Marry the King who was in his One and twentieth year. His Mother with vast and Chimerical designs rowling in her Head, had some thoughts, thereby to acquire the Kingdoms of Scotland and England, of getting for him Mary Stuart his Brothers Widdow. Then finding Affairs did not succeed well with her, she next made her Address to gain Queen Elizabeth for him, and propounded a League with her in Order to a Conquest of the Low Countries. This Negotiation lasted near two years, at the end whereof, Elizabeth having made answer, That the King was too great and too little, That is to say, too great

great a King to go and dwell in England, and too young for her who was Eight and Thirty years old, the Queen cast her Eyes upon another Elizabeth, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian II. a good and virtuous Princess, but whose Innocency, for she was scarce 16, and whose Simplicity could create no jealousy in her.

The Match had been propounded the foregoing Year. The Marriage being contracted by Proxy, he sent his two Brothers, and with them the Duke of Lorraine, the Duke of Guise and of Anjou to receive his Spouse at Sedan, and himself went to Metz where the Archbishop of Trier put her into his Hands. The next day being the Six and Twentieth of November, the Nuptials were celebrated in the same place.

At his return from thence being at Chantilly, he gave Audience to the Ambassadors of the Protestant German Princes, who came to Congratulate with him, for the Peace he had granted his Subjects, and to exhort him to maintain it, shewing him plainly by many reasons and examples the Error and mistake of those who aver, that the Calm of Peace and a diversity of Religions are incompatible, and cannot be maintained or made to live quietly together in the same Kingdom.

With this year ended in Spain the War with the Moors, after it had lasted above three years. The obstinate remainders of the Moors mixed with some Jews, were revolted, and had created a King; then, he being slain, another. The Marquis de Montdieu, and de Ioz Velez Commanded in the beginning of this War: John of Austria Bastard Son of Charles V. and then the Duke of Sesse continued it, and afterwards Lewis Duke d'Arcos finished it. This last was the Chief of the House of Ponce de Leon.

The Queen Mother had the Alliance with England much in her Head, or at least she figured so, the better to lull and blind the Huguenots, and hinder Queen Elizabeth from lending them Assistance; she therefore makes a fresh overture of Marriage between that Princess, and her Second Son the Duke of Anjou. Now whatever intention she had, she neither spared cajolleries, nor addresses, nor advantageous offers to the Queen, nor carefess and presents to her Ministers to win their Hearts. They proceeded even to the Treating about the Conditions; there was but one they could not agree upon, that the Duke might have the exercise of the Catholick Religion in England, at least in his own Chamber. This difficulty put the business to a stop till the Massacre on Saint Bartholomew, which broke it absolutely off.

In these years, 1570. and 71. was that memorable War between the Turks and the Venetians for the Island of Cyprus. Selim who succeeded Solymán his Father, having a design to build some Mosques and some Herwan-Sarays or Hospitals, his Murty had told him that he might not do it but with the Spoils conquer'd from some Christians. Consulting then which way he should bend his Force, the desire he had to possess a Country that produced excellent Wine, after which he was very Liqueurish, made him determine to Conquer the Island of Cyprus, which bears of the best in the World. His pretence to break with the Venetians who were in Possession, was that they allowed those Pirates to harbour in their Ports, who plyed and robbed upon the Coasts of Asia and Syria, and that their Governors did not show him that respect they ought. He likewise added, as some kind of Title, which those Barbarians however do but little regard, that the Kingdom of Cyprus was a Dependence on that of Egypt, which his Predecessors had Conquer'd from the Mamelukes.

The Balthaw Mustapha who Commanded Selim's Army, Landed on the Island with Fifty Thousand Men in the month of July, and laid Siege to Nicosia a Mediterranean City Situated at the Foot of the Mountains and very well Fortified. The Venetians set out an Hundred nimble Gallies and Eleven great ones: but the Plague having destroyed above one half of their People that manned them, and the Balthaw Piali General of the Turkish Gallies, being in those Seas, they durst not go near the Island. So that after a Siege of Eight and Forty dayes, the City was taken, and Nicholas Dandolo who Commanded was slain at the taking of a Fort. Mustapha ordered his head to be cut off, and planted upon the top of a Pike within sight of Famagusta.

In the mean time, Marc Antonio Colonna and Doria, this General of the King of Spain Gallies, the other of the Popes, had joyned the Venetian Armada; and lay upon

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upon the Coast of Caramania, together making up above Two Hundred Gallies and great Fleets: but Don Juan failed them at need, and upon the News of the loss of Nicopolis, carried back his Fleet to the Kingdom of Naples.

In the following Spring, Famagusta, the Capital of Cyprus, and the best Port in the Island, was assaulted. Marc Antonio Bragadin defended it with extraordinary Valour, and did not surrender it till the utmost extremity. Multapha enraged at his too long and too great resistance, assisted by Earth, and cruelly caused him to be dead alive; after they had cut off his Nose and Ears. Bragadin appeared more invincible yet under his Torments than in his Fightings, and Triumphed over the Treachery and Cruelty of his more than brutish Enemy by his generous Sufferings.

At the instant pursuits of Pope Pius V. at length a League was concluded between him, the King of Spain, and the Venetians, their Fleets or Fleet together made up Two Hundred Twenty Five Gallies Sortili, Six Gallies, and Twenty Five great Ships. Whilst the Chiefs were contending with each other about Place and Authority, Famagusta was lost. Don John of Austria Brother Son of the Emperor Charles V. Commanded the Forces of Spain, Marc Antonio Colonna the Pope, and Sebastian Venier those belonging to the Venetians. Don Juan was declared Generalissimo, and in his absence Colonna was to have the same Authority. Venier having craftily engaged Don Juan to enter the Gulf of Lepanto, otherwise called the Gulf of Corinth, a famous Battle ensued, the most Memorable that ever the Christians fought upon the Sea. It was within the Strait between those little Islands named the Echinades, and the main Land, some Three score Miles off the Promontory Actium, so famous by that Battle which decided the Roman Empire, betwixt Octavius Caesar and Marc Antony. The Arm of the Almighty was stretched out against the Infidels, they were wholly vanquished. One Hundred and Seventeen of their Gallies taken, above Twenty sunk, Five and Twenty or Thirty Thousand Men swallowed up in the Sea, near Four Thousand made Prisoners, all their Chief Commanders either Slain or Drowned, excepting the Bassa Pinar who made his escape to Lepanto in a Skiff, and old Louchali * who got off with Two and Thirty Gallies. So great an advantage ought to have produced many others: but it was so ill pursued, by reason of the misunderstanding amongst the Confederate Christians, that the Venetians were at last constrained to have recourse to the mercy of the Barbarians, and Treat a Peace with them.

After many Earth-quakes hapning in Tuscany and Lombardy, which almost wholly ruined the City of Ferrara, there followed most furious Floods of Waters in several Countries. The Rhone quite drowned the Suburbs de la Guillotiere at Lyons, and its Streams by their rapid Violence, having torn away a Rock from the Mountain near the chops of the Sluce, made a Bank against themselves, which stopp'd their Passage, and forced them to flow back against the usual current, so that the Mills along that River had their Wheels turned the contrary way.

The Winter was so hard from the end of November in the Year 1570. till the end of February following, that during those three whole Months, it Froze the Rivers so much that they drove Carts upon them, and blasted the Fruit-Trees, even in Languedoc and Provence, killing their very Roots.

Notwithstanding the Edict of Pacification, new occasions of quarrel and strife arose every day between the Catholics and the Huguenots, under colour of remedying it, the King dispatched to Rochel the Marschal de Cressy, and a Master of Requests, who conferr'd with the Heads of the Huguenots: but as it appeared afterwards, it was but only to make them the more tame and gentle and confiding. And indeed at this very time were those two Baits thrown out above mentioned, the Marriage of the King's Sister with the Prince of Navarre, and the design of making War upon the Spaniards in the Low-Countries. The Admiral passionately desired it, as well to Revenge the affront he received at Saint Quintins, as to uphold the Protestants, and restore the Princes of Nassau, that so they might be enabled to give each other mutual assistance.

These Seeds of deceit thus cunningly sown amongst them began to allay their Suspitions, the Huguenots Deputies followed Coffe to Court, and received all manner of Satisfaction, though at that time the King's Council were framing a terrible design, but he feigned a most profound Tranquillity. The King made his Entrance into Paris the Fifth day of February by Saint Denis Gate, without it, he on a Scaffold heard the Harangues of the Sovereign Companies, and Body of the City. The Twenty-Ninth of the same Month the Queen was Crowned at Saint Denis.

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* Or Light Gallies.

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They went on in the mean while with the grand design of drawing the Huguenots into the Trap, by all the alluring and specious semblances proper to decoy the most wary and jealous. They began kindly to use all such as they guessed to be joynd by Alliance, or Interest, or Amity with them, on the contrary they slighted and rejected all those that were their Enemies or suspected by them; Their Deputies carried back all the imaginable tokens of affection and good usage. The King interceded with the Duke of Savoy to restore those Lands belonging to the Countess Countess d'Entremont, which that Duke had seized, because the Marri'd Admiral contrary to his Commands, being Widow of Claude Baccaray Antony, who was Slain in the Battle of Dreux.

No many favours did a little startle the Admiral, he sends Count Ludovic of Nassau to the King, to prie into his disposition and Treat concerning the Low-Country War. The King expresses an incredible Joy, and would needs have him come Incognito for fear of giving Jealousie to the Spaniards. He found the King at Fontenay in Brice, who welcomed him with a Thousand Careless, pretended to lay open his whole Heart to him, and gave him up his Castle of Orange, where till that time, he had kept a French Garrison. And to succeed the better with the Admiral they made use of the Credit of Telyny his Son in Law towards him; a young Gentleman upon whom he had bestowed his Daughter meely for the esteem he had of his great Wisdom.

Telyny therefore carried him word that the King had resolv'd to give his Sister Margarete to the Prince of Navarre as a pledge of his promises to all the Huguenot Party, and that he had taken a Resolution to free himself from the Captivity of his Mother and his Brother the Duke of Anjou, against whom he had indeed conceived so much Jealousie, that he could endure him no longer. This Machine, as we may term it, drew in the Admiral, he came to Court in the Month of September, and with the greater boldness they being then at Blois, and he permitted to come with Fifty Gentlemen his Friends well Armed. The King embraces him, kisses him, admits him into his Council, restores his Estate and Pensions to him, gives him an Hundred Thousand Livres in Consideration of his lost Household Goods, then at a Months end permits him to go and see his Houfe at Chaffillon.

At the same time the Cardinal his Brother then in England, preparing to take Shipping for his Return into France was Poysoned by one of his Valets de Chambre with a perfum'd Apple. The discovery of which Crime came not to light till two years after, when the same Fellow being surprized at Rochel where he serv'd as a Spy, was Condemned to be Hanged, and Confessed the Fact at the Gallows.

Scarce had the Admiral been five Weeks at Chaffillon but the King sends him word his Preference was necessarily required to assist about the Treating of a League with England, and to renew the Alliance with the Protestant Princes of Germany. This second time he had yet a more favourable reception than at the former, they heap Careless, Presents and other advantages upon him; The Courtiers murmur'd at it, the Clergy trembled with indignation to behold him who had destroyed and burnt so many Churches, stand in the highest rank of Favour, the People cry'd out, the King was in the high Road to Huguenotism, and the Guisets themselves, though they had a hand in the design, apprehended left the King, who did not over-much love them, should turn all this dissimulation into a Storm that might at last fall on their Heads.

After he had sojourned for some time at Court, they gave him his Liberty to be gone for the second time, but the King Corresponded with him by daily Letters, and took his Council in his most private Affairs. There was none now but the Duke of Anjou that made the Huguenots afraid, it hapned that to take away those Jealousies and Suspensions the King had of him, and which might have produced most dangerous effects, the Queen Mother began her Practices to obtain the Crown of Poland for him, which she undertook by the Advice and Intrigues of Montluc Bishop of Valence. For although Sigismund Augustus their King was yet Living, it was time to think of another, he being very infirm and having no Children.

When by many oblique turnings and windings they had convey'd this News to the Huguenots Ears, they were wrapt with Joy, and assumed a much greater Confidence. Then the Queen of Navarre entirely satisfied and assured came to Court to make up the Match for her Son. Pope Pius V. to prevent this Mar-

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riage which he looked upon to be very prejudicial to the Catholick Religion, sent a Legate, who perswaded and disposed the King of Portugal to demand this Princess in Wedlock, and from thence passed into France to make that Proposition to the King, and to exhort him to enter into the League against the Turks.

The Portuguese put a just value upon this Alliance, and preceeding generously made known to the King that he desired no other Dowry, but only that he would renounce that with the Turks. The King made answer that he was engaged elsewhere for the Marriage of his Sister. He excused himself likewise to the Legate upon all those other things the Holy Father demanded, but conjured him to assure his Holiness of his filial obedience, and gently squeezing his Hands added these words: *O that I might be permitted to explain my self more!*

At the same time Jane Queen of Navarre, over-perswaded by the Admiral who was but too much so himself, came to Court. It was then at Blois. The King and Queen strove to give her a more than ordinary Reception. After some debates concerning the Place, and the Ceremonies of the Marriage, and that Jane had consented it should be perform'd at Paris, in a certain form, not much differing from that of the Roman Church, the Articles were signed the Eleventh day of April. There wanted nothing but the dispensation from Rome because of their near Parentage, to complete the Nuptials.

Antidist these Transactions Ludovic returns to Court, he was more hug'd and footed than ever. The King promised him he would send the Admiral into the Low-Countries with a powerful Army, there was a division made of those Provinces how they should be shared between France and the House of Nassau; they drew together Six Thousand Soldiers, with a great Train of Artillery for that Enterprize, they sent Strossy and the Baron de la Garde upon the Coasts of Bretagne to hinder any Supplies that might come from Spain to the Duke of Alençon; they dispatched the Marechal de Montmorency into England to Treat about an Alliance with Queen Elizabeth, Selowberg into Germany to exhort the Protestant Princes, and Ervouis de Nôailles Bishop of Dax as Ambassador to Constantinople to stir up the Turks to fall upon the Coasts of Spain.

The Cardinal de Lorraine and the Cardinal de Pellevé were already gone towards Rome, upon pretence of being there at the Election of a new Pope, for Pius V. died the first day of May. In his Life time he refused the dispensation for the Marriage of the Prince of Navarre, with Madam Margaret; Gregory XIII. his Successor, less rigid, or better inform'd, easily agreed to it. The Wedding day was therefore assigned upon the first of June: but upon some difficulty started by the Cardinal de Bourbon, it was put off to the Eighteenth of August. In the mean time the Queen of Navarre having over-heated her self by hurrying about to get all things ready, hapned to die, not without suspicion of being poisoned by a certain pair of scented Gloves she bought at a Perfumers, who was a Milanese and one of a very ill-favoured Reputation.

Though the Admiral held himself secure upon the faith and word of the King, he could not however resolve to expose himself in Paris to the Mercy of that populace furiously exasperated against him, and in the midst of his most mortal Enemies. But here the last bait was made use of and proved so taking, he could notwithstanding it. The King dismisses Prince Ludovic whom till then he had detained in Court, gives him a good round Sum of Money and two Officers of great Note, i. e. la Noüe and Genlis, who were in great Credit with the Admiral, to go and try whether by Intelligence they could secure some places of the Low-Countries. Ludovic Surprised Mons, la Noüe Valenciennes, whilst many other Cities in Holland and Zealand took part and stood up for the Prince of Orange.

He judging this to be certainly an open War between the two Crowns did no longer hesitate, but came to the King and into Paris, where hitherto he durst not trust himself. That which assured him more yet, was a permission allowed Genlis to Levy Four Thousand Men to go to the Relief of Mons. However they no sooner entered into Haynault but they were defeated, and their Leader taken by the treachery of the French themselves.

The Admirals example drew all the other Lords into the Net. The King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé Arrived at Paris the Twentieth day of July, bringing a great Train of Noblemen with them, as well of such who desired to appear at the Nuptials of the first, as others who had been assistant at the Prince of

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of Condé's with Mary of Cleves, which was Celebrated in the Castle of Blainvillier near Melun. This Mary was one of the three Daughters of Francis de Cleves Duke of Nevers, and Sister to the Dutchesse of Nevers and Guise.

The exceeding Careless they made them were so extravagant and so visible, that if God had not blinded both their Eyes and their understandings, they might easily have perceived those Knives they were every hour whetting to cut their Throats. The Rechellers sent Messenger after Messenger to advise the Admiral he were best to withdraw himself out of that Gulf of Paris, that it was a tempting of God too far by confiding in a King who was violent and passionate even to the height of fury, and an Italian Woman, who had endeavour'd the destruction of all that was great in the Kingdom. But he replied that he would sooner resolve to be dragg'd thorow the dirt and mire of Paris, then by his leaving it give any the least occasion for a fourth Civil War. It was upon the same foot of Resolution that he stood up so obstinately for the Surrender of the Four Places of Security above three Weeks before the Term was expired. There was only Rochet that refused to obey, upon pretence of their Priviledges. The Marechal de Montmorency much clearer sighted then the Admiral, feigned himself sick and disordered with his England Voyage, and obtained leave to retire to his House at Chantilly.

The King of Navarre was betrothed the Seventeenth of August, and Married the day following: the Cardinal of Bourbon tyed the Nuptial knot on a Scaffold erected before the Church Door of Notre-Dame, according to a Form agreed upon betwixt them. The said King having Conducted his Mistress into the Quire, by a Gallery made purposely thorow the body of the Church, retired while they were saying Mass. When that was ended he returned, and having kiss'd his new Spouse, led her into the Bishops Palace where Dinner was prepared for them. Four days were spent in Feasting, Tournaments and Balets or Dancing, where the King and Queen appeared so busie that they had scarce time to sleep.

But during all this loud noise of Voices and Violins they deliberated on what manner to execute their bloody Butchery. What the first Project was in the Kings Council is not well known, amongst whom were the Queen Mother, the Duke of Anjou, the Count de Rais, and Birague Keeper of the Seals, (for Morvilliers to whom they were given in Custody when they dismissed the Chancellor de l'Hospital, had discharged himself of them into his hands.)

It is said the first Resolution for this Massacre, chiefly upon the Instance of the Duke of Guise, and his Partisans, was taken at Blois in the very Chamber where that Duke himself was Maffred Fifteen years after, and that some difficulties arising they held another Council in the House of Gondi at Saint Cloud, whereat the Duke of Anjou presided, who afterwards (being King Henry III.) was unhappily Murthered in the very same place, and as some affirm upon the very same day.

The Queen Mothers aim was quite different from the Kings, and from that of the Guises; it was believed that Vindicative Woman, with the Count de Rais her intimate Counsellor, had a Prospect far beyond theirs. For she thought, that by causing the Admiral to be assassinated (which the two other Councils had resolved) the Montmorency's would stand up to revenge that Injury, and fall foul upon the Guises, whom they would certainly Judge to be the Authors of it; That these two Parties should be left to grapple with each other; Then when good store of Blood had been drawn and either had half destroyed the other, the King should Sallee out of the Louvre with his Guards, and exterminate them both, as Seditious Traytors; That after he had thus destroy'd them he would remain absolute Master, Reign according to his own fancy, and set himself above all Laws of the Kingdom.

Now whether this were true, or no, that Morevil who had before Assassinated the Lord de Moüy, was employ'd to make away the Admiral. On Friday the Two and Twentieth of August he posted himself for this purpose at the Cloister S. Germain de P. Auxerrois in a Chamber of the House belonging to Peter Pile of Villenur a Canon of that Church, and who had been Tutor to the Duke of Guise. He takes his stand and fits his gears at a low Window that was barr'd with Iron and faced the Street called des Foffez S. Germain; and as the Admiral came from the Louvre on Foot, and was going to his own House in the Street de Brizey, walking slowly, because he was reading some Papers, he made a Shot at him

with an Arquebuse, one Bullet breaking a Finger of his Right Hand, and another grievously wounding him in the left Arm. The execution done he flies by a Door from the Cloister, upon a Horse lent him by one of the Duke of Guise's men.

The King who was playing at Tennis with that Duke in the *Louvre*, falls into a rage, throws down his Racket, and leaves off his play: but the Project did not take as they imagined, for the Admiral without shewing any great concern withdrew to his own House, and neither the *Huguenots*, nor the *Montmorencies* ran to their Arms. The King of *Navarre* and the Prince only went to beseech the King he would give them leave to go out of *Paris* for their own security: but both he and the Queen Mother paid their Game so cunningly and covered the business so well with their deceitful pretences, promising to bring the Assassin to exemplary punishment, and naming Judges to take immediate Information, that it calmed the just fears of those two young Princes, and obliged them to stay.

Afternoon the Admiral having informed the King that he had somewhat to tell him which was not to be trusted to the knowledge of any other but himself alone, the King went to visit him at his House accompanied by the Queen Mother, the Duke of *Anjou*, Duke of *Guise*, Count of *Rais*, and some others. After some general discourse, he entertained him near an hour, and seemed to take much delight in what he told him concerning the War of the *Low-Countries*: In fine he carried his dissimulation on so far that the Queen had some jealousy of their great Intimacy, and asked her Son what it was the Admiral had told him in private; to which he replied, with an Oath, that he had advised him to reign by himself, and make himself Master of all Affairs.

The same day, as if he had indeed earnestly desired to have the Assassin apprehended he caused all the Gates of *Paris* to be shut up, except two, and under colour of securing the Admiral from all popular Commotions and Attempts of his Enemies, Re-inforced his Life-Guards with Four Hundred Men, quarter'd his Regiment within the City, and gave charge to *Cossins*, who was their *Master of Camp*, to set a Court of Guard of his best French Soldiers before the House of the Admiral, and another of *Swiss* within it. He had likewise wish'd all the *Huguenot* Gentlemen to Lodge thereabouts, and made the King of *Navarre* believe that he apprehended some rising on the *Guisean* part, for which reason he desired him and the Prince to come and remain in the *Louvre* with the bravest of their Men, to strengthen and defend him in Case of necessity.

The Admirals friends held divers Councils in his House upon the accident of his hurt: *John de la Ferrière Vidame* of *Chartres* had from the very first given his opinion that they should convey him to *Chastillon*, and that they were yet strong enough to beat their way thorow the common Rabble before they were in Arms: but the Admirals repugnance, and the contrary Remonstrances of *Teligny* his Son in Law, who oppos'd every one that shewed the least suspicion, or gave Council tending to the securing themselves, made them lay aside those Resolutions. Now the *Vidame*, plainly perceiving by the muttering of the People and divers other Indications, that danger was very near at hand, returned once more to the charge, and insisted the more upon it, because the Admiral found himself somewhat better and might endure a Horse-Litter.

This was apparently that which hasten'd their ruine: for a Gentleman who was present at this Consult, went immediately to the Palace des *Tuilleries* to make his Report to the King, who had called his Council together in the Queen Mothers Closet. The Duke of *Anjou*, the Duke of *Nevers*, the Bastard of *Angoulême*, the Keeper of the Seals *Birague*, the Counts de *Tavannes* and *de Rais* were of it. There upon the Report made by the Gentleman, it having been consider'd, that if the Admiral escap'd, they should fall into greater perplexities then ever, it was concluded that both he and all the *Huguenots* should be dispatched, excepting the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*. It hath been said, that at the first they spake only of the Chiefs and principal Men; but that the King, after he was with much ado persuaded to resolve upon it, added swearing in his wonted manner; *Well then, since it must be, I will not have one left alive to reproach me with it.*

They then gave out Orders to Execute such their Resolution that same Night, and the Duke of *Guise* was made the Chief Manager, as well because the People had more Confidence in him, as because he was animated with the Resentment of the death of his Father, and had drawn together a great number of People

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Armed for that purpose. Wherefore about Ten a Clock at Night he sends for the *Swiss* Captains of the Five little Cantons, and some of the *Prince's* Companies, orders them to put themselves all in Arms, and to *John Charles* *Protestant* his *Marchands*, as also to *Marcel* who was newly out of that Employment, to call the Citizens, and first draw them together within some Houses, then bring them into the Market-places, to light Flambeaux in all their Windows, to wear a white Scarf or Linen on their left Arm, and a Cross of the faith upon their Hats, and when they were in readiness then to begin the Butchery at a Signal given them, by Ringing out the great Bell belonging to the Palace, which is not wont to be used but upon some extraordinary Occasion of rejoicing.

The Orders given, he returned to the *Louvre*, where the Queen Mother, the Duke of *Anjou*, *Nevers* and *Birague*, used their utmost Endeavors to refresh the King's Mind, for the nearer he came to the Moment of Execution, the more he was troubled in his Soul, so that the very Sweat ran down his Forehead, and his pulsation was like one in a Fever. They had much ado to force a positive and precise consent from him: but as soon as ever they had obtained it, the Queen Mother halst the Signal above an hour, and caused the Bell to be rung at *Saint Germain* de *P. Auxerrois* as the Alarm agreed upon. When he heard this, and the report of some Pistols fired at the same time, he was so moved that he sent orders they should forbear a while longer: but word was brought back that they had proceeded too far; and indeed the Duke of *Guise* had caused both the Admiral and *Teligny* his Son in Law to be Massacred in their Lodgings, and the fierce *Woolfs* being unchained and let loose ran to every House, and filled all with Blood and Slaughter.

To draw the Picture of this Horrible Massacre in little, it lasted seven whole dayes: the three first, which was from *Sunday* the Feast of *St. Bartholomew* till *Tuesday*, in it's greatest fury; the other Four till the *Sunday* following with somewhat more of abatement. During which time were Murdered near Five Thousand Persons by divers sorts of Deaths, and many by more then one, amongst others Five or Six Hundred Gentlemen. Neither the Aged, nor the tender Infants were spared, nor Women great with Child, some were Stabb'd, others hewn in pieces with Halberds, or Shot with Muskets or Pistols, some thrown Head-long out of the Windows, many dragged to the River, and divers had their Brains beaten out with Mallets, Clubs, or such like Instruments. Seven or Eight Hundred had thrust themselves into the several Prisons, hoping to find shelter and protection under the Wings of Justice: but the Captains appointed for this Execution, caused them to be haled out and brought to a place near *la Vallée de Misère* (or the Valley of Misery) where they beat out their Brains with a Pole-Axe, and then cast them into the River. A Butcher going to the *Louvre* upon *Tuesday*, told the King that he had dispatched an Hundred and Fifty the Night before, and a Gold-Wyre drawer often boasted, shewing his Arm, that he had kill'd Four Hundred for his share.

The most Eminent of the Massacred, besides the Admiral and *Teligny* were the Count de la *Rochefoucauld*, the Marquess de *Renet* Brother by the Mother to the Prince de *Porcean*, the Baron de *Lavaurain*, Beaudin Brother of *Dacier*, *Francis de Nonpar* Caumont la Force and his Eldest Son, the brave *Piles*, *Francis de Quéllevé*, *Pontivy*, *Brion*, *Puissant*, *Pardaulan*, *Montalbert*, *Valavoire*, *Guerchy*, *Peter de la Place* First President of the Court des *Aydes*, *Francour* the King of *Navarres* Chancellor and *Lomenie* Secretary to the King. Who could believe it? of so many Valiant Men, not one died with his Sword in Hand besides *Guerchy*; and of Six or Seven Hundred Houses that were plunder'd, but only one that made Resistance.

The Earl of *Montgomery* and about a Hundred Gentlemen, who either more suspicious, or more happy then the rest, had Lodged themselves in the *Fauxbourg Saint Germain*, hearing the hideous noise that was made all over the City, and being privately informed of what passed, could not possibly believe it: they fancied that the *Guiseans* together with the People had Attacked the *Louvre*, and ran to the Water-side to cross over by Boat: but perceiving some small Vessels full of Soldiers making towards them, (for they could not find the Keys of the Gate *Bucy* soon enough) and the King himself from the farther side of the River, with his great Fowling-piece, endeavouring to bird them, they fled back to their Lodgings, and getting immediately on Horse-back, most of them without Boots, some even in their drawers, made their escape with all possible speed into *Normandy*.

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Those that were Lodged in the *Lower* it self were not spared. After they had disarmed, and hunted them out of the Chambers they lay in, they cut the Throats of them all one after another, and exposed their Bodies stark naked at the Gate of the *Lower*, the Queen Mother being at a Window feasted her Eyes with the horrid Spectacle.

This deluge of Blood swallowed up many Catholics likewise, who were dispatched by Order of the Higher Powers, or at the instigation of some particular Persons. It was enough to make them *Huguenots* if they had Money, or a will for Employment, on vindictive Engines or impatient heyes. Some called this Massacre *The Paris Massacre*, as they had formerly called that in *Sicily*, Anno 1281. *The Sicilian Vespers*.

Whatever diligence they used to find out the *Huguenots*, there were more escaped than were killed for numbers. Divers saved themselves by Money, by Friends, by good hap, and by their craft; the Duke of *Guise* in his own Hostel sheltered above an Hundred of those he believed he might bring over to his Party; And the King spared the Lives of some who were for only out of Interest. The *Montmorencies*, *Coffis*, and *Biron* were in the black List but *Montmorency's* absence, he being at *Chenilly*, secured the Lives of his Three Brothers, the Prayers and Tears of the beautiful *Chastelaineau*, *Montfaucon's* Mistress, saved *Coffis* his Allie, and *Biron* Great Master of the Ordinance, having loaded and levelled or appointed some Gunners at the Gate of the *Arseuil*, kept the impetuous Torrent of the Massacre, and let in some of his distressed Friends; amongst others *James* second Son of the Lord of *la Force*, who being then but Ten or Twelve years old, had craftily hid himself between his Fathers and his Eldest Brothers Corps, Murther'd in bed where they all three lay together.

When the Admiral was kill'd, they threw his Body down into the Court, the Duke of *Guise* who stood below, wiped the Blood off which cover'd his Face to know if it were he. After that an *Italian* cut off his Head and carried it to the Queen Mother, who causing it to be Embalm'd, sent it to the Pope, as the *Huguenots* say. The Populace fell upon the unhappy Trunk of his Body; They first cut off the Hands and Privities, then left it on a Dunghil; in the afternoon they return to it again, dragg'd it three days about the Streets, then to the River side, yet did not throw it in; and at last to *Montfaucon*, where they hung it up by the Feet with an Iron Chain, and made a Fire underneath, which half consumed it. This miserable Relick hung there till the *Marechal de Montmorency* got home to steal it away in a very dark Night, and laid it to rest in his Chappel at *Chenilly*.

About Noon on the Sunday the Massacre first began, a white-thorn growing in the Church-Yard called *Saint Innocents*, half wither'd and stript of all its Leaves, put forth great store of Blossomes. This wonder much heightned the phrensie of the People: the Fraternities Marched along with Drums beating, and strove who should Massacre most *Huguenots* in a day; the King himself would needs see that Prodigy. Most People would have it to be a Miracle, and those of either Religions interpreted it to their own advantage. The less credulous attributed it to the nature of the Tree, which does many times Blossom when ready to die. We might say that the same cause which heated the Peoples Brains and excited them to so much violence and fury, was that which heated this Tree likewise, whether proceeding from Vapours out of the Earth, or the Influence of the Stars and Planets from above.

It had been resolved in the King and Queens most private Council, to charge the *Guises* with all the Malice and Odium of these Massacres, and report that the Admirals Friends intending to revenge the hurt he had received, it begot so furious a Sedition that the King could not allay or hinder it; and to this effect they had agreed and appointed that they should retire to their own homes as soon as ever the Chiefs of the *Huguenots* were dispatched. Upon this Foot the King had written to all the Governours of Provinces, commanding them to assure the People he would not break the Edict of Pacification; and in one Letter he said expressly, That he was joynd with the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Condé, to revenge the death of the Admiral, his Cousin. But the *Guises* apprehending, as they had reason, lest the Queen Mother should some time or other lay this Crime to their charge to ruin them, insisted so resolutely upon it, having the power in their own hands, the Catholic Nobility, the Duke of *Montpensier*, and the *Parisians* to back them, that they obliged him to change his Note, and to send

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word every where, That what had been done, was by his Order, to prevent the effects of that detestable Conspiracy the Admiral and his Friends had plotted to destroy him, and the Royal Family, as also the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé.

Wherefore upon Tuesday the Third day of the Massacre, after holding of Mass to return solemn thanks to God for the precious Victory obtained over Herefie, and commanded Medals should be Coynd to preserve the Memory thereof, he went and sat on his Royal Seat of Justice in Parliament, where he owned the whole Action. Some days after he sent orders to that Assembly to employ all the Authority of the Law to justify it, and to that end to proceed immediately without delay to make Process against the Admiral, and his accomplices.

For this a Chamber, or Court, was purposely set up during the Vacation, by whose Sentence the Admiral was declared Attainted and Convicted of the Crime of *Leze Majestatis*, Chief Head and principal Author of a Conspiracy against the King and his Kingdom, ordained that his Body, if it could be found, if not, his Effigies, should be drawn upon a Hurdle, and hanged upon a Gallows at the *Greve*, from thence carried to the Gibbet at *Montfaucon*, all Pictures of him to be mangled and trampled under Foot by the Hang-man, his Armes dragged at a Horses Tail about the Streets of *Paris*, his Estate Confiscated, his Children declared Plebeian and Ignoble, Intestable and unworthy to hold any Office, Dignity, or Estate in the Realm, his House of *Chastillon* razed, and an Inscription set up there graved on a Copper Plate containing this whole Sentence and Decree against him. It was added that from thence forward upon the Four and Twentieth day of August should be yearly observed a general Procession to render thanks to God for the discovery of that Conspiracy.

Briquemont an old Gentleman, and *Arnaud de Cavagnes* a Master of Requests and Chancellour of the Cause, being taken, after the Butchery, in a House where they a while concealed themselves, were declared his accomplices, and Condemned to the same punishment. They were drawn upon a Sledge to the *Greve*, and Executed together with his Fantome made of Straw in the Mouth of which they did not forget to stick a Tooth-pick. The King and Queen Mother stood at a Window in the Town-Hall, and beheld the Execution through a Tiffany Vail.

Two days after the King had been in Parliament, he put forth an Edict whereby he assured the *Huguenots*, that what had been done, was not in hatred to their Religion, but to prevent the wicked designs of the Admiral; and therefore that every one of them should keep quietly in his own abode, and not make any publick Assemblies: but at the same time he wrote to the Governours of the Provinces and Cities, that they should take the very same Course, and Treat them as they had been at *Paris*.

During two Months, this horrible Tempest run over all France, more or less Bloody, according to the disposition of the Countries and their Governours. It was not so violent in *Burgundy* and *Britaigne*, because there were few *Huguenots*; nor in *Languedoc* and *Gascogne*, because they were strong enough to defend themselves: but it was very rough and cruel at *Meaux*, *Troyes*, *Orleans*, *Nevers*, *Lyons*, *Toulouse*, *Bordeaux*, and at *Rouen*, causing above Five and Twenty Thousand Men to perish in the Red Sea of their own Blood. At *Thoulouze* they hanged Five Councillors of Parliament, in Scarlet Robes, upon an Elm in the Palace Yard.

Matignon and the Vicount d'Ortiz, did generously refuse to stain their Hands with the Blood of their own Country-men: the first preserved those of *Alencon*, the other those of *Bayonne*. The horror of the Massacre brought back a great many to the Roman Church: but the danger once over, most of them fell off again. These and some others who timely fore-saw the threatening Storm saved themselves in divers places; *Sancerre*, *Rochel*, *Montauban*, and the *Sevènes*, proved places of refuge to a great number.

The very Morning of *Saint Bartholomews* day, the King had with his own Mouth told the King of Navarre and Prince of Condé that he pardon'd them, provided they changed their Conduct and Religion. Afterwards the whole Court labour'd for their Conversion: the Example and Conferences of *Rosiere* a Minister of *Orleans* afforded a very specious colour and pretence for the King of Navarre to be Converted. His Sister *Catherine* the Dowager of Condé, and the Princesses

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1572. did likewise abjure it. The Prince would by no means hear of it: the King being tired with his over-long resistance, sent for him, and being quite transported with passion, told him in three words, *Death, Mass, or the Bastile*. This Thunder-clap beat down his haughty Spirit, and compell'd him to follow the Example of the rest: They were all abolished of the Crime of Heresie by the Cardinal de Bourbon; and that they might not be able to Retract, they were obliged to write themselves to his Holiness.

The Court of Rome and the Council of Spain were filled with unexpressible Joy upon the Tydings of the *Saint Bartholomew*: the Pope went in Procession to *Saint Leon Church* to render thanks to God for that so happy Success, and a *Pangrual* act thereof was represented before King Philip, under the Title of *The Triumphs of the Church Militant*. Both the one and the other of them believed this bloody Butchery would have brought the Protestant Party very low, and that their fall would make their own power rise to the desired pitch. Indeed if the King had but had an Army in readiness, he might with ease have made an end of the *Huguenots*: but he believed these Misfortunes had to quell them, that it was to no purpose to maintain one for that. Besides he must have been obliged to give the Command of it to his Brother the Duke of Anjou; and his growing too great was the only thing he had to fear.

Whilst the Queen Mother by the Advice of *Birague* and de *Rais* her Confidants, who apprehended a War as being fitter to manage Intrigues, then draw a Sword, amuses her self by Wiles and Artifices to subdue the remainders of the *Huguenots*: those that had escaped the Blood-Hounds resumed their Courage: *Roche* labours to Fortifie it self; *Montauban* encouraged by the fortunate Success of the *Vasins*, who with Five and Twenty Horse defeated two Hundred and took *Montluc's* great Standard, shut up their Gates against the Kings Soldiers; their Chiefs seized upon several little Places in *Quercy*, and Fifteen or Twenty Castles in *Perpignan*, *Languedoc*, *Albigens*, and *Foris*; *Milland* and *Nismes* in *Languedoc* took the bio in their Teeth, some small Towns in the Mountains of *Provence* and the *Sevones* Baricado themselves; and *Anthony de Pleix* Grémian Seizes upon the City of *Sousmiers*.

Against so many Heads as sprang up afresh on every side the Kings Council took the Sword again in hand, and raised three Armies. With one of them *la Chastre* had order to besiege *Sancerre*; with the second *Danville* undertook to reduce the Rebel Cities in *Languedoc*; and the third Commanded by the Marquis de *Villars* Admiral of France, to subdue those in *Guyenne*. As for *Roche*, they thought fit, before they made use of Force, to make use of Mildness and Craft, as fearing lest their despair should cast them into the Arms of the English. They sent first therefore *Biron* to be their Governour, whom they guessed would be acceptable to them, then when they had refused him, they forced *Francis de la Noie* with Arguments of Knives and Daggers, to go thither and reduce them. They did not receive him in quality of the Kings Servant, but as General to Command their Army; which the King was content with, upon condition that if he could not incline them to make a Peace, he should forsake them upon his first Summons.

Thus began the Fourth Civil War again. The *Huguenots* escaped from the Butchery had scatter'd their fears amongst all the other Protestants. The City of *Strasbourg* doubled their Guards; the *Swiss* made great Levies, and secured all their Avenues, the German Princes and the Queen of England formed new Leagues together: the Council therefore found it necessary to allay their Suspicions, and palliate the Cruelty and Heynousness of the Fact. To this end they dispatched Ambassadors to them, with relations well contrived, and forged, and artificial propositions; they renew'd the Treaty for Conquest of the *Low-Countries* with the Prince of Orange; they endeavour'd to soothe and sweeten Queen Elizabeth, desiring her to be God-mother to the Kings Daughter, which she accepted; and they began a third time to propound a Match between her and the Duke of *Alanson*: which many attributed to the Queens vain Imaginations, who being informed by certain Fortune-tellers, that all her Sons should Reign, by consequence if it were in France, they must all die after one another, struggled to alter the course of Fate, by seeking other Kingdoms for them in Foreign Parts, and proceeded so far therein as to desire the Kingdom of *Tunis* of the Turk for this last.

The Eight day of November a new Phenomena began to be observed in the Heavens, which seemed to be a Star, because it was very Bright, was fixed to one certain place like the real Stars, appeared at the same height, and held the same position. It made the Figure of a Lozenge, with those of the Thigh and Breast of the Constellation named *Calliopea*. At first it equal'd in magnitude the Planet Jupiter: but diminished by little and little, and at Eighteen Months end quite disappeared. The *Huguenots* interpreted this wonder to their advantage, and one of their Poets dared to say, it was the After-glow of the Apotheose of the Admiral.

As soon as it began to appear in France a new Disease broke forth, indeed a very strange and odd kind of Malady, for at every Tenth Year, it still doubled its violence, causing most horrible Contorsions, and Dislocating every Joint, till the year 1606; that it began to be less frequent and less cruel and tormenting then before. It was called the (Billious Evil, or) Colick of Poitou, because it reigned chiefly in that Country.

The Three Armies destined against the *Huguenots* did but little. *La Chastre* succeeding ill in his Attacks upon *Sancerre*, at the end of Three Months, turned the Siege into a Blockade. *Danville* instead of taking *Nismes*, as the Cities of *Lyons* and *Thoulon* did heartily with, because they paid and maintained his Army, for he knew very well they plotted the success, or otherwise, I know not: for he knew very well they plotted the Ruine of his House, and he put as little Confidence in the Kings Council, as they did in him. He therefore ruined his Army before it, and raised the Siege after he had lost Two Thousand men, with *Henry de Foix* Count de *Candale*, slain upon an Assault. This Lord had Married his Sister, and brought him Twelve Hundred Gascons. *Villars* and *la Vallette* cleared *Gascogne* of several small Garrisons: but could not take *Coffade*, and were constrained to disband their Troops, who lived so licentious, that the Commons rose up in Arms to fall upon them.

The greatest efforts were at the Siege of *Roche*: *Stroffy* and *Biron* had invested it the preceding year, all the Forces of the Kingdom were come thither, and *Montseur* himself Arriving there in the Month of February, had brought along with him, all that were bravest and greatest about the Court, the Duke of *Alencon* his Brother, the Duke of *Montpensier*, all the *Guises*, the Duke of *Nevers*, and even the King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Condé* and the Marechal de *Cossé*, for fear lest they should make some stir elsewhere in favour of the *Huguenots*. After several fruitless Conferences, after that *la Noie*, not being able to persuade the *Rochellers* to submit, was come out of the Town, and they had chosen Six Captains in his stead, *Montseur* began to express his mind by the roaring Mouths of his Cannon, having Four-score in Battery against them.

In this Siege it was made more manifest then in any other of these last Ages, that there is nothing which the perswasion of Liberty and Religion does not overcome, and nothing that can overcome it. It lasted Eight Months, to reckon from the time of the Blockade, the Baron de *la Garde* had begun within a Month after *Saint Bartholomew*; the City during that time sustained Five and Thirty Thousand Cannon shot, Nine grand Assaults, above Twenty lesser ones, near upon Seventy Mines, very frequent Conspiracies, as well by contrivance of some that were Rich who feared to loose their Wealth, as by some of the Gentry, who have ever some particular engagements at the Court, and seldom desert it but in expectation of being called back again to the Cost of whatever Party they Elipoute.

The People labour'd with so much heat, that they raised a double Terras and digged a deep Retrenchment at the place where they batter'd the Town, before they could make their breach; Besides their men were perpetually making Sallies, the Women went along every where with them, some to Fight, others to carry necessities and refreshment, carry off and dress the wounded, and gather up the Spoil, others again to throw kettles of scalding Liquor, or Oil, melted Pitch, red hot Iron Hoops, Bricks, Stones, Timber-Logs and the like upon the Assailants heads.

Their Courage did not fail them, though the Assistance from England which *Montgomery* was to have brought, failed them. After a long expectation, in mid-March they appeared, but very Slender, for as much as the Marechal de *Rais*, as well by the Intrigues he forged in England, as the Penions the King bestowed on Queen Elizabeths Councillours, had notably hindered him from obtain-

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ing, so considerable a Supply as was promised. Finding the choice Men of the Besiegers Army had put themselves into the Kings Ships, and the Channel stopp'd up with an Escadade which they could not get over but at Spring-Tydes, he weighed Anchor and went and seized upon *Belle-Isle*. But hearing the Count of *Rais* was coming against him, with a dozen Ships, he quitted it, after he had plundred it, and retired to the Isle of *Wight*.

The Count of *Rais*, under pretence *Belle-Isle* wanted some Lord to defend it, manag'd his Interest so that the King by his Sovereign Authority, caused it to be substracted and dismembred from the demesne of the Abbey of *Sainte Croix de Quimperley*, and erected it to a Marquisate to bestow it upon him.

During all the Siege of *Rochel*, those within enjoy'd a perfect health, they had established a very good order for the distribution of their Provisions, so that they had enough for two Months longer when they were deliver'd. For though they were but meanly furnished with Corn, they had great Stores of Flesh and Salt-Fish, and the Sea shewing her self Charitable and Merciful to that Town, which she hath ever looked upon as her Nurse-Child, threw upon the *Owse* infinite quantities of Shel-Fish for the Subsistance and Relief of the Poor. On the contrary, the Besiegers were under all sorts of inconveniencies, the neglect of discipline, and the desolation of the Country round about them, had caused extrem scarcity of Provisions and Forrage in their Camp, and a most terrible infection, which bred frequent and contagious distempers.

But the complement of all those Evils was their general Division, which held the Royal Army in perpetual agitations, and ready to cut one anothers Throats like *Cadmus* his Soldiers. There were of three sorts of People, the *Malcontents*, the Gentlemen were most of them so with the Queen Mother who governed all by two or three Strangers, Covetous, Proud and without Faith; the Faithful, these were the *Huguenots* who had not quitted their Religion, but to avoid the ruine of their Houses or for some Interest at Court, had followed *Monsieur*; and the *New ones*, whom the fear of being Massacred had forced to go to Mass, though they did not believe in it.

Out of some of each of these was a Club or Party made whom they named the *Politiques*, and these had together agreed that without any more mention of Religion, they would demand the Reformation of the State, and expulsion of Strangers. Amongst the Catholics, the *Montmorencies*, *Biron* and *Coffe* were the Chief Heads: these were linked together above a Twelve month before the *Saint Bartholomew*. The Duke of *Alencon* a Prince ambitious and unquiet, despised for his low Stature and his ill Mien, had desired to be one, and having in his tender Youth taken some Impression of the New Religion from those that Educated him, had tied himself in strict Amity with the Admiral, believing by that means to make a Party strong enough to equal the Credit of the Duke of *Anjou*, and get some share in the Government; To which he was thrust on by the Ambition of his Favourites, and by his Sister *Margaret* spleen, much offended the Duke of *Anjou* slighted her after he highly cherish'd her.

Divers considerations proceeding from jealousy, suspicions and fear, had withheld the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé* from joining with him whilst they were at Court: but they came on with more boldness when they were in the Camp. *Henry de la Tour Vicount de Turenne*, at that time a Catholic and already very knowing and subtle, though but young, was the contriver of their Association. Being all hot headed rash young Men, many Designs were propounded as strange as bold. The King having had some hint, gave order to *Pinard* Secretary of State, to enjoin the Duke not to leave the Camp upon pain of Incurring his Indignation; The Duke sending him back without any answer, because he would not produce his Order, the Kings Council took such an Alarm, that the King apprehending some dangerous surprize, wrote to the Duke of *Anjou* to hasten the taking of *Rochel*, because he had need of his Forces about his Person. This was the cause he made so many Assaults unseasonably, and lost so many Men.

Now as both the one and the other were in an extream Perplexity, Arrives the News from *Poland*, which open'd them a way to go off with Honour. The Bishop of *Valence* had gained the Affections of the *Polanders*, by means of *Balagny* his natural Son, before the death of King *Sigismund*, the last Prince of the House of *Jagellons*. When he was dead, which happened the Seventh of July in the year 1572. he parted from *Paris* the Seventeenth day of *August* following and went thither

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thither himself. The Queen Mother and the Duke of *Anjou* apprehended nothing more then the success of this Election: wherefore at the same time they pretended to employ all the Kings power for it, they obstructed it underhand by private Methods: Nevertheless the Bishop having more regard to the Kings Command and his own Honor, then to a Womans fancies, managed the business so well that it succeeded. The Duke of *Anjou* was Elected King: but as the Heads of two of those four Factions that were amongst them, were *Catholics*, they obliged the *French* Ambassadors to promise them several Conditions in favour of that Religion; particularly that they should leave all those Cities at Liberty which were besieged.

Upon the News of this Election and the Arrival of the *Polish* Ambassadors who came to fetch their new King, the Duke of *Anjou* made them give him fresh Assaults, and then renewed the propositions for accommodation: The *Rochellers* refused to hearken to any thing unless all the other Clauses of their Party were comprehended, and they were fain to yield to them in this point, unless for *Sancerre*, whose Surrender was hourly expected. The Articles were all resolved upon the Five and Twentieth of *June*, the Ratification was brought back some days after with an Edict of Pacification, which was more restrictive by much then the preceding ones, for it allowed only Liberty of Conscience, but no public exercise, excepting in the Cities of *Rochel*, *Nismes*, and *Montauban*.

It was not in their Power to obtain the same advantage for *Sancerre*: the King under colour it belonged to a particular Lord, whose right he could not infringe, refused to grant them any more but the Liberty of Marriages and Christnings. So that although for four Months past the scarcity of Provisions grew daily to a most horrible Extremity, yet they resolved to perish rather then not enjoy the same Conditions which the rest had. They fed upon the most unclean Creatures, and upon such Herbs as Beasts themselves refuse to taste, as also Parchment and Leather; and to say all in a word, they surprized a Father and a Mother feeding upon their own Daughter that had been starved to death: Whilst they were in this most lamentable State, and yet would not think of a Surrender, the Ambassadors from *Poland*, who Arrived in the beginning of *August*, got composition for them: but they had no other advantages for their Religion, then what was general. So that the Cruel and Voluntary death of Two Thousand of those unhappy Wretches, served only to Signalize to all future Ages their too long and fatal obstinacy.

In the Treaty of *Rochel*, it was Stipulated that the *Rochellers* should intreat the Duke of *Anjou* to come into their City: but that he should not enter. So that after the most eminent had been with him to request it, he dismissed his Army and went on Board his Gallies, visited the adjacent Islands, thence Sailed to *Nismes* and so returned to Court, being every where received in quality of a King. Thus ended that Famous Siege, where the King lost Twelve Thousand Men, and a great many Persons of Note, the most remarkable being *Claude Duke of Aumale* who was slain with a Cannon Shot.

The *Polish* Ambassadors who were Twelve in number, and for their Chief had the Bishop of *Pozna*, Arrived at *Metz* the Five and Twentieth of *July*, made their Solemn entrance into *Paris* on the Third day of *September*, and the Tenth read the Decree of Election in the Palace-Hall. The King was there upon a Scaffold Array'd in his Royal Robes, and accompanied by all the Princes and Grandees of his Court. The Decree being taken out of a Silver Box, Sealed with an Hundred and Ten Seals of the Prelates, Palatines, and *Castellans* of the Kingdom, was open'd and read aloud by one of the Ambassadors. The King having given them very many civil thanks rose from his Seat and went to embrace the King of *Poland* his Brother, the other Princes and Noblemen then present went afterwards to Congratulate him and pay their Respects; He kissed the Duke of *Alencon* and the King of *Navarre*, and treated the others with more or less Ceremony according to their quality.

I shall say nothing of the Feastings and Balets wherewith the Queen Mother entertained them: those are the Abortives of Luxury and Prodigality, the remembrance of which ought to last no longer then the smell of the meat, and noise of the Violins. The King of *Poland* made his entrance into *Paris* by the Gate *Saint Antoine* with a Suitable Magnificence. It was looked upon as an ill Omen that his Heraulds mistook in their blasoning the Arms of his New Kingdom.

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These Ceremonies ended King *Charles* who had taken up a strong Resolution he would Reigh himself, and withdrew that Authority he had imprudently committed to his Mother, halts his departure with great impatience, every hour seeming a tedious year; but the more he pressed, the more delays the other still sought out: It was not the Delights only of the Court, his Mothers tenderness, the almost Royal Authority his Command had placed him in as Generalissimo of the Armys, and the hope of succeeding to the Crown, which ever seemed near at hand, because the King had no Child, that detained him in France: the violent Love he had for the Princess of Conde, was a stronger Tye upon all these. The Duke of *Guise* who had Married the Sister, soothed and served him, though to his purpose, in his passion, and by that means had gained the Princes favour to such a degree, that he could not have liv'd a moment without him.

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Seven or Eight days were past and the King of *Poland* went not, though all his Equipage were ready and his Goods laden. The King attributes it to the Queen, and told her with an Oath that one of the two must leave the Kingdom; but the Duke of *Guise* withheld him still upon hopes of a sudden enjoyment, and offered him Fifty Thousand men to defend him from the wrath of his Brother. At Three days end the King, verily believing the Queen his Mother was the cause of his delay, and that it was to hatch some dangerous Conspiracy, caused him a Closet Door to be rudely shut against her, and resolved to prevent their designs by some others which no doubt would have been very Tragical, had not the Duke of *Guise* been so timely.

The Devil was Evident both for her and her Son, yet notwithstanding she could hardly resist to part with him. The King would needs Conduct him to the Frontiers, rather to hinder him from Canonizing himself in any of the Provinces, than to see any *Al. Châlon*: He could not accompany him so far as he desired, but was forced to stop at *Paris*: for in a few days after he had menaced his Mother, he was seized with a lingering but Malignant Fever, which made him very giddy in his Head, and sick at Heart almost every Minute.

The Queen Mother with the Duke of *Alençon* and the King of *Navarre* Conducted him as far as *Blamont* in *Lorraine*: There the Mother and the Son took their leaves of each other, amidst their Embraces, Sobbs, Sighs and Tears, the most imprudently let fall these words, *Farewell my Son, you shall not stay long*; which being over-heard by several, and quickly divulged, did much increase the sinister suspicion they had of the Kings Malady, though others attributed it to his constitution which was of a dull Choller, and to the violent exercises he used as Hunting, Riding the great Horse, playing at Tennis Five or Six hours together, hammering and forging of Iron: which had so over-heated his mass of Blood, that his spleen but little, and had sometimes Fits like those that so much afflicted *Charles* King of *Spain*.

King *Henry* after his departure from *Blamont*, having Travell'd cross all Germany, Arrived at *Mierich* the first City of *Poland*, about the end of the Month of *January*: He had in his Train the Dukes of *Nevers* and *Mayne*, the Marquis d'*Elbeuf*, the Count de *Rais*; lately made Marshal of France, *Roger* de *Saint Lary* *Bellegarde*, Ten or Twelve other Lords of Note, and above Five Hundred of the bravest Gentlemen, besides these, several Men of the Gown, amongst others *Belliere* Ambassador of France to him, *Vincen Lauré* Apostolick Nuncio, and *Abbas* the Kings Attorney in the Parliament of *Paris*.

All the Princes throw whose Territories he passed, strove to pay him the honour due to his Birth and Dignity: there was none but *Frederic* Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, that Treated him otherwise. That Prince one of the gravest of his time, desiring to make the young King and his bloody Council know, the Injustice of the Massacres, received him after a manner not much obliging, and took pleasure in putting him into some apprehension of a most terrible Revenge.

At first that Noble and Majestick Air which outwardly appeared in all his Actions, and the Profusion he made with both hands, got him the passionate Love of the Nobility, and adoration of the People: but soon after the discomposedness of his Mind proceeding from Vapours of the Spleen, his Melancholly for not receiving so early as he wished the News he expected from France, a disgust of the Manners and Conversations of those People, rendered him uneasy to himself and to his Subjects. He sought for solitude in his own Closet, communicated

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himself to none but his Favourites, was sad and silent: but that which aggravated his Sorrow the more was the Proposition made him by the Senate, to Marry *Anne* Sister of the Deceased King, ill-favour'd and old, whose disagreeable aspect did but more encrease those Flames in his Breast; first kindled at *Paris* by the bright Eyes of the charming Princess of Conde.

There was some likely-hood that his departure from France would contribute much towards the calming of the Affairs in the State; That the fears of the *Huguenots* who dreaded him and his Favorites, ceasing, their emotions would cease likewise; That the Queen Mother having none now to rely upon would be forced to obey in her turn, and that her *Italians* who excited the publick hatred, and perverted the Just and Ancient Laws of Government to introduce a new and Tyrannical Power, would loose their Credit and Interest. But on the contrary the *Huguenots* believing themselves the Stronger, had not laid down their Arms in *Languedoc*, but being confirmed and encouraged in their Assembly of *Milaud*, and afterwards in those of *Montauban* and *Nismes*, they became more audacious in their demands than if they yet had their Admiral at the Head of Thirty thousand Men to fight their Battels; And besides the Duke of *Alençon* and the Politiques believing they were now Masters of all by the absence of the Duke of *Anjou*, would needs dispose of things as they pleased.

The Duke of *Alençon* ready to embrace any Enterprize without consideration, and to give it over as lightly without thinking, forged several in his own head: but chiefly two amongst the rest, the one to undertake the Lieutenantcy of the War in the Low-Countries against the *Spaniards*, and the King would gladly have sent him thither to ridd his hands of such a turbulent and restless Spirit; the other was to demand the General Lieutenantcy as the Duke of *Anjou* had it. The Marshal de *Montmorency* was of opinion he should stick to the latter, and earnestly desired it for him, with such persuasive Arguments and Reasons, that the King thought fit to grant it.

But the Queen Mother, who did expect no more acknowledgment or respect from this Son than she had shewed affection towards him, who besides feared he would wrest her Authority from her, and if the King hap'ned to die, might perchance shut her dear Son the Duke of *Anjou* out of the Kingdom, studied to break his measures, and desired the Lieutenantcy for the Duke of *Lorraine*, who had Married the Fondling of all her Daughters. Now when she found the King had promis'd it to the Duke of *Alençon*, she contrived the Matter so well, that instead of a Patent, he only made a Declaration by word of Mouth, and gave Letters under the Privy-Seal to some Governors, shewing thereby plainly enough he meant to recall his Word, as he soon after did, and confer'd that eminent Title upon the Duke of *Lorraine*.

In the mean time the Duke of *Alençon* had contracted a most particular tie with the *Huguenots*, and had promised to take them into his Protection. The King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of Conde were entred into this League, the Politique Catholics were likewise joyned with them. *Toré* and the Vicount de *Tuennne* managed the intrigues, and all of them together demanded an Assembly of the general Estates. The Queen Mother, that the might amuse them, had assigned an Assembly of the Notables at *Compiègne*, to deliberate whether it would be expedient to call them; and when they saw they could not make their Party strong enough at Court, they resolv'd to retire to *Sedan*; where the Duke of *Bouillon* had promis'd to give them reception.

The *Huguenots* had promised themselves so great advantage by the Duke of *Alençon*, that they had resolv'd to take up Arms over all the Kingdom at the latter end of the Carnival, *Rochel* it self was born along with this Torrent, and had for that purpose elected *La Noue* for their General. This Man the Night between *Shrove-Tuesday* and *Ash-Wednesday*, surpris'd *Melle* and *Lulignan* by *Escalado*, as *Giron de Bissy*, who brought Twelve hundred Men from *Beaun*, took *Fontenay*, and the Lord de la *Casse* in *Saintonge*, *Royan*, *Talmont*, and four or five other little Places. In *Dauphiné* *Montbrun* seized upon *Lorient* and *Livron*, the which he repaired. In *Normandy* *Coulombieres* and some Gentlemen of the Country, upon the hopes of greater Troubles at Court, and of having the Duke of *Alençon* shortly with them, seiz'd upon *Saint Lo*; *Montgomery*, who being hated in France, and unwelcome in England, kept himself close, and under shelter of the Islands of *Jersey* and *Guernsey*, sided with them, took *Carentan* and *Valognes*, and fit all the Country therabouts under Contribution.

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January, &c.March and
April.

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At the same time being the Tenth of *March*, that *la Noüe* had made the *Huguenots* resolve to take up Arms, it was likewise resolv'd that *John de Chabmont Guirry* should draw near *Saint Germain en Laye*, with as many Horse as he could get privately together, to receive and bring with him the Duke of *Alencon*, and the two Princes. But it hap'n'd, by whose fault it is not known, that *Guirry* anticipated the Assignment by at least Ten days; so that the Duke of *Alencon* being fearful and irresolute, could not determine with himself to forsake the Court so suddenly, and *la Mole* his Favorite judging for great a design could not be long conceal'd, went and discover'd it to the Queen Mother. About Midnight behold an Alarm over all the Court: The King sends for the Duke of *Alencon*, and the King of *Navarre*, the first tells all, not caring what became of those he had employ'd: The other taxed neither him nor any Friend. They give out there is a Design upon the King's Person: The Men of the long Robe especially, and the Women hurry to *Paris* all Night, and the Queen her self to render the Princes more odious, flies in great disorder: However the King went not till the next day, and lodged himself at the *Bois de Vincennes*, whither he carried the Duke of *Alencon* and the King of *Navarre*, not yet as Prisoners, but carefully observed.

Thus the *Huguenots* fell very short in their accounts; and besides, in a Month after they set out Three Armies to destroy them in the Provinces of *Normandy*, *Poitou*, and *Languedoc*. *Matignon* Commanded the first, the Duke of *Montpensier* the second, the Prince *Dauphin* his Son the third. *Montpensier* went and cool'd his heels before *Foncenay*: but *Matignon* invested *Montgomery* in *Saint Lo's*, from whence making his escape, he pursued and besieged him in *Dorfnort* so straitly that he constrain'd him to Surrender, giving him assurance for the lives of his Men, but nothing more than ambiguous and random Promises for his own. This fell out, four or five days before the Death of the King.

From thence *Matignon* returned to the Siege of *Saint Lo*, carrying him thither to persuade *Coulombieres* who was within to Surrender: but the other reproached him of Cowardize, and put himself courageously in the breach, and his two Sons on either side of him, not above Fourteen or Fifteen years of Age, both having Javelins in their hands, to Sacrifice, said he, all his Blood for the Truth of the Gospel. He died there with his Sword in hand: but Fortune or Pity saved the lives of his two Sons; *Guirry* afterwards making his Courage submit to his Prudence, gave up *Carentan*, and *Lorges* Son of *Montgomery* was detained Prisoner, but escaped by the favour of one of the Catholic Commanders.

As to *Languedoc*, the Queen Mother who was more bent against *Danville*, than against the *Huguenots* themselves, had contrived to ridd her self of that Lord, by the means of *James de Crussol Duke d'Vexis* his Capital Enemy, before the War began in those Countries. Some intercepted Letters, giving him notice thereof, he designed to make himself Master of the Province: but proceeded so slowly, that he could only seize upon *Montpellier*, *Lunel*, *Beaucaire*, and *Pezenas*. He was not the less noted for it at Court: *Martinez* shew'd an Order to all the Province, whereby the King dismissed him of his Government, and forbid the People to own him, or the Soldiers to obey him.

In the Spring time, when the Humors overflow, the King's Distemper which had been as it were laid asleep during the Winter, awak'd and made the Queen sufficiently understand it was high time to seize upon and secure all those that might oppose or disturb her Regency, particularly the Marshals of *Montmorency* and *de Cossé*. To this end she order'd a Commission to be given to *Christopher de Thou* first President, and to *Peter Humequin* a President likewise, to inform themselves diligently about the Conspiracy of *St. Germain*, thereby to involve them.

La Mole a Favorite to the Duke of *Alencon*, and the Count de *Coconas* an Italian, whom he had lately introduced to the Acquaintance and Confidence of that Prince, were arrested. The first denied all, the other flatter'd with the vain hopes of getting his Pardon, and a great Reward besides, told a great deal more than indeed he knew. The Duke of *Alencon* and the King of *Navarre* were also examined: The first answered like a Criminal fluttering and trembling; the other more like an Accuser than one accused, with such reproaches as put the Queen Mother out of Countenance.

At *la Mole's* was found an Image of Wax, which one *Cosmo Rugiero* a Florentine and famous Quack, had made for him to Charm a young Damsel with whom he

was

was in Love. The Queen Mother would needs have it be believed that it was made on purpose to bewitch the King: he still denied it flily; but notwithstanding he was Beheaded, and *Coconas* with him. It was said, that two Princesses who were in Love with them, caused their Heads to be stoll, and Embellish'd them, to preserve them as long as they could. Another of their Complices was broken upon the Wheel, and *Rugier* sent to the Gallies. The Queen Mother very credulous in Matters of Divination and Sorceries released him some time after to make use of him in his Art.

The Marshals of *Montmorency* and *de Cossé* were highly accused, by those wretches when they were put upon the Rack: nevertheless a Presumption of their own innocency did so far blind them, that they repaired immediately to Court, to justify themselves, not considering that those are ever guilty, who are in the hands of their Enemies, and that under their circumstances, Imprudence is the most Mortal of all Crimes. And so they were seized and carried to the *Bastille*, the *Parisiens* expressing so much Joy, that they received them with Shouts, and provided Eight hundred men to be a Guard upon them. There was an Order likewise to *March* and seize upon the Prince of *Condé*, who was at *Amiens* in his Government of *Picardy*: April. But he went out of the Town in a disguise, and having met in his way with *Toré* a Brother of the Marshal of *Montmorency's*, escaped to *Strasbourg*, where he abjured the Catholic Religion in the open Church, and resumed the Protestant.

King *Charles* after the Siege of *Rochel*, having taken the Government of Affairs into his own hands, shew'd himself very desirous to ease the People, and manage the advice of those whose pretext for Oppression was the publick Necessity, he discharged them this year from a Third of the *Tailles*, and kept up but three Companies of the Regiment of Guards about him. He had resolv'd to turn all those out of his Court that were advisers for the Massacre, though he otherwise mortally hated the *Huguenots*, to leave the administration of Justice to his Parliaments, that of War to his Marshals, and only to himself reserve all Affairs of State, to humble the Houses of *Guise* and *Montmorency*, and to lay aside all his vain Diversions of Hunting, Gaming, and Women, to apply himself to Business, and at his spare hours to the Study of the noblest Sciences, as his Grandfather the great King *Francis* had formerly done.

It were to be wish'd that Sovereigns would be as much concerned to compleat and carry on the brave Designs their Predecessors often Project when they are dying, as they are eager to reap all their Authority, and amplify it after they are dead. It was in vain that *Charles* conceived all these, he consumed by a slow fire, and visibly melted and wasted away more and more every moment; at length the violence of his Distemper cast him upon his Bed in the *Bois de Vincennes* the Eight day of *May*. The Queen Mother to colour that violence wherewith she had Usurped the Government with some lawful Title, labour'd to have the Regency left to her. Whil'st he had yet any remainders of strength and vigour left, he would allow her no more but only some Letters to the Governors of Provinces, which import'd, that during his Sickness, and in case God should dispose of him, he would they should obey her in all things till the return of the King of *Poland*: but when he was brought to extremity, and in that condition wherein every thing becomes indifferent to him that is leaving the World, she caused other Writings to be drawn, which authorized her their Regent, obliged him to declare to the two Princes that such was his Will, and managed her Business so effectually, that the Parliament and the Magistrates of *Paris*, sent their Deputies to intreat her to accept of the Regency.

Nature did struggle most wonderfully during the two last Weeks of this King's life, he started and stretched himself with extrem violence, he toss'd and cumber'd incessantly, the Blood burst out of every Pore, and from every channel of his Body; After he had suffered thus a long time, he sunk into a weak and fainting condition, and gave up his Soul between the third and fourth hour Afternoon, on the Thirtieth day of *May*, being the *Pentecost*. He had lived Five and twenty years wanting One and thirty days, & had worn the Crown Thirteen years & a half within five days.

He was of a becoming Stature, only a little stooping, carried his Head somewhat awry, had a forbidding and piercing look, high-nosed, his colour pale and livid, black Hair, his Neck somewhat long, round chested, his whole Body well shaped, save only his Leggs were of the biggest. He prided himself in his profound Dissimulation, and the skill of knowing Mens Natures by their Physiognomy. His Courage was great, his Spirit lively and clear-sighted, his Judgment penetrating and

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and subtil; he had a ready Memory, an incredible Activity, a happy and energetical Expectation; In fine, many Qualities worthy to Command, had not those noble Seeds of Vertue been corrupted by an evil Education.

Those that governed him had imprinted a most wicked custom of Swearing in him, which he turned into his ordinary Language; they had likewise taught him to reprove and taunt his Grantees and Parliaments: Had he lived, themselves must have felt the Effects of their wife Instructions. To divert him from applying himself to Business, they had made him by Custom in love with Hunting, Music and Poetry, and endeavour'd to draw and allure him to the Debaucheries of Wine and Women: but observing once that Wine had so invaded his Understanding as to make him commit some Violence, he abstained from it all the rest of his life; And for Women, having met with some inconvenience from some belonging to his Mother, he took an Aversion, and medled but little with them.

He made Poems which were well enough for those times, and often held Academy with five or six Poets: it is believed he would have quitted those Amusements for more solid Exercises if he had lived. He delighted so much in Hunting, that at Table, nay, when in Bed, the freak would often take him to call his Dogs. He composed a Book of Hunting or Vevery, which he dictated to Villers.

He had no Children by Queen Elizabeth of Austria his Wife, but one Daughter named Mary-Elizabeth who died in Anno 1578. aged Six years. The Mother some while after the Death of her Husband retired to Prague in Bohemia, where she died Anno 1582. It is observed as a Pattern of her Goodness and Justice, that she would never sell any Offices belonging to those Countries assigned for her Dowry; very praise-worthy in a Land where all is Vena, and which the good Subjects of France would rather have occasion to commend in their Natural Princes, than in Strangers.

King Charles had also a Natural Son by Mary Touchet, Daughter of John Touchet, Particular Lieutenant in the Prefidial of Orleans, and Mary Mathy, whom he had married to Francis Bassin d'Entragues, Governor of that City. This Son born in the year 1572. bore the same Name as his Father; and was first Grand Prince of France, then Count of Auvergne and de Lauraguais, and after Duke of Angoulême, and Earl of Ponthieu.

He erected two Dutchies and Pairies, the Marquise of Mayenne in the Country of Mayne, for Charles de Lorraine Brother to the Duke of Guise, the County of Pontevre in Bretagne for Sebastian de Luxembourg, the Vicountie d'Vez in Languedoc for Anthony de Crussol; As simply Dutchies, the Vi-countie of Tolars in Poitou for Lewis de la Trimouille, &c. the Seigneury of Roumains for Claude Goussier Eoisy.

The same Vices of Wantonness, Luxury, Impiety, and Magical Abominations which reigned under Henry II. triumphed over Charles IX. with an uncontrolled Licence: But besides those Disorders, Treacheries, Poisonings, and Assassinations became so common, that it was made a Sport to take away the life of any man, if they could reap but the least advantage by it. I do not speak of that Murdering and Bloody Spirit which had possess'd the Minds of men divided in Opinions of Religion.

Before this Reign, it was wont to be the Man's part both by Example and Courtship, to persuade and tempt the Women to Galantries: but now since amorous intrigues were joynd with the greatest Mysteries of State, the Women ran after the Men: The Husbands laid the Bridle in their Necks either out of Complaisance, or Interest, and besides those that delighted in Variety, found their own Satisfaction in this liberty, which instead of one Wife furnished them with an Hundred.

As to Magick, it is certain the Queen Mother had puzzled her Brain, with those impious Curiosities; She was so fond as to wear Characters and Spells about her. There are some yet preserved in being, which are marked upon a thin Skin, supposed to be of a Still-born Child. People of vain and light Fancies were easily inclined to follow her example: A Priest named des Escheviers, who was Executed at the Greve, for having conversed with Evil Spirits, accused Twelve hundred more of the same Crime. So says my Author, I know not whether we may believe him; for such as have once filled their heads with these Crude and Melancholy Imaginations, thinks every little Trick to be the Operation of Demons and Sorcerers.

Interregnum

Interregnum of Three Months.

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SO soon as King Charles his Eyes were closed up by the cold hand of Death, the Queen Mother wrote to all the Governors that he had left her the Regency, and obliged even the Duke of Alencon, though a Captive as he then was, to give his Declaration: But it was admired that in a Post-script he gave an account of the Sickness and Death of the King, saying, *She did thus to take away all such Scruples, as some might have conceived.*

The same day she dispatched a Courier into Poland, and the next day a second, to give notice thereof to her Dear Son, and intreat him earnestly to return as soon as he possibly could. Those from the Prince of Condé had got the start of hers; and given so hot an Alarm at Cracovia, that the King being narrowly observed, it might be thought no easie task to steal away from so many Eyes as were upon him.

The Queen Mother in the mean time was put to no little trouble to preserve her Authority amidst that great Confusion of Affairs, and the general Hatred of all Men. Her Enemies having lost all respect, together with their fears, defamed her with biting Satyrs, the People talked insolently of her Conduct; and these Universal Murmurs made it plainly appear that all were ready to run open mouth upon her. Notwithstanding all this loud noise did not much startle her; she having the Heads of every Faction in her Power and Custody: The Marshals were strongly guarded in the Bastille by City Companies, who every day relieved each other: And for the two Princes, she had removed them from the Bois de Vincennes to the Louvre; where the not only secur'd them by Soldiers, who carefully watched their Motions, and by Windows double barr'd, about all their Lodgings; but also by the Charms of her beauteous Maids, into whose Apartment they had liberty of access at all hours, to make their Chains seem the Lighter, and the time of their Captivity less tedious and rude.

Maignon had with much regret put Montgomery into her hands, the Parliament was commanded to make his Process. The Death of King Henry II. which she desired to revenge upon this Noble-man, was rather his Misfortune than his Crime, what he had acted during the three Civil Wars, was pardoned by the Edicts of Pacification, so that they could charge him with nothing but this his last taking up of Arms; nevertheless, in his Sentence they added, That it was for carrying the English Colours when he came to take the Rochel. He was Condemned to be Drawn in a Tumbrel to the Greve, and there to lose his Head, his Posterity to be degraded of their Nobility.

They put him to cruel Torment on the Rack to make him discover the Complices in the pretended Conspiracy of the Admiral: The Tortures could force nothing from him but Complaints for having violated the Faith they had given him. He went to Execution all over bruised in his Body, but with so Serene a Countenance, and such Tranquillity of Mind, as would have merited much Commendation in a better Cause, and Pity for any one that had been less Cruel.

This great example of Severity, was rather to intimidate the factious about the Court, than the Huguenots: for after the Saint Bartholomew, nothing could frighten them. The Juncture was very favorable, but they had no Princes nor Persons of Quality to Head them, they wanted Money, and the People in their great Cities, as Nismes, Montauban, and Rochel would not confide in the Nobility. And to say truth, most of the Regty fought but to be hired, if they could but have Money enough bid for their Service.

She did not think fit to attack them towards Poitou, nor Guyenne, they being there too numerous and strong; but she renewed some Negotiations with the Duke of Alencon, and his other Chiefs, which concluded in a Truce for the Months of July and August. During that time they had leave to hold at Milland a general Assembly of the Provinces of Guyenne, Dauphiné, and Languedoc, to consult of some Expedients for the Treating of a general Peace.

Granov had been sent into Bearn to reduce it to the ancient Religion. Being in the Castle of Haguenau, where he assembled the Nobility, the young Baron of Arto surprized him there in the boldest manner that can be possibly imagined. This Gentleman prompted to so desperate an Undertaking by the Persuasions of

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1574. to be guided by what they call Maxims of State, than the common Rights of Men, and the Faith of Treaties. The Duke having obtained this Favour, gave him Four thousand Soldiers, and a Thousand Horse, to attend him to Lyons, lest the Huguenots of Dauphiné should interrupt his Journey. He accompanied him in Person, and staid there some dayes, but was call'd away again, before he had obtained the accomplishment of his Promises, having word brought him of the Death of the Dutchess his Wife, whom God called into the other World the Fourteenth of September.

HENRY

Henry III. King LXI.

Aged XXIII years, almost compleat!

P O P E S,

GREGORY XIII. Ten years
and Seven Months under this
Reign.
SIXTUS V. Elected the 24th.

of April, 1584. Six years,
Four Months, Three days; whereas
of Four years, Twenty five days
under this Reign.

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September.
IT was the Fifth of September when King Henry arrived at Pont de Beauvoisin, the place which parts the Territories of France, from Savoy. The Queen his Mother went thither to meet him, and presented the Duke of Alençon, and the King of Navarre to him, to be disposed of as he pleased. He received them with extraordinary coldness, though they saluted him with the greatest Humility. Some hours afterwards he granted them Pardon and Liberty, but it was only in appearance, for he appointed Guards who secretly observed them, and there were certain Ladies, who ever held them in their amorous fetters, and denied them nothing, that they might dive into the secrets of their very Souls. In the same place he made Sébastien a Marechal of France: he had promised him this Office whilst he was in favour, but now he was not so; he could not keep that post above Fifteen days, Du Guay set him besides the Cushion, and got into his place.

One might, to speak properly, call the Reign of Henry III. the Reign of Favorites. The softness of his Soul, and his carelessness left him wholly in the hands of those People, who went on to enervate all that little virtue that was left in him, and to dissolve him in voluptuousness: So that they obscured the lustre of all those brave actions, had been attributed to him, and would have put the whole World in doubt, whether he had ever any real share in them, had not some rays of truly Royal qualities, darted sometimes through all those mists and fogs, and kept up his Reputation, Duclux, Maugiron, and St. Maigrin were his first Minions: Afterwards St. Luc, Arques, and the young la Valette, then Termez, once named Bellegarde, and some others.

The Queen-Mother was ravish'd to see him in those hands, because at first they gave her an exact account of his most secret Thoughts, and whilst they amused him, either in the Anti-chamber amongst the Ladies, or in his Cloister, where he spent whole days in consultation about the trimming of a Suit of Cloaths, or the fitting of a Ruff, she retained almost all the Authority, not foreseeing that by little and little they would draw the greatest part even from her, together with the affection of her Son.

Now that they might the more entirely possess him, they did persuade him not to communicate himself so frequently to his Subjects as his Predecessors had wont: but to keep himself behind the screen, like the Eastern Monarchs, and not be seen by them but in great splendour and magnificence, nor made known, but by absolute Commands; and above all, to disaccustom and wean the French from making Remonstrances to him, and to make them understand, that there was no other Law but his Will. Thereupon they wrought him to have a high opinion of himself; deafen'd and confounded him with their flatteries, and puff'd him up with an opinion, that he was the greatest Prince in the World; that he infinitely surpassed all the preceding Kings; that he had shew'd himself an absolute Master in Politiques, even in his first Essay, and

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Apprentiship, and that the prudence of the most knowing and experienc'd Statesmen, was but meer Ignorance in comparison of his.

Inebriated with these flattering persuasions, he establish'd new forms of Grandeur, set on foot again the Regiment of Guards of Ten Companies, (*Charles IX.* a little before his death, had reduced them to three) caused Banisters to be set round his Table, went rarely abroad in publique, and always shut up in a Litter, or a Boat adorned with Gold and Painting in his Promenade, upon the smooth-fac'd River of *Soane*, and allowed the Grantees no more that credit of recommending the little ones to him, nor themselves; but by the easie and access of these Ministers. There were no Favours but for them, they set all Offices and Governments at a high price, to wrest them out of the hands of such Noble Persons, who by the eminent Services of their Fathers, or their own Merits had justly acquired them; A great many of the best qualified, finding they were but little regarded, retired from Court male-contented; and then the Favorites being at large, introduced that pernicious invention of * *Acquits Comptants*, with which they have so often, and with impunity pillag'd and wasted the Kings Exchequer.

* Acquittances for Money due, but never paid, &c.

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The Agents from the Duke of *Savoy* did mightily press for performance of the Kings promise, the Council were divided upon it. The Duke of *Nevers*, Governour for the King beyond the *Alpes*, who was gone to the *Baths of Aquin* in *Monthet* for his wounds, sent a long Remonstrance to the King, to dissuade him from it. His main Reasons, were the Right of Conveyancy, and Self-Interest, which he confirmed by the examples of many Princes, who never did restore what was more advantageous, if kept. The King much applauded his Zeal, but however, whether prompted by generosity, and the honour of making good his Word, or that he really thought Justice was a Virtue that obliged Princes, as well as private persons; he would needs restore the three places to the Duke of *Savoy*, and ordained *Henry Grand Prior of France* his Brother, and *Fils Secretary of State*, to go and make the said Evacuation. As for the Duke of *Nevers*, he not only demanded a discharge of his Government beyond the *Alpes*, and an *Ad*, importing, That nothing of this restitution should ever hereafter be imputed to him, nor to his; but likewise made his protestations in the Council established in those foreign parts, and in the Parliament of *Greenoble*, and obtain'd a Decree, that his Protest should be Registered in those Courts, and an Instrument for his discharge should be allowed him.

At the beginning of his Reign, the King made several excellent Regulations for the Officers of his House, for those that were to come into his Chamber, the times to give Audience, and Petitions to be presented to him. Touching these last, he order'd the Petitioners should draw their Ticket-wise in few words, which he would answer himself, then deliver them to a Secretary of State for their dispatch. These Orders held but a short while, he grew weary of observing them, and they left off presenting any Placets or Tickets to him, when they found it was but time lost, in addressing themselves to him, when such Graces were disposed of by another power.

There were two parties in his Council, the one, who above all things labour'd for Peace, and the Reformation of the State, the other were for exterminating the *Huguenots*, at what rate soever. The Chancellor de *L'Hospital* had been once the Head of the First, *Paul de Foix*, *Christopher de Thou* First President, and *Pibrac* succeeded him in those Sentiments and Inclinations; *Morvilliers* was of the Second, a very good Man, but addicted to new Devotions; and one that follow'd the motions of Foreign Cabals, which having their rise in *Spain*, and at *Rome*, made Religion subservient to the exaltation of their own Power. This Second Party being found conformable to the interest of the Mother-Queen was the more prevalent, and made them resolve on a War against the *Huguenots*.

In *Poitou*, *Montpensier* besieged *Lusignan*, he could not take it till four Months after, and demolish'd it. In *Dauphiné* his Son attacked the little Town of *Ponsin*, which interrupted the commerce between *Lyon* and *Marseille*, by the River *Rhone*, as *Livron* hindered it by Land. The place being reduced to extremity, *St. Romain* gets into it by broad day-light, under the favour of a brisk combat; and the night following, happily led out all the Soldiers and Inhabitants. The next day the Besiegers set it on Fire.

Being just on the point to besiege *Livron*, the Queen-Mother ordered the Command of the Army to be given to the *Maréchal de Bellegarde*: This was because she would not have all the power in the House of *Bourbon*, and withal she thought by this means to break off the correspondence and amity which was between *Bellegarde* and *Damville*, whom she had undertaken to ruin. It was for this purpose she carried the

King

King to *Avignon*, the better to stir up *Languedoc*, and entangle the said Lord in some artificial Negotiation.

In this perplexity and confusion of Affairs, Gallantry was the most serious occupation of the Court. By this means the Queen-Mother bred, and maintained continual jealousies between the King of *Navarre*, and the Duke of *Alençon*; and thought likewise to captivate the King her Son with Beauties Fetters. The *Dame de Chastellain* his ancient Mistress, and two other Maids belonging to the Queen-Mother, seem'd to have some little share in his Heart: but it was the Princess of *Condé* that Reigned in full possession there: He had resolv'd to marry her, and to that end, labour'd to vacate her Marriage with the Prince for his crime of Hety; for the continued still a Catholic, ever since the dismal *St. Barthelemy*.

Though the Queen had neither persuasive Language, nor power enough to prevail with him to lay aside this design; yet death came to her aid, and cutting the third of that fair Princess's Life, put an end to that pernicious prosecution, leaving great cause of doubt to the more suspicious, how it should just fall out at that very nick of time. The grief the King felt; was almost mortal; he mourn'd three whole days without either eating or drinking. And when they had prevailed with him to live, not by consoling him; but by pretending to increase his sorrows; it was some time before he would lift his Eyes on any but the most melancholy Objects, dark Rooms, dejected Countenances, wearing even at the tags of his Rubans, and on his Shoe-knots little Deaths-heads; then after a while recover'd himself all on a sudden, rowed up his drooping Spirits, and was so much ashamed of his own effeminate weakness, that he endeavour'd to persuade the world, there must have been some enchantment in it.

This death hapned whilst he was yet at *Lyon*. During his stay at *Avignon*, the Court was afflicted for that of the Cardinal de *Lorraine*. Some said, it came by a grievous cold he had taken by walking barefoot in the Procession of Penitents; others imagined, it was from the steams of some poisoned *Flambeaux* carried purposely before him.

1574.

Bellegarde in the mean time did not much advance before *Livron*, he was forced to detach a party of his Men to go and make head against *Montbrun*, who very much harass'd *Dauphiné*. On the other hand *Damville* had besieged and taken *St. Gilles*, when the thundering of his Cannon was heard in *Avignon*; and afterwards having taken *Aigues-Mortes* by surprize, he threatned to pass the *Rhone*; inasmuch as the King finding his Presence in that Countrey, only made his Authority seemt despicable; returned by way of *Lyon*.

As he pass'd along the Camp that was before *Livron*, the besieged raised and called after him in outrageous Language, and he had the displeasure of not being able to revenge the insolency. His Forces were so shatter'd, that he gave Orders to raise the Siege, spreading a report, that he wanted them to attend and assist at his Coronation. Thus he stumbled at the very entrance into his Kingdom, and gave his own Authority and Power so rude a shock, as made it ever after in a weak and staggering condition.

He parted from *Lyon* about mid-January, arrived the 12th of February at *Reims*, and was Crowned three days after by the Cardinal de *Guise*, the See being vacant. The Duke of *Guise* who was yet in Favour, had the precedence of the Duke of *Montpensier*. This latter being come within two Leagues of *Reims*, resolv'd to carry it this time, received an Order from the King, which forbid him coming any nearer. The next day the King married *Lovisa*, Daughter of *Nicholas*, Earl of *Vaudmont*, paternal Uncle of *Charles II.* Duke of *Lorraine*; the Cardinal de *Lorraine* had when living, made the first proposal for this Match.

When the King had made his entrance into *Paris* with his new Spouse, the Deputies for the Protestant and Politique Party, came thither to discourse concerning a Peace, having first consulted by their Envoyez, with the Prince of *Condé*, who was at *Bajl*. They demanded Right might be done them upon Ninety two Articles, many of which founded very boldly; but those that shock'd most, were the holding of the General Estates, the lessening of the Tailles, and reducing them to the same Standard they were in under *Lenis XII.* and that exemplary punishment should be inflicted upon Atheists and Blasphemers, and the Laws and Ordinnances put in execution against those enormous and infamous *Paltriarische*, which provoked, and called down the wrath of God upon *France*. This malicious censure rendred the *Huguenots* more execrable at the Court, then either their Rebellions, or their Heresie.

1574.

December.
Emp.
Amurat II.
Son of *Seitmi*.
II. Dead the
13th of Decem.
R.
Twenty
years, and
One Month,
And *Maximilian II.*

1575.
January and
February.

1575.

These Conferences, which lasted above Three Months, and the several Negotiations, wherewith they endeavoured to amuse the *Rochellers* and *Danville*, were so far from healing all the suspicions, fears, and animosities in the minds of either party, that they rather more increased, and envenomed them. So that the War continued every where. In the neighbourhood of *Montauban* which was invested by the Catholics, and delivered by *Chouper*, who marched thither with the Forces of *La Noie*: In *Auvergne*, where *Montal* was defeated and slain by a Dame, whom we may equal to the *Amazons* (this was *Magdelin de Saint Nizaire* * Widow of *Gray de Saint Exupery Miramont*, always followed by Three score of the bravest Gentlemen, who strove to do prodigious feats of Arms to merit her favour): In *Perigord*, where *Laugon* surprized, and cruelly sacked the City of *Perigord*; In *Langue*, where *Danville* did as much at *Vern*, and at *Alex*; and in *Dauphiné*, where *Montauban* gained a Battle against *Gordes* his enemy, and besieged him in that Town.

Some days after, going forth to meet some Forces that were coming to deliver him, he was himself defeated, taken, and sent to the Parliament of *Grenoble*, who made his Process, and condemned him to lose his Head. This was in punishment for his having plundered the King's baggage, and making this insolent reply to those that blamed him for it, *That Gaming and W were made almost equal*. *Krauch de Bonus Lefdigueres*, a private Gentleman, but who had already attained to a great reputation, supplied his Place in *Danville*, and raised himself to a much nobler height, by restoring a strict Military Discipline, then the other had ever been able to do, by permitting all manner of Licentiousness.

I shall pass over in silence, those disturbances the Government of the *Marschal de Rais* occasioned in *Provence*, and the two Factions which troubled that Province, the one bearing the name of *Carottes*, from the Count de *Carotte*, Lieutenant for the King, who was their Head; the other, *Rafais* *, who opposed his exactions. Nor shall I mention some exploits of *Montcalm*, whom they had newly made a *Marschal of France*: For they were inconsiderable; and after that, the ill-favour'd wound in his Face, by a Musquet shot, at his besieging of *Rabastens*, for which he wore a *Vizor-Masque*, the *Huguenots* dreading him no more than a Girl.

"The Senate of *Poland* besought the King, with all the respect and deference imaginable, that he would be pleased to return, into that Countrey, if not, they would proceed to the election of another. *Pierres*, whom the Queen-Mother had sent thither to get the term prolonged, found they had passed a Decree, of the Fourteenth of *July*, signifying that the Crown was vacant as by death, and that the Estates should proceed to a new Election. Finding they were resolved upon it, he thought it more becoming and decent to retire, then be spectator of the affront they were going to do his Master. In the Diet they were divided into two parties, * whereof the one elected the Emperor *Maximilian*, the other *Stigsmund Bathory*, Prince of *Transylvania*, upon condition, he should marry *Anne*, Sister of the deceased King. This last more diligent than his Rival, posted immediately to *Poland*, Married the Princess, and got himself into Possession, which would have occasioned infinite troubles, if death had not prevented it, by snatching *Maximilian* out of the World.

A Court overflowing with voluptuousness, and where all was steered by other hands than the Sovereign Pilots, could not but be mightily agitated by the continual intrigues of busy Women, and of Favourites. *Du Gua* and *Souire* were then the Kings chief Darlings; the Queen-Mother employed these to set the Duke of *Alençon* and the King of *Navarre* at variance, and to scatter some seeds of jealousy between the King and his Wife, for fear she should make her self Mistress of her Husbands Affairs, pursuant to the Councils of the Duke of *Guise*. They had likewise frequent counterfeits with the brave *Bussy d'Amboise*, Favourite to the Duke of *Alençon*, and with the Queen of *Navarre*, who upheld the courage of that Prince, upon whom they were eternally putting their little tricks.

It hapned about this time the King fell sick, they made him believe he was poisoned by his Brother. Upon this imagination he sends for the King of *Navarre*, and commanded him to rid his hands of that mischievous Man, so he termed him: but instead of obeying him in his revenge, tho that were to bring him one step nearer to the Throne, he abhorred it, and left the King the time to repent it.

When

When he was recover'd, the *Marschal de Montmorency* ran great risks of his Life: those that had been the occasion of his confinement, having just cause to fear he would resent it, if he got out of the *Bastille*, resolved to thrust him out of the world, that they might fall no more under such apprehensions. To this end, they reported, that *Danville*, who alone could deter them from so damnable an attempt, was dead: Indeed he was very sick of some morbid, which had been given him: and upon this rumour, they perswaded the King to give order to *Souire*, to strangle the *Marschal* in prison: but *Souire*, though they assured him of being made Captain of *Bois de Vincennes*, after the feat done, made so many delays, that they had certain news of the recovery of *Danville*, and so durst not lay violent hands upon his Brother.

The Duke of *Alençon*, out-braved by the Favourites, had plotted to get away: the King having notice of it, caus'd both him, and all those that were suspected to have given him such advice to be seized; but the next day, upon the Queen-Mothers intercession, pardon'd him, and to compleat the favour, did likewise set the other prisoners at large. That done, as if he had nothing more to fear, he gave himself wholly up to idleness, pass'd the Night-time in Feasting and Balls, the Morning in adjusting his Cloaths or placing his Furniture to the best advantage, and evening in modes; the Afternoon in diversions amongst the Ladies; and the Evening in Gaming.

While he liv'd in this great security, the Duke his Brother deceives those that were commanded to watch him, and slipping away one evening, the Fifteenth of *September*, reach'd the City of *Dreux*, where *Bussy*, who had forsaken the Court, brought him a great deal of company. At his going away, he declared himself an enemy to the House of *Guise*, and openly protest'd to revenge the death of the Admiral; and of *Melle* his Favourite. Amongst the Cloaths in his Wardrobe, he kept a Doublet belonging to the last, and had sworn he would wear it on a day of Battle. If the Duke of *Montpensier* would have joyned with the Duke of *Nevers*, or have lent him his Forces, he might have hindred from passing the *Loire*, and getting into *Berry*. For all *Montpensier* refus'd, he had a great mind to charge them, and march'd with great speed to intercept him; but the Queen-Mother sent a Courier with an express Order under her own hand, which commanded him not to pursue them any further: she fearing her Son might perish in the Fight.

Upon the noise of the Duke of *Alençon*'s evasion, great numbers of the Nobility flock'd to him from all parts, amongst others, *Vendadour*, *Turenne*, and the wife *La Noie*. In the mean while, the Prince of *Condé* had finished his Treaty with *Casimir*, who rais'd him Eight thousand *Reiters*, and Six thousand *Swiss*; upon this condition, amongst other things, that they should make no Peace without his consent, nor until they had obtained of the King the Government in chief of *Mess*, *Toul*, and *Verdun* for him.

Toré having contributed Fifty thousand Crowns towards these Levies, they could not refuse to let him have Two thousand *Reiters* *, and Five hundred Foot, to carry the Duke of *Alençon* by way of advance: but the Duke of *Guise*, Governour of *Champagne*, charged and defeated them near *Châlons-Thierry*. He was there wounded in the left Cheek with a Musquet-shot, the scar remained all his life-time; a very Glorious mark of Honour to the Catholics, and very becoming in a Ladies Eyes also, who believe, that such as are brave in the Field of *Mars*, are ever so in the Camp of *Venus* too. *Toré* made his escape to the Duke of *Alençon* in *Berry*, by the swiftness of his Horse, and thither his Infantry got safely by a brave retreat of above Thirty Leagues.

It was suspected that the Duke of *Alençon*'s evasion was contriv'd by the Queen-Mother, thereby to keep up two parties in the Kingdom, and render her self necessary between both. The *Huguenots* growing every day more suspicious, imagin'd the had sent him amongst them to divide, and so to ruin them. However it were, most of the great ones were very well pleas'd with it, and the had employment enough cut out for her self, as he desired. She therefore presently hies after him, taking along the *Marschals* of *Montmorency* and *Coffe*, whom she had released from their imprisonment, to make use of that credit they had with him. *Montmorency* prevail'd so far by his interest, as to bring the Duke to the Castle of *Champigny*, belonging to the Duke of *Montpensier*, where she cojled him so finely, that he consented to a truce of Six Months, beginning from the Two and twentieth of *November*. That done, she returns to Court, leaving the said *Marschal* there, to dispose him to a final accommodation.

ft

*Vulgarly
Senechal.

February.

1574.
* Because he
razed or shav-
ed them to
the quick by
his exactions.

June, &c.

August.

1575.

Septemb.

1575.

* German
Horse.

Decemb.

It was agreed by this Truce, that the King should give to the Duke by way of security, the Cities of *Angoulême*, *Niort*, *Saumur*, *Bourges*, and *la Charité*; and to the Prince of *Condé*, *Mézières*. The Governors of *Bourges* and *Angoulême*, having refused to be deified of their places, the Queen-Mother returns again to her Son, and managed him so well, that he obliged him to accept of *Cognac* and *St. Jean d'Angély* in exchange; after which, the Truce was published the Two and twentieth of December.

January.

There was however nothing as yet that tended to a Peace: the King made great Levies both of Men and Money; but the City of *Paris*, instead of furnishing him with the sums he desired, paid him with Remonstrances, which refused of reproaches, and did but too evidently let him know, the little esteem they had of his Government. Some *Bourgeois* however paid Taxes, not so much out of good Will, as the fear they had of the *Reiſters*, and to exempt their Country-houses from quartering of Soldiers, wherewith they were menaced.

February.

The Negotiations for Peace continued still; this stop the Prince of *Condé* and *Casimir* in *Lorraine* all the month of *January*, at the end whereof, being tired with the variety, and uncertainty of such Propositions as were made them; they descended into *Burgundy*, crossed over *Burgundy*, within sight of *Langres*, *Dijon*, and *Beaulieu*; passed the *Loir*, at *Marigny les Nonains*, and extended themselves between that River, and the River of *Allier*, having gained the Bridge of *Vichy*. *Auvergne* avoided that inundation which would have destroyed it, by a Present of Fifty thousand Crowns, and by ordering Markets to serve them with Provisions where-ever they passed.

February.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, who commanded the Royal Army, durst not approach the Princes any nearer than within two days march. When the King perceived, they were resolved to come directly to *Paris*, he recalled his own, and quarter'd them about it; but this remedy which he thought fit to provide against their fears, excited the *Parisians* complaints, they fall a crying out, that they ought not thus pursue the only Brother of the King; and that it was a high piece of cruelty, to drive a Son out of the House. To these out-cries were added the Duke of *Montpensier* refusal, to take upon him the Command of the Royal Army; the little zeal the *Grandeess* expressed, to serve the King in this occasion; and a much more surprising accident then all these, which was the evasion of the King of *Navarre*, about the end of *February*.

This Prince having a long while suffer'd himself to be flatter'd with the hopes of the General-Lieutenancy, and the deluding charms of some Court Syrens, escaped at last from *Senlis*, whither he was gone, under pretence of a Hunting-match, and retired to *Poissy*, from thence to *Alençon*, afterwards to *Vendôme*. Two hundred Gentlemen coming there to meet him, he travelled by long journeys into *Guyenne*, where his quality of Governour, and that of Prince, did secure him of all the Nobility, and the best places, upon his first arrival. *Laurens* had promised him to seize upon *Mani* and *Charrere*, by the assistance of *Roque-laure*, Lieutenant of his Company d'Ordonnance. *Ferruques* was to have done the same at *Cherbourg*; but both of them failed of their Enterprises.

March.

1566.
March.

The Princes Army having cross'd the *Bourbonnois*, joyn'd the Duke of *Alençon* near *Moulins*, the Eleventh day of *March*, and both of them mustered in the Plain de *Souzè*, where the Prince having made an excellent harangue to the Duke of *Alençon*, with that Eloquence which is natural to the Princes of that House, resigned the Command of the whole Army to him.

It consisted of above Thirty thousand of the best Men that one should see; notwithstanding with these great Forces, no great matter was undertaken. For the marvellous dexterities of the Queen, which the *Huguenots* termed Enchantments: the extravagant and changeable humour and designs of the Duke of *Alençon*, and the usual rough temper of the *Reiſters*, made them halt at every step: Withal, great discords were crept in among their Chiefs; for the Consistorial *Huguenots* would not confide in the Duke of *Alençon* Council, wholly composed of People, both interrelled and perfidious. The Duke had taken some jealousy upon the King of *Navarre*'s going away; that Prince of *Condé* was no less troubled, that he was not the Chief Commander of that Army, which had been the fruits of his own labour and care: And *Damville*, who had formed his *Tetrachy* in *Languedoc*, apprehended to see his Authority, swallowed up by the Princes, and which was more, the Money he had for his own purposes, collected in *Languedoc*, and which his Wife had with much care and covetousness locked up as prisoners of the better sort in her own Cellars.

All

All joyn'd together, they might have had whatever they desired, the Duke of *Alençon* might have obtained a good part of the Kingdom for Appenage; and the Princes such Governments and Pensions as they would; the *Huguenots* a firm and solid Peace, and inviolable securities; but a way was found out to divide them, with baits of particular Interests, which however cannot be attained with so much advantage by any other method, as a strict union of the whole party, in all its members. The most easy to be taken off, was the Duke of *Alençon*, as appeared at the Conference they had at *Moulins*, concerning a Peace: However, nothing was there concluded; but only the sending of some Propositions to the King, by *John de Luffin Beauvais*, and *William Dauvet Darenas*.

After the Council had examined them with great deliberation; but without any fruit, the Queen-Mother returned a second time to her Strayed Son (so she called him) who was in the Abbey of *Beaulieu*, near *Loches* in *Touraine*, taking along with her the *Mareschal de Montmorency*, in whom that Prince had a great deal of confidence, and a great Troop of very fine Women, whom she set forth in all her Negotiations; as Lime-twigs, or Nooses, to catch those with whom she treated.

Prince *Casimir* obstructed the accommodation for some time, he obstinately persisting to have the Government of *Metz*, *Toul* and *Verdun*, in chief, and would have had the Churches belonging to the Catholics to be in communion for the *Huguenots*, without the trouble and charge of building any others. The Queen-Mother having discouraged him in private, found an expedient to stop his Mouth, and satisfy him by promising great sums of Money to make him desist from those demands: So that the Treaty was finished the Ninth of *May*, and Signed the day following. The Edict was drawn the Fifteenth, and verified in Parliament the same day, the King being present, that there might be no cause of delay.

It were much more advantageous for the *Huguenots* then the precedent ones, for it allowed them the free exercise of their Religion (which from that time forward was to be called The pretended Reformed Religion) over all the Kingdom, without exception either of time or place, provided they had the permission of the Lords of those places; allowed them places for burial of their dead, especially that of the *Trinity* at *Paris*: Moreover, the faculty of being admitted to all Offices, and into Colleges, Hospitals, and Spittles; Forbid the making any search or inquisition after such Priests and Monks as were Married amongst them, and declared their Children Legitimate, and capable of succeeding and inheriting their Estates and Moveables; expressed great sorrow and regret for the Murthers committed on the *St. Bartholomew*; exempted the Children of such as were then Massacred, from the *Attric-ban*; if they were Gentlemen, and from *Tailles*, if they were Plebeian, revoked all Sentences given against *la Molle*, *Cocenas*, *John de la Haye*, Lieutenant-General in the *Presidial* of *Poitiers*; as also those whereby they had condemned the Admiral *Bregholm*, *Cabanques*, *Montgomery*, *Montbrun*, and others of the Religion, owned the Prince with *Damville* and his Associates for his good Subjects, *Casimir* for his good Alliance and Neighbour, and accounted all that they had done as done for his Service. Granted to the Religionaries (that they might have equal justice done to them) *Chambres My-Parties* *, in each Parliament, and for places of security, *Beaucaire*, and *Aigues-Mortes* in *Languedoc*, *Perpignan*, and *le Mas de Verdun* in *Guyenne*, *Nions* and *Serre* in *Dauphiné*, *Joffre* in *Auvergne*, and *Sene* la *Grand Tour* in *Provence*.

They promised also to Prince *Casimir*, the Seigniorie of *Chateau-Thierry* in Principality, a Company of an hundred Men at Arms, the Command of Forty thousand *Reiſters*, Twelve thousand Crowns of Gold in Pension, Seven hundred thousand Crowns of Silver ready Money, for the payment of his Army, and Rings and Jewels in pawn for the rest. To the Prince of *Condé*, the effectual enjoyment of the Government of *Picardy*, whereof he had the Title already, and *Peronne* for his place of Residence. The conditions for the Duke of *Alençon* were the best, they gave him in augmentation of his Appenage, the Countreys of *Berry*, *Touraine*, and *Anjou*, with the right of nomination to consistorial Benefices, as his Brother *Henry* formerly had; and besides an hundred thousand Crowns Pension.

The greatest difficulty was to find the Money they wanted for *Casimir*, to whom they had assigned the Bishopricks of *Langres* for Quarters, where he lived, *German-like*, while waiting for his Pay. They sent *Peter de Gondy*, Bishop of *Paris* to *Rome*, to ask consent of his Holiness, to alienate as much as amounted to Fifty thousand Livres Rent, of the Demeasies Ecclesiastical: the Holy Father agreed to the Demand, and gave a Bull, directed to the Cardinals of *Bourbon*, *Guise*, and *Est*, and to some other French Prelates, the Parliament verified it, but without approving that clause, which mention'd, That the distraction should be made, even amongst the Possessors.

The

1576.

July.

* Of Courts
Half Prote-
stants, half
Catholiques.
like our pa-
ty Juries.

1576.

October.

* In the title of
their Bulls.

Emp.
Rodolph II.
Son of
Maximilian,
who died in
October, R.
Thirty five
years, Three
Months.
And *Selfa* II.

The Duke of Anjou, (to we shall name him henceforward, whom we have hitherto called Duke of Alençon) after the Peace, made his residence at *Bourges*, where *Bussy d'Amboise*, *Fervaques*, *Lefin*, *Simpier*, and some other Favourites of his obliged him to stay for their own advantage, or for their security. Towards the end of *October*, he was prevailed upon to go to Court, by the persuasions of the Queen-Mother, and came to salute the King at the Castle of *Olimville*, near *Chastres*. The King received so much joy by this visit, that he gave notice by Letters Patents of it to all his Kingdom. *Bussy* would not follow his Master, but went and settled his Habitation in the Castle of *Angiers*, chusing rather, said he, to play the King in that Country, than the Waiting-man, or *Valet* at Court.

As soon as they had thus withdrawn the Duke of Anjou, they began to continue the ruin of the *Huguenots*, to form powerful Leagues, as well within the Kingdom, which we shall presently mention, as without, by communication with Don Juan of Austria, whom King Philip was sending Governour to the Low-Countries, and with the Popes Legat. Don Juan and the Legat, arriving at Court, on the very same day, and from different places, the first *incognito*, and the other in great state, had access, and very private Conference with the Kings Council, and yet more particularly with the Duke of Guise. The Queen-Mother's aim was in the first place, to take off the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Condé from the party, and in order to this, she was resolved to make a journey into *Guyenne*, and discourse with them: but whether she found they were not so disposed as she desired, to be deluded by her, or not, she did not go.

In the mean time these two Princes, who had no secure retreat for their Persons, endeavour'd to make sure of some; the Prince with more Craft, than Faith, or fair Play, seized upon *Brouage*, having order'd some Companies to slip in; then upon *Mirebeau* himself, who was Lord thereof, whom he forced to put him in possession of the place, promising however to render it again within three Months. In effect he did render it to him, but soon after, seized it the Second time upon *Jaquesie*, either real, or pretended. The *Rebellers* took the alarm, and the Court fomented their suspicions so much, that the Mayor sent to desire the Prince not to come to *Rebels*; but the Ministers and People made them change that resolution, and ordered, that he should be invited, provided he brought no more than his ordinary attendance. Thus the Court plainly perceived he was not so absolute over the party, as he would have made them believe.

The late conjunction of the Duke of Alençon with the Religionaries and Politiques, and the advantageous Peace granted to them, produced that mighty Faction, to which the Authors of it gave the name of *Holy Union*, and the vulgar that of *The League*; or to say better, revived and fagotted together, all the other particular ones, which had been already formed in divers parts, under the Reign of Charles IX. For the Lords during those troubles, had taken the confidence to make Treaties and Confederacies amongst themselves, without asking permission of the King; and the People arrogated to themselves, the liberty of giving their Oaths to others besides their Sovereign, justifying themselves by pretexts, drawn from the *Huguenots*, who indeed shewed them first the example. Thus they framed one in *Languedoc*, between the Cardinals de *Strissy* and *Armagnac*, and some Lords of that Country; another again in *Bourdeaux*, of which the Marquis de *Trans*, of the House of *Pois* was General; another much greater, whereof *Montaus* advised Charles IX. to be the Head. There were also certain Fraternities joynd in *Burgundy*, which to speak properly, were a kind of a League; Besides that in *Limosin*, in the *Vivarets*, and some other Provinces; the People armed to defend themselves against all Soldiers of either party. They tell us likewise that the Queen-Mother had given notice to Charles IX. that if he would not consent to the Maffacre on *St. Bartholomew's*, there was a League ready form'd should execute it without him; and it is certain, that upon the apprehension there was of King Henry's being tropt in *Poland*, several Associations were made in the Provinces, to preserve the State and the Catholique Religion.

So that it was but only the joining and cementing all these distinct parties together, to make up the great Body of the League. The zealous Catholics were the instruments; the new Religious Orders, the Paranyms and Trumpeters; the Grandees of the Kingdom, the Authors and Heads. The easy temper of the King gave way to its growth, and the Queen-Mother lent it her helping hand. She was not prompted to it by any zeal for Religion, nor for any love or kindness towards the *Guise*, but out of her mortal hatred to the *Huguenots*; above all other Reasons, because they earnestly desired, she should give an account of her Administration, and bawled open mouth'd against the disorders of the Court, and the enormous Vices of the *Italians*, especially against the new and vexatious Tolls and Taxes those frangers invented every day.

The

The Pope and the King of Spain were the promoters of it; this because the *Huguenots* were in friendship with the *Guise*; the Rebels in the Low-Countries; and he apprehended lest the Duke of Anjou grown more powerful, might affect to embrace the Sovereignty of those Provinces, or that the King of Navarre, young and valiant, would endeavour to wrest that Kingdom out of his hands, which he so unjustly detained from him; the other, because he feared the *Huguenots* might become so strong, as would oblige the King to hold a National Council; and believed withal, that if he could but exterminate them in France, he might very easily attain his ends, and trample on all the Protestants elsewhere.

New the League appeared first in *Picardy*. The People in that Country, ignorant and devout, but hot-headed, easily took fire, upon the apprehension was spread on purpose amongst them, how the Prince of Condé would plant his Religion in that Province, if he came to make his Residence at *Peronne*, pursuant to the Treaty of Peace. James de *Humieres*, Governour of *Peronne*, *Montdidier*, and *Roye*, great in Estate and Credit, induced the Nobility, and most of the Cities in that Province to sign it; and *Aplincourt*, a young Gentleman of his kindred, took the Oaths of the Inhabitants of *Peronne*. The Duke of *Guise*, and the Duke of *Mayenne* engaged *Champagne*, and then *Burgundy* to do the like; *Lewin de la Tremouille* prevailed in *Poitou*, being offended with the *Huguenots*, who now and then surprized some Castle of his; withal desirous to impugne the Count de *Lude* Governour of the Province. In fine, this Faction which had thus taken root in every Province, did on a sudden shoot forth such thick and lofty branches, that it both cover'd and eclipsed, nay, almost stifled the whole Regal Authority.

When the *Huguenots* demanded with such instance the Estates-General, they believed verily they should have had the stronger party, as they had at *Orleans*. They reckned, besides the Deputies of their own Religion and that Faction, they should also have the Politiques, whom the Duke of Anjou's Interest, and the enemies to the present Government would introduce. They knew not that the Duke of Anjou was tempted from them, nor did they consider they had not their Admiral de *Coligny* (that over-ruling Genius, who at a pinch could work with new and unknown Springs and Engines, of a wonderful effect) nor that fraternal unity, without which, no great design can ever prosper.

Thus it was not very difficult for the Queen-Mother, and the *Guise*, employing their Practices and Moneys in the Provinces (which the *Italian* Malcontents willingly furnished, because they apprehended to be called to account for their depredations, by the Estates;) to obtain the election of Deputies wholly at their devotion, and to chalk all their business for them, according to their own private Instructions, which they sent into the Provinces; inasmuch as it was openly said, that they ought not to keep their Faith with *Heretics*, the *Huguenots*, but break the Edict which they had extorted by force; which some began to confirm by effects: *Honore d'Albret*, called Captain *Luyner*, having turned Tort out of the City du Pont St. Esprit, and put a Garrison into the place, to secure that passage over the *Rhodie*.

By mid-November most of the Deputies were come to *Blair*, made their Complements to the King, the Queens, the Duke of Anjou, and the Chancellour, met each Order apart, elected their Presidents, the Clergy, *Peter d'Espinae* Archbishop of *Lyons*, the Nobility, *Claude de Beaufremont*, *Senefcy*; The Third Estate, *Nicholas l'Hullier*, *Prevost des Marchands* at *Paris*; spent the rest of the Month in regulating their Sessions, communicated to each other the substance of their Papers of Instructions, and went all to receive the Holy Communion in *St. Nicholas* Church: After which, the several Governours were called upon according to their ranks.

Things thus in order, the First Session was held upon Thursday the sixth of December, in the great Hall belonging to the Castle. The King after he had saluted them by pulling off his Bonnet, and a little inclination of his Head, made a handsome and eloquent Speech; wherein having represented the grievances of the Nation, and the great need there was of healing those wounds and fractures, he protested that all his Desires and Thoughts tended thereunto, as the only safe harbor for his Reputation and Happiness, and exhorted them to joyn Hearts and Hands with him in to good a work, assuring them, upon the Faith and Word of a King, that he would cause all such Orders and Regulations they should think fit to make in that Assembly, to be invariably observed, and put in execution, and would never give or allow of any dispensation to the contrary.

His Harangue did not appear more eloquent and moving, than that of his Chancellor *Birague* was tedious and ridicule; For after some excuse for his old age, and

B b b b b

his

1576.

November.

December.
1576.

* Why did he
meddle with
them?

his ignorance of the Affairs * of *France*, because he was a Stranger, he spun out a long discourse of the power of the King, and aired his Auditory with the fulsome praises of the Queen-Mother, then concluded, by demanding Money, to which they were but very little disposed.

The Sentiments of the Estates were neither agreeable to the intentions of the King, nor those hopes the *Huguenots* had conceived. In these Assemblies, there were always some old Stagers, who put the rest in mind of the ancient and natural Rights of the People, against which, they cannot imagine there lies any prescription. These Men obliged the Arch-Bishop of *Lyons*, to demand of the King, the Ratification of all those points which had been resolved upon by the Three Orders. The King fancied this was done by some contrivance of the Authors of the League, who desired he should give up part of his Authority to the Estates, that so they might receive it from their hands again.

It is most certain, his Favourites had stamp'd a deep Impression of jealousy in his mind concerning the Duke of *Guise*, which did the more easily affect him, when he consider'd what profits that Duke made him, to hinder him from going into *Poland*; and he must from that very time, have conspir'd his ruin, if he believed there were any Truth in certain Memoires, which were spread about, and which they said, had been carried to *Rome* by an Advocate in Parliament, named *Dorvil*, when he went to sollicite for the Popes Bull, to settle *Paul de Foix* in the Arch-Bishoprick of *Toulouse*. They contained divers Reasons to be urged, to persuade the Pope to degrade the House of *Capes*, who had usurped the Crown, and to re-establish in the Throne the descendants of *Charlemain* (that is to say, the *Guises*) and withall, the way and means to execute so great a design.

Some would needs believe, those Memoires were suppos'd, and the most equitable think, if they were real, they were only the product of that Advocates black melancholy, exasperated by some damage he had suffer'd from the *Huguenots*. There is great likelihood, that either the *Mignons*, the *Huguenots* or the Queen-Mother, all mortal enemies to the *Guises*, had forged them: so it is most certain they reported, and set on foot many other calumnies to render them odious. And truly the *Guises* were not behind hand, in forging the like dirt upon them: and for this reason we must not give too much credit to the Writings and Relations of those times, unless we do very curiously examine them.

However it were, the King finding the Estates grew hot upon the matters of Religion, and that they were upon the point of demanding a Head for the League, and about to name one to him, who without doubt, must have been the Duke of *Guise*, he would needs be so himself, and signed it with his own hand, made all the Grandees sign it, and sent it to *Paris*, and into the Provinces, with Orders for all persons to do the same. Thus of a King, he became chief of a Cabal, and of their common Father, an enemy to one part of his Subjects.

This was not enough, the more vehement, who by virtue of their popular outcries, and pretended grievances, are wont to draw on others; mightily press'd for a Revocation of the Edict, and founded an Alarm to War by the mouths of *Versoris* and *Bign*, two Deputies, the first for *Paris*, the other for *Rouen*; and also the Bishops, as well for the same end, as for the interest of their own Grandeur, demanded the publication of the Council of *Trem*. The Chapters oppos'd this last point, and the particular Deputies of the King of *Navarre*, and Prince of *Condé*, protested a nullity, if they revoked the Edict of Pacification.

Soon after, the Estates having besought the King, not to suffer any other Religion but the Catholique; he clearly answered, that it was his intention, that he had so promised to God on the Holy Sacrament of the Altar. That he would have his Subjects forsworn'd to give no Faith to whatever he might do or say to the contrary, and that if he were reduced to that condition, he would not keep his Oath, but till such time as he could recover strength sufficient, and the opportunity to break it. The Deputies for the *Huguenots* much astonished at these words, and the resolution of the Estates, made their protestations against them, and the greatest part of them retired from *Blais*, and went to give a hot alarm to *Rochel*, and in *Lauguedoc*.

Whatever resolution the King shewed, nevertheless he so much feared the losing of his Rest, and augmenting the power of the *Guises*, that he would needs have the Estates send to the two Princes, and to *Dampville*, to invite them to come to the Assembly; and in the mean time, that he might have some Warranty from the public, for the War which was now to begin; he desired to have the Advice and Opinion of the chief Lords, and of his Principal Counsellors in Writing. They all con-

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cluded that it was just and necessary: not perhaps that they really believed so, but they thought it was his desire to make it, or at least to pretend such desire, to get some round sums of Money from the Estates.

He demanded two Millions of Gold for the said Expences, and the Favourites made use of all the Engines and Tricks imaginable, to get this grand *Edict*. The Third Estate, who knew too well that they must pay for all, could never be persuaded to consent thereto, no more then to the alienation of the demesnes; concerning which, *Bodin* having proved with a freedom, Confidence and Liberty truly *Galican*, that the funds of the Demesne appertained to the Provinces, and that the King was but the simple Usager, he so fully perswaded the Assembly to be of this Sentiment, that they answered *Believre*, whom the King sent to them about it, That the common Right, and the Fundamental Law of the Nation, rendered the thing absolutely impossible.

With these dispositions was held the Second Sessions the Seventeenth of *January*, at the same place, and in the same order as the First. The Archbishop of *Lyons* Orator of the Clergy, and the Baron de *Sensfey*, of the Nobility, began their harangues on their knees, their Deputies standing up, and being uncovered! But at the Second period they were bid to rise, and their Deputies fate down and were cover'd. The Orator of the Third Estate had been Treated in the very same manner at the Assembly of the Estates at *Orleans*: but here they let him kneel almost half an hour, their Deputies standing all the while, and bare-headed. They had commanded this last (it was *Versoris*) to beseech the King to make all his Subjects conform to one Religion by fair and gentle methods, and without War, to desire he would grant the Election for Benefices absolutely without any reference to the Kings Will, to touch home and soundly upon the Male-Administration of the Finances, and to make great instances for the punishment of those that had rifled and squandered the Treasure, as also to insist upon the expulsion of Strangers from the Government; and touching the dispensation of the publique Moneys.

After this Session, and when the Estates had taken some pains about their Papers, the League brought it to this resolution, That the King should be desired to forbid the exercise of any other but the Catholique Religion. The thing pass'd by plurality of the Governments, not by the Votes of the Deputies, neither was it carried by more then two Suffrages; and soon after those of *Paris* feasting the first Pence would be levied upon the City Rents, would have retracted.

The *Huguenots* having notice of what pass'd, set up a counter-League, whereof the Prince declared himself Lieutenant, under the Authority of the King of *Navarre*, and published a manifesto much more bloody then any yet had appeared, and which plainly shewed his vehement humour, his frank and daring courage, and the zeal he had for his Religion.

Whilst he armed in *Poitou*, the King of *Navarre* armed himself also in *Guyenne*, but either of them so slenderly, that it was rather to make incursions then Expeditions of any consequence. The enterprises they had formed upon several places failed; *John Favas* a Native of *Bazas*, to secure himself after a horrible assassinate, he had committed there, deliver'd up that City to the King of *Navarre*, and made himself of that party; and also to give him a more sincere proof of his assention, took *Rode* some few days after: but *Marmada* derided that King, who rashly besieged it with a handful of Men.

The Edict of Pacification being revoked, and all their threatnings and intrigues proving ineffectual as to the Princes; they set two Armies on foot, to make quick dispatch of them. The Command of one was given to the Duke of *Anjou*, extremely incensed against the *Huguenots*, because some had made him believe, that whilst he was amongst them, they had an intention of delivering him up to the *Reisettes*, nay even to attempt his Person; and that the Prince of *Condé* made sport with him, and acted him in his posture, when running at the Ring. The Duke of *Guise* demanded the Conduct of the other: but the Duke of *Anjou's* enmity, and that jealousy the King had of him, denied him that Honour, and placed it upon the Duke of *Mayenne* his Brother.

This Duke was first in the Field, made the Prince quit his ground, and drove his Men even to the Gates of *Rochel*. Then proud for having thus beaten them into their strongest Sanctuary, he went into *Guyenne*. His Forces being much tired and weather-beaten by the Winter-season, he readily made a Fifteen days Truce with the King of *Navarre*; which being expired about mid-April, he took the Field a Second time, but yet without any great progress, till the Two and twentieth of *May*, when he returned

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returned to *Poitou* to reinforce his Troops, and wait for fresh Orders from the King, who but unwillingly made this War.

In the beginning of *April* the Duke of *Anjou* besieged *La Charité* with Twelve thousand Foot, and Three thousand Horse, the Dukes of *Guise*, *Angoulême*, and *Nemours* were his Lieutenants; *La Châtre* his Marechal de Camp, and to say the truth, his Director. The place was invested so suddenly, that *Jamès de Moroguer* who was Governor of it, could not possibly get in any Soldiers, so that having but One hundred and fifty Men to defend three breaches, he capitulated, after he had sustained two Assaults.

April and
May &c.

La Charité rendered up; the Duke of *Anjou* and the Duke of *Guise* rode post to *Blais*, to tell Stories of their brave exploits to the Ladies, who had bellow'd Scarfes upon them. The Duke of *Nemours* in the mean time besieged *Issire* in *Anvergne*, situate upon the torrent of *la Coufe*. A Gentleman whose name was *Chevignat* Commanded within; *Muribew le Moie*, Son of a Wooll-comber of *Uzès*, but advanc'd to be a Captain during these Troubles, had surpris'd it three years before. This *Mélie* was gone to the *Severne* to pick up some Men to relieve it, but he staid so long, perhaps obstructed by some bags of the Kings Money thrown in his way, that the place was forced to surrender at discretion. That done, the Duke of *Anjou* with the Duke of *Guise*, returned back to Court, which was then at *Blais*, leaving the Command of his Army to the Duke of *Nemours*.

The Affairs of the *Huguenots* could not be in a worse condition; the whole party was full of Divisions, of Jealousies, and of Cabals; the Lords of the King of *Navarre*s Court, could neither agree amongst themselves, nor with him, because he gave too much Credit and Faith to *Lavardin*, who was known to be tied to the Queen-Mother's Interest; inasmuch as *La Née* forsook that King, and *Tourant* and the rest served him, not without much Anxiety and suspicion.

There was also a mortal feud between the Prince and the Lord de *Mirameban*, about the business of *Brionage* a curvy misunderstanding between the said Prince and the *Rochellers*, for the nomination of a *Maire*, and other points concerning the liberties of that City: Eternal Piques between the *Burgundians* and the Nobles; and every moment some quarrel between the Commanders of their Forces; withal, most strange disorder and licentiousness amongst their Soldiers, who were horribly ungovernable, as well because of the want of Pay, and the little authority of their Captains, as by the mixture of their Politiques, the most part Atheists, and addicted to all manner of Vices.

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The confusion the Duke of *Mayenne* observed in that party, gave him the prospect of subduing *Rochel*; and also to that effect and purpose, to hinder all Trade and Provisions from coming to them by Sea; by taking the Islands and *Brionage*, as by Land he had already got most of the Towns and Castles that furnish'd or flood them in any need. The *Rochellers* were jealous of the growing greatness of *Brionage*; The Count of *Montgomery* who was Governor of it, had by his debauches consumed the Soldiers pay, and tormented the Inhabitants grievously: Captain *Lorges* his Brother, with his Regiment, vexed and plundered the Islands; so that both the one and the other desired a change, that remedy of the unthinking vulgar, who ever believe the present evils the most troublesome.

The King had equip'd a Navy for this Siege, the Prince and the *Rochellers* prepared one to hinder it; *Clermont* Commanded it, as *Lausac* did the Kings. Both these met in the canal of *Brionage*, that for the *Huguenots* was beaten, by not keeping out at large, Five Gallies brought thither by the young *Montic*, tearing them in pieces with their Guns during a calm. In the mean while the Besiegers press'd upon them at Land, and the King was come to *Poitiers* to encourage his Men. Their amazement was so great in *Rochel*, that all the Supplies they endeavour'd to send thither, were either taken or put to flight. When the Besieged were almost at the greatest extremity, the rumour was, that the Duke of *Anjou* after the taking of *Issire*, was coming to reinforce the Siege with that Army which breathed nothing but Blood and Slaughter: the fear they were in, that they should have no quarter, made them hasten the capitulation, and the Duke of *Mayenne* fearing that Prince would rob him of the Honour of his enterprize, granted them Conditions favourable enough.

The King of *Navarre* who had taken the Field to succour them, finding the business was decided, desir'd to raise up the spirits of his party again, by some famous exploit, and if he could possibly, give battle to that victorious Army: but they were already gone to refresh themselves, having no Orders to undertake any more.

Many

Many were of that judgment, that if they but push'd on their advantages against the *Huguenots*, in the confusion they were then under, they had been laid flat on the ground: For it was not in their power then to set an Army on foot; their Officers were at daggers drawing, the Council belonging to the Princes full of Traitors; the People griev'd at their ill Conduct; and in despair for their being pillaged: Besides *Damville* over-perwaded by his Wife, and by his Secretaries, whom they had bribed, and withal piqued, for that the *Huguenots* did not respect him enough, had drawn his Sword against them in *Languedoc*; and besieged *Mompeller*. But was indeed upon the point of receiving an affront; for *Chastillon* had bravely pierc'd throre his Army, and thrown Three thousand Men into the place, and would have given him battle the next day, if the news of the Peace had not prevented.

It could not be certainly known what the true Reasons were, that induced the King to make it in a juncture that seem'd so favourable, unless it were his apprehensions of the *Reîtres* coming again to ransack and waste his Kingdom, and of the *Rochellers* giving themselves up to the *English*; or else the intrigues of the Duke of *Anjou*, who infinitely desired to go into *Flanders*, and draw the Army after him, of his own weak and uncertain temper, not able to undergo the burthen, and difficulties of any weighty Affair.

This Fifth Treaty of Pacification was concluded at *Bergerac*, between the King of *Navarre* and the Duke of *Montpensier*. The Edict was drawn up at *Poitiers*, in the month of *September*, and verified in Parliament, in the beginning of *October*: It was different from the last, in that it restrained the exercise of their Religion, to the limits of the preceding ones; removed it Ten miles from *Paris*; forbid it in the *Marquisate of Saluzzie*, and the County of *Venissie*; exchanged *Montpellier* for *Blaucaire* with them, and did not restore them *Issire*. The Confitorsians, who had much more obtrusively then knowledge, could hardly be brought to allow of this restriction; but the Chiefs, who better understood the state of their Affairs, accepted it as very advantageous, and the Prince caus'd it to be proclaimed by Torch-light at *Rochel*.

There must have been, to make it firm and lasting, a Will and Resolution in either party, to keep and maintain it, and to this end they should have renewed, and restor'd a real confidence, and true faith in each other: but as the first being wanting, the other became impossible; they presently started up a thousand doubts and difficulties concerning the execution: and it was the delight and interest of the Queen-Mother, to be brangling and trucking with the one and the other, to keep the Authority in her own hands, and to shew her dexterity in disentangling those snarles and knots, which she herself most commonly had tied.

The King her Son had learnt of her to make excessive expences; and as he had some noble inclinations for great things, he easily addict'd himself to shew his State and Grandeur in those pomps and vanities, which carry some outward appearance of Greatness. His Favourites had possess'd him with the opinion; that all his Subjects wast'd his own; and that *France* being an inexhaustible Fountain of Riches, the greatest prodigality could never incommode him. It is almost incredible what excessive Sums he lavishly squander'd away, and in what magnificent wantonness he wast'd them. He plac'd, and lost one night Fourscore thousand Crowns; he went often in *Maquerade*; he was seen to run at the Ring in a Ladies Dress; with all the trinkets and gew-gaws of a proud gossip; he made one Feast amongst many others, where the Women waited and served at Table in the habits of Men, clad in Green, all the Guests wearing the same Livery; and the Queen his Mother requir'd him with another in the same kind, where the fairest Ladies about the Court, acted the like parts with their white Bosoms open, and their Hair dishevel'd.

The poor People paid for all these follies, and mourn'd many years for a diversion, that lasted perhaps but some few hours. The Kings Coffers were empty, and they must have recourse to the worst methods for the filling them again, particularly, the creation of new Offices, which the *Italian* furnish'd with Titles, and perswaded him, that such a multiplication was an excellent means to get Money, without violence to any man, and to render the Kings power more absolute, by filling every City with Creatures of his own, and such as would be tied fast to his interests thorow fear of losing their employments, and so aid him in suppressing his Subjects, and force them to lie quiet, and submissively under the feet of Power.

This luxurious humour which travelled into every Countrey for diversions, brought from the furthest parts of *Italy*, a band of Comedians, whose Plays consisting of amorous intrigues, and agreeable inventions, to stir up, and soothe the softest passions, prov'd most pernicious corrupters of Modesty and Virtue, and

Schools

Schools of impudence. They obtained Letters Patents for their establishment, as they had been some excellent Society. The Parliament rejected them as vagabonds, or such Galle whom good Morality, the Holy Canons, the ancient Fathers, and even our own Kings had ever esteemed infamous, and forbid them to act, or endeavour any more hereafter the obtaining of such License or Patent; and notwithstanding, no sooner was the Court returned from *Poitiers*, but the King would have their Theatre open'd again.

October.

"This year appeared the greatest Comet that had been ever seen, it took up Thirty degrees in length, embracing the Signs *Sagittarius* and *Scorpio*, the Tail turned towards the West; it was observed from the Eighteenth of *October*, till about the end of *November*. An Astronomer found it to be of the same height as the Planet *Venus*.

1577.

In the preceding Month of *March*, *John de Morvilliers*, Bishop of *Orleans*, a great Statesman died at *Blois*, and in the Month of *July*, the *Mareschal de Montluc* at his House of *Estillac in Agenois*. *Armand Gontaud* had the *Mareschal's* Staff, vacant by the death of *Montluc*, and quitted his Office of Great Master of the Ordinance, which was given to *Philibert de La Guiche*, one of the Kings Favorites.

There was open enmity between the King, the Duke of *Anjou* and the Duke of *Guise*: The great courage of this last, and weakness of the other two, made him almost their equal. Their hatred broke into quarrels between their Favorites. *Guise*, who was one of the Kings Darlings, challenged *Entrequet*, who was the Duke of *Guise's*, and took for his Seconds *Livarois* and *Maignon*, who was likewise in favour. His adversary chose *Ryehras* and *Schembert*. Till this time, Seconds had only served for witnesses of a combat; but an act of fighting came upon these, and this one bad example has lasted to this very day. *Maignon* was killed upon the spot. *Guise* was brought back wounded in sixteen places, whereof he died in a Months time. The King loved both these so infinitely, that he killed them when dead, caused their flax-locks to be cut off, and treasured them up carefully, assisted *Guise* to his very death, serving him with his own hands, and erected a stately *Monument* for them both in *St. Pauls Church*.

Sometime after he likewise caused the Body of *St. Maigrin* to be intetred there, and Statues of all the three to be set upon their Tombs; the rabble broke them down, and dragg'd them to the River on the day of the barricades. This *St. Maigrin* was also one of his Minions, whom the Duke of *Mayenne* caused to be pillor'd at his coming out of the *Louvre*, for having vaunted he was in favour with the Dutchess of *Guise*.

For this reason the other Minions, who apprehended the like Treatment, if they plaid with such rough Gamesters, never ceased exasperating the King by their stories and reports concerning these Princes, and seeking by all manner of ways to ruin them. Being thus pult at, they consider'd how to defend themselves; and when they had examin'd, and found their own strength, and the Kings softness, they did not stop at the defensive, but carried things to a far greater height than their most daring thoughts durst ever make them hope to attain.

Whilst the Queen-Mother was in *Guyenne*, whither she went to confer with the King of *Navarre*, under pretence of carrying his Wife to him, whom he little valued, and by whom he was not esteemed much more; the Duke of *Anjou* Treated with the States-General of the *United-Provinces*, this was on the Tenth day of *August* i and was assured moreover, that *Charles de Ganne Lucis*, Governour of *Cambresis*, would deliver up to him the Citadel of *Cambrey*, for the Queen of *Navarre* his Sister, had gained that Lord the year before, in a journey he made to the *Spaa*.

"We must now relate what had been transacted in those Provinces for some years past. The Duke of *Alva* had Governed them near Five years, during which time he exercised most unexpressible cruelties; in so much that he bragg'd, that the very Consecrations of the Estates of those he had butcher'd, amounted to Eight Millions of Gold yearly; and the number of People who had suffer'd by the hands of the Hang-man, was Eighteen thousand. He was recalled in the year 1573. by King *Philip*, and *Lewis de Requesens*, Grand Commander of *Castille* put in his place. This last gained a Battle at *Monker-Heyde* near *Nimwegen*, wherein *Ludvic de Nassau* was slain, this was in *Anno* 1574. He afterwards assembled the Estates-General to raise some Monneys; but far from granting any, they firmly united together to defend their liberty; and they took so much hearty grace upon his death, which hapned some Months afterwards, as to seize upon the Government, which was then left in the hands of the Council of State, till the arrival of a new Governour, Don *Juan* of *Austria*.

"in

From Anno
1568. to the
year 1578.

1577.

"In the mean time the Spanish Troops having mutined, plundered the wealthy City of *Amurath*, where they got so much booty, that some private Soldiers were seen to play for Ten thousand Francs in one night. The Catholique Provinces fearing they might be plundered in the same manner, united by a Treaty made at *Ghent* with those of *Holland* and *Zeeland*. Now before they received, or admitted Don *Juan*, the Estates would have all the *Spaniards* sent out of the Countrey; and the Treaty of *Ghent* to be confirmed; Don *Juan* feigned to agree to those conditions; and entered the Countrey in Sheets cloathing, but soon changed it for the Foxes skin, rising upon *Namur*, *Charlemont*, and *Martinsburg*.

"Then the States armed against him, drove him back into *Luxemburg*, called it *Manhis* the Emperors Brother, whom they chose for their Governor, and the Prince of *Orange* for his Lieutenant. But by the jealousy of the Catholique Lords, thwarting the wise Councils of *Orange*, Don *Juan* had time to receive the Forces brought him by *Alexander Farnese* Duke of *Farnas*, with which he gained a signal Battle at *Gembloert*, over the Army of the States, and afterwards the *Queen* having turned the Priests and Monks out of *Ghent*, broke, and pull'd down all the Images in their Churches: So that the happy success of Don *Juan*, and the attempt of this insolent rabble, gave occasion to some Lords already discontented to form a Third Party, whereof *Montigny* was Head, and to draw both *Artois* and *Mahumath* to join with them.

"The same Lords finding that the States had Treated with Queen *Elizabeth*, who sent *Casimir* to them with some German Forces, moved with apprehension of the great danger their Religion was in, resolved to Treat with the Duke of *Anjou*, to which the States did likewise incline; being induced thereto by the practices of the Prince of *Orange*, who had great suspicion of *Casimir*.

"This business had been negotiating a year before, by the tacite consent of the Queen-Mother: but the King did not approve of his Brothers meddling with the Low-Countreys Affairs: he was too jealous of his advancement; and besides, too much nettled at his *Buffy's* braving his Favorites every day. Now these Piques and Controversies rising higher on either part, he caused his Brother to be laid hold on in the *Louvre*, and set Guards upon him: but they did their Duty negligently, that he escaped out of their hands, being let down by a cord into the Trench under the *Louvre*, and went to the Abby *St. Germain*, where *Buffy* waited for him, and had made a hole in the Wall of the City. From thence they got to *Angers*, and after they had sojourned there some weeks, advanced to *Mons in Rhinland*, to conclude the Treaty which was before prepared by one of his Secretaries.

He promised to assist the States with his Forces and Means, to raise Six thousand Foot and Three thousand Horse, to maintain them at his own charges for Three Months, and to endeavour to bring the Queen of *England*, the King of *Navarre*, and *Casimir* into this Alliance. Reciprocally they promised him, that where-ever he should be personally, he should Command in Chief with the General for the States: That if they accepted of any Lord, other than the King of *Spain*, they would prefer him before all; That for security, and a retreat for his Sick, they would give him *Quefroy*, *Landrecy*, and *Bavair*; That if they could obtain a good Peace, they would repay his disbursements, and give him a reward worthy of his Grandeur.

There never was a business so intangled, nor a Countrey more divided and tormented then that fame. The Arch Duke *Maximilian* had his party amongst the States, and amongst the Nobles; the Prince of *Orange* had all the power in the Provinces of *Frisle*, *Holland*, *Zeeland*, and *Vireli*; Don *Juan* of *Austria* was Governor for the *Spaniard*, but declared an enemy by the States; Prince *Casimir* was there in the behalf of Queen *Elizabeth*; the Duke of *Anjou*, as their Ally and Protector. *Imbise* had seized upon *Ghent*, and Prince *Casimir* with his Forces was got into those parts, as it were to cannonize himself: The Catholique Lords of *Artois* and *Hainault* floated between all parties, desiring to preserve, if it were possible, their Liberty, and their Religion. So that there were Five Armies feeding upon, and laying wait that unfortunate Countrey.

That belonging to the States was of Thirty eight thousand Foot, and Eight thousand Horse; That under the Duke of *Anjou*, much inferior for number, to what had been promised him by Treaty. He besieged *Bins*, and batter'd it so furiously, that it surrendered the Fourteenth day, being the Sixth of *September*. The civility he shewed to that Garrison, open'd him the Gates of *Mauberge*: but the insolence of his Soldiers in the Field, caused those of *Quefroy* and *Landrecy* to be shut up against him. For vexation of this inexecution, and because *Casimir* kept still in *Ghent*, he would not join with the States Army; to whom however, he had already sent Three thousand

Men,

* This was
called the
Pacification
of *Ghent*.

1577.

1578.

August
1578.

September.

Men, Commanded by *la Noie*, but retired into *France*, having first sent to the Arch-Duke *Matthias*, and the Council of the *States*, to let them know the reasons for his departure, and give them an assurance of his return.

The greatest part of his disbanded Troops, went into the Service of the male-contented Lords. Some Months after, Don *Juan de Austria* happened to die; the King, his Brothers jealousy, made all his designs misquerry, and perhaps failed, his end by some portion, as he had the end of *Rene*, his Secretary and intimate Confidant in *Spain*, by cutting the thread of his Life with a keen dagger.

His loss caused so great a contemnation in his Army, that if that of the *States* had fallen upon them, they might with ease, either have forced, or dispersed them: but besides, that their disorders were likewise great in that great Body for want of pay, the death of *Maximilian*, Crook-Back, who Commanded in Chief, happening within Six weeks after, broke all that little Union there was between the Lords of the Country, who fell from the common interest of the public good, to seek their own private advantages.

During this expedition of the Duke of *Anjou* into the *Low-Countries*, the King languished still in inactive idleness, wherein he was entertained by *Villagers*, and *Franciscus d'Alva*, his Son-in-law. This last was Surintendant etc. & *Finances*, a Man wholly given up to Luxury, who put the King daily upon making new Edicts, called *Ban-faux* & by carrying him to the Parliament, forced them by his Presence to verify the same. This was one of the chief causes of the ruine of this Prince, the People observing so frequently, that from his Court, whence nothing but good and wholesome Laws should have proceeded, there came nothing now but Edicts of Oppression and Severity, did by little and little lose the Respect and Affection they had born him, which the Heads of the League took advantage of, and confirmed their aversion and contempt of him: Towards which, the insolence of his Favorites did not a little contribute, by setting themselves above Princes, making the *Grandes* follow them, and absolutely disposing of all Affairs.

Sebastian, King of *Portugal* having lost a great Battle against the *Moor*, as may be seen in the History of that Country, and never appearing afterwards, whether he were slain there or otherwise: *Henry* his great Uncle, who was Cardinal, and Arch-Bishop of *Evora*, took the Gown, which belonged to him, as being the nearest Prince of the Blood. We must know that *Sebastian* was the Son of Prince *John*, Son of King *John III.* Son of King *Emanuel*; That this *Emanuel*, besides King *John*, had three other Sons, *Lewis* Duke of *Beja*, the Henry of whom we speak, and Edward Prince of *Portugal*, and two Daughters, *Isabella*, who was Mother of *Philip II.* King of *Spain*; and *Beatrice*, who was Mother of *Philibert Emanuel*, Duke of *Savoy*; That *Lewis* had a natural Son, named *Don Antonio*, Prior of *Crato*; That from Edward sprang two Daughters, *Mary*, Wife of *Alexander Farnese*, First of that Name, Duke of *Parma*, and Mother of *Rainault*; and *Catherine*, Wife of *John*, Duke of *Braganza*.

Now as *Henry* was very infirm, and almost *Septuagenary*, all those who pretended to the Crown after his death, began from that time to make their parties and interest, and proclaim their Titles. Wherefore, omitting the Pope, and the Abbot de *Clugny*, who shewed by some old Titles, that the said kingdom had submitted to their Sense and Homage, there presented themselves *Philip* King of *Spain*, *Philibert Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, *Rainault Farnese*, *Catherine* Wife of *John* of *Braganza*, and *Anthony* Prior of *Crato*.

As for *Philibert*, he yielded it King *Philip*, who was issue of the eldest of *Emanuel*, two Daughters, and demanded only they should have a regard to his Right, in case *Philip* died before him. They said that *Rainault*, his Mother being dead, as she then was, could not dispute it with *Catherine*, he being one degree remoter then she. The question remained therefore between *Philip* and *Catherine*; It was most certain that *Philip*'s Mother, had the been living, would have been excluded by *Catherine*, but as she was dead, her Son *Philip* pretended they ought not now to have any regard to that, but that he and *Catherine* being at equal distance, (for both of them were German to *Sebastian*) he was to be preferred, because he was the Male.

As for the right of *Anthony*, King *Henry* made no account of that, because he had a perfect hatred for him, and his Father, as it was said, had by his Will declared him illegitimate; nevertheless, all the People, the Clergy, and the Friers, (excepting only the Jesuits, who were persuaded that the grandeur of the House of *Austria* was the main and truest support of the Catholic Religion) were entirely for him.

"Amongst

"Amongst the Contenders Queen *Catharine de Medici* was also a Stickler, perhaps to make the World believe the was of a Family good enough to pretend to the succession of a Kingdom. And thus she founded her right, *Alphonso III.* King of *Portugal* about the year 1235. Married one *Matilda* Countess of *Bologna*, then did repudiate her to take a Wife much younger; She said, he had a Son named *Robert* by that *Matilda*: but to his prejudice and wrong had left the Inheritance to the Children by this second Wife; That from the said *Robert* came the Counts of *Bologna*, from whom she was descended. But this derivation, besides the injury it did to all the Kings of *Portugal* from the time of *Alphonso*, and to all the Pretenders that were issued from them, as necessarily qualifying them *Barbards* and *Ungovernable*, was false in the most essential point, for *Matilda* had no Child by *Alphonso*, and *Robert* was Son of a Sister to that Queen.

The most apparent Right, according to the Lawyers of *Coimbra*, who ought to know better then any others, the Laws and Customs of those Countries, was that of *Catharine* Wife of the Duke of *Braganza*. And indeed the Nobility and the Estates, to whom the resolution of all Questions of high importance do most properly belong, inclined that way: but *Henry* was so weak he durst not declare in her favour, but engaged himself for *Philip*, and that the more readily as finding the Duke of *Braganza* grew slack; withall his Confessor persuading him that the glory of God and the advancement of the Catholic Religion required it.

Upon this he happens to die the last day of January in the year 1580, having reigned seventeen Months. *Philip* who had prepared himself to make good his Title by force, did immediately order the Duke of *Alva* to enter *Portugal* with a good Army; *Anthony* was already proclaimed King, but could not make head against him; the Forces he had got in haste together being raw unexperienced Men, were worsted the first time, and quite dispersed the second. So that having nothing left him on Land, and the Sea beating him churlishly back every time he endeavour'd to set sail, he was forced to disguise himself under a Monks Hood, and hide himself for eight Months in several places, the Portuguese not discovering him, though *Philip* had promised fourscore thousand Crowns, to any that would produce him. At length finding his opportunity he embarked on a Vessel which transported him into *Holland*, from whence he came to the Court of *France*.

All the Islands of *Azores*, excepting that of *St. Michael* which submitted to *Philip*, remained still firm to his Party by means of certain Monks who were mightily interested there. These Islands are usually called *Terceres* from the third which is the greatest of them all: there are nine in number.

As to the Duke of *Braganza*, he agreed with King *Philip*, who gave him the Office of Constable of the Kingdom: but in our days his Grandson *John* happily raised himself again, and was restored to the Crown, according to a wonderful Prophecy, which may be seen in the first Volume of the *Annals* of the *Cisterciens*; i. e. White Friers, composed by a Religious Spaniard of that Order, some years before that miraculous Revolution.

The Order of *St. Michael* had been in great reputation and request under four Kings: but during the Reign of *Henry II.* the Women had made it Veneal: and in those of *Francis IX.* and *Charles IX.* Queen *Catharine* had rendered it so contemptible that the Nobility never demanded it but for their Servants, or Valets. This year the King, without abolishing the former, instituted another named the Order of the Holy Ghost, to which it serves as a necessary disposition. He declared himself Sovereign Head, and for ever united the Sovereignty of it to the Crown of *France*. He solemnized the Feast on the first day of January in the Church of the *Augustins* at *Paris*, with his accustomed Pomp and Magnificence. The number of Knights was limited to an hundred, who were to be nobly defended for three Races, not comprising the Ecclesiasticks, which are four Cardinals, and four Bishops, and the Officers. He would needs have the Knights called *Commanders*, having resolved according to the example of the *Spaniards*, to attribute to every one of them a Commandery over the Benefices; The Pope and Clergy refused to consent thereto, nevertheless the name they still retain, and the King in lieu of it, assigned to each of them a Pension of one thousand Crowns to be paid out of his Treasury.

There is probability he instituted this Order in honour of the Holy Ghost, as a remembrance that upon the day of *Pentecost* he received two Crowns, first that of *Poland*, and then that of *France*: but an Author tells us he had taken this Model from the like Order instituted by *Lewis* King of *Sicilia* upon the same motives, Anno

Cccc

1532.

1578.

* Revenue, or
Treasury.

* For his
Purse.

In August.

1579.

1580.

* Chap. 5. of
the year
1142.

1579.
January.

* L'Ordre du
Saint Esprit.

1579.

1532. As for the Political Reason, he may have done it with the like design as Louis XI. did that of St. Michael, i. e. to destroy the Leagues in his State, and even to convert the Chiefs of the *Huguenot* Party by the splendour and allurements of so desirable a Mark of Honour.

The Negotiation of the Queen Mother with the King of Navarre at *Nérac*, took her up more time than she imagined. The Prince could conclude nothing without the advice of the whole Party, whose Deputies he called together at *Montauban*. She inveigled some of them by the artificial charms of those Ladies she carried along with her: But Queen Margaret who counted all things lawful to revenge her self on her Brother for expelling her his Court, took care to gain the heart of *Pibrac*, who was her Mother's Counsellor. That great Mans Wisdom foundred upon this Rock, so that acting only as she directed, and contrary to the designs of the Queen her Mother, she explained and worded many Articles in favour of the Religionaries, procured them many advantages, and even several places for security.

February, &c.

The Conference ending with the Month of February, the Queen would needs make the Tour of *Languedoc* and *Dauphine*. In those Provinces she shewed much kindness to the Politicks and the Male-contented, having a prospect of making use of them towards the Duke of *Alençon*, if her Son *Henry* should chance to die without Children. From thence she travelled into *Provence* where the disturbances were still kept on foot between the *Rasists* and the *Catholics*; the latter had the Nobles, the former the Populace and the Parliament for them.

The real cause of those Broils was the Government of the Province, the Marechal de *Rais* who had obtained the gift of it *Ann* 1515. was so little beloved that he was forced to give it up to the Count de *Suff*. This Man being placed there by his means found as little pleasure and quiet as the other: so that the Marechal got it to be committed to the Cardinal of *Armagnac*, who being aged and decay'd could not well bridle the Factious. Henry Grand Prior of *France*, the Kings Bastard Brother, had a great mind to that Government, and therefore stirred up, and blew these Coals of Dissentions. The Queen finding there was no other way to extinguish them, gave him what he desired.

1579.

At her return, the Duke of *Savoy* came out of respect to wait upon her at *Grenoble*, and engaged her to go as far as *Montluc* in *Brusse*, to confer with *Bellegarde*. This Marechal discontented with the Court had seized on the Marquisate of *Salins*, and perhaps had some private Treaty with that Duke who had highly obliged him upon many occasions. In effect when he died, which fell out the following year, the Duke endeavour'd by divers means to detain the places in that Marquisate to which he had several pretensions, and stirred up such as were Governors there for the King, to canonize, or at least favour'd them: but as he durst not assist them openly, they were forced to let go their holds after some resistance. At this time the Queen had not leisure enough to unravel those intricate Affairs; for receiving information how the Favourites made themselves absolute Masters of the Kings mind during her tedious absence, she left *Bellegarde*, and returned with great diligence to Court.

May.

She found the Duke of *Anjou* who had been absent ever since his escape was just come thither, and lived in very good correspondence with the King. He had taken this resolution without consulting his *Bussy d'Amboise* who staid behind in *Anjou*. This proud and haughty Spirit continued there braving and despising all the World, taking pride in triumphing over the Ladies as well as their Husbands, till at last the Lord de *Montsieu* kill'd him in his *Calle de la Contauciere*, at which place he had compell'd his Wife to make him an Assignment; this was in the Month of July.

June and July.

At the time he thus perished his Master was gone into *England* with two Gentlemen only, to make love to Queen *Elizabeth*. This Princefs was so shaped or formed, that though she loved passionately yet could he not admit of such love again as to be a Mother without the greatest hazard of her life: for which reason she never did intend to take a Husband, and yet refused none, thereby to keep her Enemies in awe with the noise of her Alliances, and gain her self friends upon the prospect of such fair hopes. The Duke was so well received, and treated by her with so much freedom and privacy, that all such as did not know her well, believed the Match indubitable. And indeed it was her interest to have it thought so, thereby to encourage that Princes Friends in assisting him to gain the Sovereignty of the Low-Countries; not so much for love to him, as to prevent their falling under the absolute power of the King.

Upon

Upon the intelligence they received that the Duke of *Savoy* had agreed to share the Conquests of the *Swiss* Countries with the King of *Spain*, and that he was to begin by *Geneva*, which those *Cantons* had received into their Alliance, forasmuch as it is by that Road they can both send Supplies into *France* and receive it thence; the King was advised upon the earnest solicitation of the Catholic *Cantons* themselves, to take that City under his protection, lest any other should seize upon it. To this purpose a particular Treaty was set on foot between him and the *Swiss*, which was Negotiated at *Salure* by *Nicholas de Marley-Saley*.

1579.

There were none now left amongst the *Huguenots* but the common People and Confessors who had any great Zeal for their Religion: as for the *Grande*, theirs was but Faction, the Prince of *Conde* was almost the only Man that was fully persuaded to be of their way. Wherefore he had but little interest with the Politiques, nor even with the King of *Navarre*, and made his Party by it self, as well because he was disgusted that the said King had to his prejudice given his Lieutenantcy to the Vicount de *Turenne*, as because he being in himself a serious and honest Gentleman, avoided all libertinage, and had a horror for their frauds and impious practices.

In the King of *Navarre*s Court, nothing was to be seen but Intrigues, Amours, and Enterprizes; to say all in a word, Queen Margaret was the Soul of it. The King her Brother who had taken a spleen against her, wrote to her Husband that there were ill Reports spread of her and the Vicount de *Turenne*; but that Prince considering the necessity of his Affairs above all things else, shewed the Letter to them both, and spared neither caroles nor intreaties to keep the Vicount with him who pretended he must by all means retire.

November and December.

Now this Woman enraged to the greatest extremity, had no other thought but of revenge: to this effect making use of the same means she had so often practised by her Mother, she instructed the Ladies about her to take all the brave ones about her Husband in their amorous toils, and they did spread the Nets so cunningly that himself was ensnared by the beauties of *Fosseuse*, who did but too well practise the Lessons taught by her Mistress. These were the real Fire-brands of the sixth Troubles; and for that reason it was called *The Lovers War*.

1580.

The Kings Envoys coming to re-demand the places of security, these Gossips stiff at them, peek their Gallants with Honour, call it folly and cowardice to surrender what they had acquired at the price of their Blood, and so heat them that they resolve not only to keep them still, but also to take others. To this end the King of *Navarre* having broken some pieces of Gold, sends two halves, the one to *Christiane*, the other to *Lesdigueres*, who Commanded for that Party in *Languedoc* and *Dauphine*, with an Order to begin the War, whenever he sent them the other two halves; and at the same time sends Men of Credit into divers Provinces, for the execution of above threecore several Enterprizes.

It seems this Resolution had not been communicated to the Prince of *Conde*: nevertheless it so fell out that he acted at the same time as if it had been by agreement with the rest of the Party. He passionately desired to enter into possession of the Government of *Picardy*: it had been promised him by two Treaties, and he was daily put in hopes of it; In fine, his patience was tired, he would do himself right, and formed private Intelligence and designs upon seven or eight of the best places in that Province. That which he attempted upon *la Fre* succeeded by the assistance of *Livarnet de Momy*, and some other Gentlemen, all the others miscarried.

April, &c.

As little success had the Partisans of the King of *Navarre*, unless upon *Montaigni* in *Poitou*, and upon *Cabors*. This City belonging to his Wives Estate (for the same was appenaged with the Counties of *Quercy* and *Agenois*) refusing to own him, he was resolved to do himself right: though he knew *Vesins* was within the place with two thousand Soldiers, he was not afraid to assault it, and to make use of his Petard, a new sort of Artillery which then began to be employ'd. When by this invention he had made a Gate fly open, he found *Vesins* ready to oppose him, who received him very bravely. This Lord was kill'd upon the first charge: his death however did not so daunt his Men but they defended themselves yet four days more from Street to Street. At last all were forced, and the City horribly sacked, and overflowed with the Blood of its Inhabitants, in revenge of that of the *Huguenots*, which they shed in the Massacres of St. Bartholomew.

The other Efforts of that Party manifestly discover'd their weakness, which proved to be greater then could have been imagin'd. For the disarmed Provinces, as *Normandy*, the Isle of *France*, *Champagne* and others, refused to contribute towards this War; the *Rebellers* not thinking it very just, remained quiet, by the

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1580.

advice even of the Wife *la Nove*; *Chastillon* could not stir up above three Cities in *Languedoc*, which were *Lunel*, *Aigues-Mortes*, and *Sou-Mièrès*; and if *Nismes* did enter the Lists, it was only because the Catholicks did Harass them. It is true that Captain *Merle* took *Mandes*; but it was rather upon his own private account than the Parties, for he had all the Plunder, and the Party got nothing by it but hatred for his horrible Robberies.

On all hands the *Huguenots* had the disadvantage: the *Mareschal de Biron* put the King of *Navarres* whole Forces to a full stop, then drove them into their Holds. He defeated three thousand of his Men in a Combat near *Montersibet* (in which the two Sons of the *Marquis du Trans* of near Relation to that King, and yet both Catholicks, were slain) and beat back the rest to the very Gates of *Nerac*. It is said he fired some Voices of Cannon against the Walls from the top whereof *Queen Margaree* beheld the Skirmish; whereat that Princess was so much offended, she would never pardon him. The Count de *Lude* in the mean while took *Montaign* in *Poitou*, the defence whereof was truly much greater than the goodness of the place; The Duke of *Mayne* cleared almost all *Dauphine*, which brought *Lefaignies* follow, that another such Campaign would have beat him out of the Country; and the *Mareschal de Matignon* reduced the Town of *la Ferre* in *Picardy*, of which the Prince had designed to make a second Rebel.

September.

After he had been six weeks before the place he granted them very good Composition the Twelfth day of September. The Kings two Favourites *Argues* and the young *la Vallette*, who was afterwards named *Joyeuse*, *Espernon* and a many Lords were come to the Siege in great Equipage, and Provisions were brought from all Quarters in abundance: from whence it was called *The Velvet Siege*. The Duke of *Anmale* Governor of *Picardy*, and the Duke of *Guisse*, arrived there towards the latter end, and would have wrested the Honour from *Matignon*, for which he stored up so great Repentment, that ever after upon all occasions he studied to thwart them and break their Measures.

1580.

Nothing gave the King more apprehension than the going abroad of the Prince of *Conde*: who had left *la Ferre* about the end of *March* to solicit the aid of Protestant Princes. In *England* he saw *Queen Elizabeth*, at *Antwerp* the Prince of *Orange*, in *Germany* *Casimir*, and some other Princes: yet could obtain no assistance but from *Casimir*, upon condition of certain places he promised to give him for security. Upon this assurance he returns by *Switzerland* and *Geneva*, amidst a World of dangers, being taken and stript in the Territories of *Savoy* by some Bandits, who knew not who he was. *Lefaignies* generously furnish'd him with Money and an Equipage: nor was his Preference useful to him there towards the bringing that Nobility to submit to his Command, and thereby confirming his Authority.

The only hopes of the *Huguenots* was therefore in an Army of *Reîtres*; the King dreaded it above all things, and *France* trembled at the very name of those cruel Plunderers who had so often prey'd upon them. This makes the *Queen Mother* and the Duke of *Alencon* mediate a Peace: the King of *Navarre* desired it as his only refuge, and the Duke procured it, that he might be able to carry the whole force both of the one and the other Party into the *Low-Countries*.

For the States having resolved to declare that the King of *Spain* had forfeited the Sovereignty of those Provinces, as they did the following year in their Assembly at the *Hague*, had sent their Deputies to this Duke, being then at *Plessis-lez-Tours*: with whom they made a Treaty; in which "they owned him for their Prince and Lord, him and his lawful Sons, with the same rights as their preceding Lords; upon condition that if he had several Sons, they should have liberty of chusing which of them they best liked; That he should preserve the ancient Alliance, Rights, and Privileges of the Provinces, should give no Offices or Employments but to the Natives of those Countries, and do in such sort that the Provinces might ever be linked to *France*, but without being either incorporated, or united to the Crown.

November.

This Treaty Signed, he posted into *Guyenne* to Negotiate the Peace: the place for Conference was the Castle de *Fleix* belonging to the *Marquis de Trans*. In this place, by the care and industry of the said Prince, with the Duke of *Montpensier*, and likewise the *Mareschal de Cossé*, whom the King sent after him, they came to an agreement towards the end of *November* in the explanation of certain Articles of the former Treaty of peace, which they confirmed by this same. They likewise granted

some

some places to the King of *Navarre*, and to satisfy the passion of his Wife a revocation of *Biron*, from whom they took away the Lieutenantcy of *Guyenne* to bestow it upon the *Mareschal de Matignon* which he demanded for him; whose sober and steady gravity seemed very proper to allay the quick and fiery temper of the *Gascons*.

"The Thirtieth day of August 1580. *Philibert Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy* ended his Mortal Pilgrimage, and left his Estates, which he had happily recover'd by his Valour, and his most prudent Conduct, to his only Son *Charles Emanuel*, who was then in the One and twentieth year of his Age.

"*France* was at the same time afflicted with two cruel Diseases, the *Coqueluche* and the *Plague*; the first, as we formerly noted having tormented this Nation twice already, was very painful, and sometimes mortal, but lasted not above six months; the other killing most that were therewith infected, continued its violence five or six years, ransacking sometimes one Province, sometimes another, so that before it ceased above the fourth part of the People died of it.

After the Duke of *Anjou's* quitting of *Flanders*, their Discords and Confusions daily increased, whereupon the Archduke *Matthias*, whom the States had called in to Govern, retired again. The Duke of *Parma*, who had the Command of the Spanish Army after the death of *Don Juan of Austria*, defeated a Party of *Casimir's* *Reîtres*, and so beset the rest, that they were glad to accept of quarter and return into *Germany*: at which *Casimir*, who was then gone into *England* to see *Queen Elizabeth*, was so much ashamed, that he goes directly home not daring to pass by way of the *Low-Countries*. After their departure the Duke of *Parma* besieged *Masfric*; He took it by Storm at four Months end, and in the mean time Negotiated it so well with the Male-contented Lords, that they returned to the obedience of King *Philip*, and brought in the Provinces of *Artois* and *Hainault*, with the Cities of *Lille*, *Dunay*, and *Arras*.

On the opposite, the Provinces of *Guelder*, *Zutphen*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Frisse*, and *Utrecht*, then the Cities of *Bruges*, *Ypres*, and others united more closely together for their mutual defence. From thence came the name of the *United Provinces*. The Malecontents in the mean time did mightily annoy the other Catholick Provinces. It is true the Fit of Sickness which the Duke of *Parma* fell into after the taking of *Masfric*, gave the States a little breathing time, and *la Nove* though he had but three thousand Men, made Head most bravely against all their Enemies.

As the *Spaniards* took *Groeninghen* from the States, on his side he took *Ninove* from them, and in the said place the Count of *Egmont* with his Wife: but shortly after this generous Commander was defeated in a Encounter near the Castle of *Ingel-Monster*, and fell into the hands of the *Spaniards*, who let him not at liberty till the year 1585, and that upon the payment of an hundred thousand Crowns Ransom.

The Edict granted to the *Huguenots* met not with so much difficulty, neither for the verification in Parliament, nor for the execution, as the former ones had done: and it was pretty punctually and quietly observed near five years. As a violent agitation, is so far from curing of Distempers, it rather increases them, and to allay hot Spirits we must let them a while repose: so soon as they had left off baiting and pursuing the *Huguenots*, their Zeal grew much more temperate, and indifferent. The King taking the right course, gave them assurance that they needed to fear no hurt from him, but might expect much good; That he would do them equal justice, but that he would bestow no Offices or Employments upon them, nor any Governments, but keep all Dignities out of their reach. Withall he endeavour'd to reclaim them by wife and Christian like Instructions and Arguments, which method converted more of them in four years time, than the Sword or Hangman had compell'd in forty; and if they had continued the same way of proceeding, this Opinion of Conscience would no doubt have given place to the sense of Honour.

During this calm, the King instead of fortifying himself, grew still weaker, and was enervated by idleness and vain pleasures. Since the death of the Princess of *Conde*, he had but little inclination to Women, and his Adventure at *Venice* gave him another bias. His three chief Favourites were *Argues*, the young *la Vallette*, and *Saint Luc*: the last forfeited his favour by endeavouring to cure him of his deprecation by an illusion which was very ingenious: the other two remained in full power, with no other Rivals but themselves, and individually enjoy'd the affection of the King, who called them his Children. He was not satisfied with having erected the

Vicountie

Vicounty of *Joyeuse* to a Pairie for *d'Arques*; and the Territories of *Espérnon* which he bought of the King of *Navarre* for *la Vallée*, he would needs honour them with his Alliance, by Marrying them to his Wives two Sisters, promising to each four hundred thousand Crowns in Dowry. In effect *Joyeuse* did Marry one, and his Wedding was kept with such profusion, that it cost the King near four Millions.

To repair these idle Expenses, they were forced to have recourses to new Edicts; He made no fewer than nine or ten all at once; there were even two and twenty in less than two Months time, themselves finding the reasons for the same, and confidently assigning their Merchants and their Tailors upon those Funds. Wherefore the Parliament thinking it behoved them to prevent the throwing thus away the poor Subjects Money, strenuously opposed the Verification of them, and *Christophe de Thou* first President, had once the courage to answer them, That by the Laws of the Land, which is the publick safety, such things could not, nor ought not to be done.

The States of the *United Provinces*, found themselves in great perplexities, their chief Cities were all in combustion through the diversity of Religion, their Armies without Commanders, and their Soldiers without pay. During this confusion, the Duke of *Parma* took the City of *Brussels* which belonged to the Prince of *Orange*, after which he promised himself to be able to block all the *Armies* up against the *French*. Which was feasible enough, for having *Arras*, *Hainault*, and the City of *Dunkirk*, there was nothing left to do but the gaining of *Cambray*: and to that end he had besieged it.

The first exploit of the Duke of *Anjou* was therefore to endeavour the delivery of that place. Upon the rumour of this Enterprize, which his friends had spread abroad for his advantage, great numbers of Volunteers, fifteen or twenty Lords of note, divers Captains with their Adventurers, say even established companies Companies came to him; he had four thousand *French* Horse, and ten thousand Foot. The Duke of *Parma* drew all his Forces together, and stood fix hours in Battalia, to make him believe he was resolved to keep his ground; yet when he perceived they marched directly to him, he retired to *Valenciennes*. Thus the Town was freed, the Duke received in *Cambray* as chief Sovereign of the Castle, and Protector of the Liberties of the Country, giving his Oath to them upon the Altar of *Nativity*, and afterwards in the Town-Hall. He then drove the Enemies out of *Stene* and *Arenx*, and batter'd the Walls of *Cateau-Cambresis* with so much fury, that he forced it to surrender at discretion.

And this was all the effect of that blustering Expedition: after those Exploits the heat of his Volunteers began to cool; and his Army consisting of independent Parcels, there soon grew as many quarrels as there were several Captains. So that finding it too perilous to engage himself further, or joyn with the States Army who were on their way to meet him, and too dishonourable to return again so soon, he was adviced to make a second step into *England* to wait upon the Queen his Mistress, between whom the Articles of Marriage were almost agreed upon.

The Courtship went so far that the Queen bestowed a Ring upon him as a pledge of her faith: but the Caballers against this Alliance, and her Women who knew the danger she must fall into if ever she had a Child, made so much noise, and fill'd her Ears with so great clamour, that she commanded it of him again.

It hapned at the same time that some *English* Priests and Religious People bred in the Seminaries of *Douay* and *Reims*, founded the one by the King of *Spain*, and the other by the *Guisers*, contrived divers Conspiracies against that Queen, in execution of the Popes Bull who *Anno* 1570. had Excommunicated and deprived her of her Crown: for which reason she was constrained by the out-cries of her Ministers to put some of them to death, amongst others Father *Edmond Campian* a Jesuit. The Duke of *Anjou* express'd a great deal of discontent that before his Eyes they should draw those Catholick Priests to Execution, and the Queen her self was in great pain and trouble: so that amidst all this hurry no mention was made of the Marriage: and yet either of them being willing it might be believed abroad in the World, spent almost two Months in Mirth and noble Entertainments, which at a distance was guesed to be their Wedding Festivals.

When he left the *Low Countries*, above the one half of his Army being dispersed, the remainder marched into the County of *Flanders* by way of *Calais*, and joyned with that of the States. The Duke of *Parma* not being able to hinder this conjunction, besieged *Tourney*. The Princess of *Espinay* in the absence of her Husband, giving out Orders Captain like, and fighting like a brave Soldier, defended it for two Months space, and had perhaps saved the place, if the Citizens, enchanted with the *Spanish* Catholicon, had not obliged her to capitulate.

The

The Prince of *Orange* and the States pressing the Duke by several Messages to return, he took leave of Queen *Elizabeth*, who conducted him as far as *Cambray*, and would have the Earl of *Leicester* and her Admiral *Howard*, and an hundred Gentlemen, accompany him to *Flanders*. He took Shipping at *Dover* the Tenth of *February*, and in two days he arrived at *Fleissinghe*, where the Prince of *Orange* and *d'Espinay* waited for him, the next day he went to *Middelburgh*, and was transported by Boats to *Antwerp* on the River *Scheld*.

The States who were there assembled, made him a most stately Entrance, and first inaugurated him Duke of *Brabant*, the Prince of *Orange* putting on the Ducal Hat and Mantle, which was of Crimson Velvet lined with Ermines: then declared him Marquis of the holy Empire, the Consul of *Antwerp* putting a Gold Key into his Hand, which he immediately returned. From that time he began to Govern, but with little satisfaction, as having heard amongst the Articles of his joyful entrance, which were read to him at his Coronation; That he was to Rule them, not according to his own will and pleasure, but according to Justice and their Priviledges.

In the mean while having also to do with Enemies who thought all ways they could put in practise lawful, he ran two great hazards. The Eighteenth of *March* the Prince of *Orange* was wounded with a Pistol Shot in his own House, as he rose from Table by *Jaremy*, a Servant belonging to a broken Banker, who was said to have poisoned *Don Juan of Austria*. He recover'd of his Wounds: but the revenge was like to have fallen upon the Duke of *Anjou*. The *Flemings* fancied he had a design of establishing his new Dominion by a general Massacre, and grounded their suspicion upon this, that those *Frenchmen* who Dined that day with the Prince of *Orange* presently kill'd the Assassin, as if by taking away his life they would prevent all possibility of discovery who the Authors were that had encourag'd him to commit the Crime: but the young Prince of *Orange* causing him to be searched, found *Spanish* Letters in his Pockets which plainly told them who he was.

While the Prince was under Cure, the Duke made his Entrance at *Bruges* and at *Ghent*; in this last City he received the Ornaments of Earl of *Flanders*. Some days after he discover'd the horrible Conspiracy of *Nicholas Salsede* Son of another *Salsede* Originally a *Spaniard*, and a fugitive from his Country for some Crime, who had taken up his habitation in *France*. It was he that had made War against the Cardinal de *Lorraine* in the Country of *Meysin*, for which he was Murder'd on the bloody St. *Bartholomews*. The Son was also banish'd from *France* for having burnt a Gentleman of *Normandy* in his own House who had accused him about false Money. This Fellow therefore pretends to devote himself to the service of the Duke of *Anjou* with a whole Regiment raised at his own expence: but the Prince of *Orange* who had ever a watchful Eye, discover'd that he held some Intelligence with the Duke of *Parma*. Thereupon they seize him, as likewise one certain *Francis Bafa* an *Italian*, also a *Banquier* named *Baldwin* and some others. It was said they had plotted to seize upon divers places to deliver them up to the Prince of *Parma*, and had formed some attempt upon the Persons of the Duke of *Anjou*, and the Prince of *Orange*.

The bottom of this mystery could never be certainly known; because *Bafa* after his having for fear of the Rack or otherwise, discover'd very strange things, Murder'd himself in Prison, and the wretched *Salsede* varied two or three times upon his Interrogatories, and involved so many Persons in his Crime, who were known to be Innocent, that no certain Judgment could be drawn from his Confessions. It was believed he did so, on purpose to be carried to *Paris*, in hopes the Duke of *Parma* would rescue him on the way: but *Belieure* conducted him thither with so much precaution that he deluded the Dukes Spies and frustrated the expectation of the Criminal.

The King caused him to be examined divers times by his Parliament Men, and placed himself in a Chamber near at hand to over-hear what he would say: he sung the same note as he had done in *Flanders*, which startled the King so much that he knew not whom to confide in any longer, seeing no body about him but such as were accused. The Parliament condemned him to be drawn by four wild Horses. The Sentence being pronounced, as they were leading him to the Chappel, there was, as some affirm, a certain Frier on the Steps who whispering somewhat in his Ear, made him retract all what he had confess'd, thereby leaving the Judges and the King in greater perplexity then ever.

The States had but little Money, and a great many Garrisons to maintain, so that the Duke of *Anjou*'s Army could not be above four or five thousand Men this Campagne, which he divided into three small Bodies to cover the out-skirts of the greater

1581.
July and August.

August.

September.

October and November.

1581.

1582.

March.

1582.

April, &c.

1582.

June, July, &c.

greater Cities. That of the Duke of Parma though consisting of more than Thirty thousand, could take but four or five small Castles, which were of no great importance; For besides that he was obliged to leave the one half of his Forces to Garrison his Places, when he would have invested *Brixels*, he was afflicted by famine, *Antin* and *Hainault* being so eaten up that they could furnish him with no Provisions; and then when he attempted to get into the Country of *Waes*, the Duke of *Anjou* shut up the passage, after which divers contagious Maladies, the inundations of Waters by breaking of the Dykes, and such like inconveniences, constrained him to go into Winter Quarters.

The passion the Queen Mother had for conquering new Kingdoms, had prompted her to cast her Eyes upon *Portugal*; But not succeeding in her pretended claim, she fancied the might accumulate the Right and Title of *Anthony* with hers. And for this reason she had drawn him into *France*, where the King received him with much honour, and gave a smart reply to the *Spanish* Ambassador, who made great instance he might be turned out thence, that *France* had ever been the refuge of the unfortunate, and that he should never be persuaded to violate the sanctity of an *Asylum*, so inviolably maintain'd by all his Predecessors. He therefore permitted his Mother to raise Forces in his Kingdom to pursue her Rights, and to Equip as many Vessels as she pleased; which he laboured in with great application all the whole year 1581.

The same Religious Monks who had persuaded the Islands of the *Azores*, to declare for *Anthony*, were grown so insolent of their power that they disturbed all by their Tumults, and did nothing but put the People into such rage and heats, as produced no good. The Governor whom *Anthony* had sent thither (it was *Emanuel de Sylva* his Favourite, whom he created Count of *Torre-Vedras*) was more frantick, and much more wicked yet than they: So that *Landeran*, whom the Queen had sent with Eight hundred Men till the rest of the Army was in readiness, endeavouring to give him moderate Council, he set all his Engines at work to ruin him, even to the suborning of Rascals to assassinate or poison him.

The French Navy parted from *Belle-Ile* in the Month of *June*, *Straffy* was Admiral, *Briffac* Vice-Admiral, *Sainte Sylene* a *Paisley* commanded a Squadron. *Don Antonio* went in this Fleet together with the Count de *Vimioja*, the only *Portuguese* Lord that stuck to him in his misfortune. They landed in the Island *St. Michael*, the only one of all the nine which held for the *Spaniards*; fought eight hundred Men that would have hindred their coming alhoar, defeated *Noguera* a *Spanish* Captain who had drawn three thousand Soldiers together, and marched directly into the City *Elgado*: but *Anthony* instead of Storming the Castle which would have made him absolute Master of those Islands, and would have given him the opportunity and advantage of intercepting their *India* Fleet, wherewith he might have maintained the War two or three years, amused himself in playing the King amidst the acclamations of the light-headed Populace; and in the mean while the *Spanish* Navy arrived, Commanded by the Marquis of *Santa Cruz*; who cast Anchor under shelter of the Castle d'Elgrade, to wait an opportunity of fighting them.

The French Forces out-numbered them both for Ships and Men: but there was no less disorder and mis-understanding amongst them, then jealousies and quarrels, there being many Volunteers on board, most of the Captains having set out their Ships at their own charges, and the Generals, though Valiant, were so careless and negligent, that their Commands carried no Authority, nor did their examples give any vigour or encouragement to their Men. When they came to engage, which was on the Six and twentieth of *July*, there were scarce twelve of their Men of War that did their duty, the rest came not within Shot, and *Sainte Sylene* stood quite away with eighteen Sail without the least fighting (for which he was tried in *France*, and for his base cowardize degraded of his Nobility.) The Battle notwithstanding was very bloody lasting two whole hours, the Ships being grappled with each other, as if they had agreed to end the quarrel that very day by dint of Sword and Halbert. In conclusion the Admiral of *France* was overcome and taken, *Straffy* was in the same Ship wounded in his Knee; the rest freed themselves and retired, many of them towards *France*, and some to the *Tercetes*, where *Don Antonio* was gone to secure himself before the Fight.

The Marquis of *Santa Cruz* stained the honour of this brave Victory by an unbecoming and barbarous cruelty: when they presented *Straffy* to him on the Deck of his Ship, he caused him in cold Blood to be killed by his Halberdiers and cast over-board: and as for the Prisoners which were to the number of three hundred, amongst whom were fourscore Gentlemen, after he had led them in triumph into

Villa-

Villa-Franca, which is the capital City of the Island *St. Michael*, he doomed them all to death as Enemies of the common Peace, the Followers of Rebels and Priests. The Gentlemen had their Throats cut, the rest were hang'd within two days of the ground, and the French Priest that Confess'd them was dispatched after the others.

With the remainders of *Landeran's* Forces and seventeen French Ships, *Anthony* continued at the *Jezeras* till towards the end of Autumn, when fearing to be block'd up in Winter by the Stormy Weather, or in Summer by the return of the *Spanish* Fleet, he sailed away for *France*. This time being both poor and unfortunate, he met with a more cold Reception then before, when he was able to scatter his rich Jewels amongst the Grandees at Court, and give large promises to all the World. However he did not lay aside all hopes of recovering his Kingdom: in *July* 1589, with the assistance of Queen *Elizabeth*, he made another attempt, which succeeding but ill, he retired again into *France*, and spent the rest of his life there, under the protection of King *Henry IV.*

The following year accounted 1582, the Queen sent the Commander of *Chateau* with eight hundred Men only to the Islands *Azores*. He had at the same time to deal with the malignity of *Torre-Vedras*, and the Forces of the *Spaniards*. The extravagant *Torre-Vedras* ruined all his generous designs, and perished himself; being taken in the Mountains, and executed by the common Hangman: but the *Spaniards* gave quarter to *Chateau* and his Men. The barbarous and proud Islanders were handled as they deserved: all their Estates confiscated, and their Persons reduced to slavery. The Ecclesiasticks and Monks who had been the most active, were the most rudely punished: This appears by the Brief of Absolution obtained by *Philip* of the Pope for having put two thousand of them to death, as well in those Islands, as in *Portugal*.

Of a long time it had been observed that there was some error in the *Julian* Calendar, (that is to say reformed by *Julius Caesar*) for the *Bisextile* adding forty five minutes of an hour beyond the course the Sun makes in four years time, these put together made a whole day in 132 years; which at the long run would have perverted the Seasons and the Celebration of *Easter*, for the Equinoctial in Spring, which they had computed to be on the One and twentieth of *March*, was already fallen to the Eleventh of the same Month, so that at length *Easter* would have happened to be in Winter, and *Christmas* in the Summer time. Several Popes had desired to find some remedy, *Gregory XIII.* having set the most famous Astronomers at work for this purpose, retrenched ten days of this year 1582, and Ordained from thenceforward that in every 400 years there should be three days of *Bisextile* cut off, to wit, one day of each of the first hundred, to begin from the year 1700. The Protestant Princes rejected this method, as being Ordained by a Power they would not own: but the Kings Council approved it, and the Parliament Decreed it should take place this very year, and that the Tenth of *November* should be accounted the Twentieth.

This year died three very considerable Persons, *Lewis* Duke of *Montpensier* surnamed the Good, *Arthur* de *Cosse* Marechal of *France*, and *Christopher de Thok* first President. This last had *Achilles de Harlay* for Successor in his Office.

Francis Prince Dauphin who was called Duke of *Montpensier* after the death of *Lewis* his Father, and the Marechal de *Biron*, had brought to the Duke of *Anjou* in the Low-Countries a re-inforcement of seven thousand Foot, and twelve hundred Horse, and himself had raised some Companies of *Reliers*. This was his last Stake and Hand: all his Credit and Friends were now drained, he had in this War consumed the whole Revenue of his Appenage, which was above Fifty thousand Crowns, and engaged himself for three hundred thousand more. The four Millions which the States raised for their Expenses in War, went all out in fruitless Pensions, so that they were not forty thousand *Francs* left clear to him. Besides this, he was placed amidst two Religions which shock'd each other most furiously, and both shock'd him, amidst the hare-brain'd and suspicious *Flemings*, his own discontented Captains, the murmuring common People devoured by the Soldiers, the out-crying Soldiers starving for want of Bread, having worst Enemies amongst the surly *Flemings* then the very *Spaniards*, the contempt and disobedience of both the one and the other Nation, and the secret Practices of the Prince of *Orange*.

He might call long and loud enough upon the King to lend him more Supplies, the jealousies which the *Spanish* Council and his own darlings had instill'd upon the least good success, made him deaf to all he ask'd, and hardened him to an utter denial. The

August, September, and October.

1582. March, &c.

1582.

1532.

D d d d King

King of *Navarre* proffer'd the King to carry the War into the very heart of *Spain*, to employ of his own for that purpose five hundred thousand Crowns, for which he would engage his Patrimonial Counties of *Burgundy* and *Lille*. Moreover to prevent all jealousies, he would make up his Army only of *Swiss* and such *Ramiers* as were allied to *France*, and of *French* both of the one and the other Religion. Offer'd mutual to leave the Command of it to some *French* Marshal of the Kings own chusing, and to send him *Madam* his only Sister, and the Prince of *Condé's* Daughter for Hostage. These Propositions did but give him more Umbrage, both of the one and the other, because it hinted some joyn't interest, and common concern between them: as on the other hand the threats which sometimes broke loose from the Duke of *Alençon*, in the height of his anguish, enraged the Favourites the more, and gave them loose thoughts of contriving his Ruine there, to prevent his revenge, in case he return'd.

So that when he sent to demand succours of the King, they oblig'd him to answer, That he should put himself in a condition to receive them, that he should make himself strongest for fear of being turn'd out by those Merchants, as the Arch-Duke *Matthias* had been; and what they counsell'd him on purpose to destroy him, the Queen Mother advis'd him to do to preserve him, pressing him to seize upon the best Places, and to settle his Sovereignty upon some solid foundation.

Those that Govern'd him more particularly were People without Honour and without Faith, amongst others *Quinjay* his Secretary, *Fernandez* and *Orrilly* his Son in Law, a Youth, Son of one *Sirgent de la Ferre* near *Blois*, whose Lute, Voice, Dancing, and other qualities more worthy of the esteem and affection of some Lady than a great Prince, had brought him in very great favour with his Master. These People ever keeping him at defiance with the Duke of *Montpensier*, and other Persons of Worth and Honour who would have been able to dissuade him from all unhandson or unjust actions, spur'd him on perpetually with motives sometimes of revenge, sometimes of interest, to seize upon certain Places, of which they promised to themselves the Governments. Thus a young Prince of little confidence, and who saw himself reduced to great distress, resolv'd to follow their pernicious Councils, and gave his Captains order to seize upon seven or eight of the best Towns all on one day, which was appointed the Eighteenth of *January*.

The Enterprize succeeding upon *Dunkirk*, *Dixmude*, *Dendermond*, *Vilvoord*, *Alost*, and *Mienen*: but failed upon *Ostend* and *Bruges*. The Undertakers were taken at *Bruges* and confessed the whole Conspiracy: even that the Duke was to seize upon *Antwerp*, and the Person of the Prince of *Orange*, to force him to give back those Writings, by which he had oblig'd himself to leave him the Counties of *Holland* and *Zeeland*. Those of *Antwerp* had also scented the Plot, and put themselves in Arms: nevertheless the Dukes Orders being to seize upon the Port of *Kornelberg* the nearest Gate to his Palace, that same day being the Eighteenth, and news of what had been done in those other parts coming to him late at night, he durst not defer it any longer.

Wherefore notwithstanding the intreaties of the Prince of *Orange*, he went out of the City with his Guards and two hundred Horse he had then about him, pretending to go to see his Army which was encamped near at hand. As he was passing along he makes a halt upon the Bridge, that so his Guards upon the Signal given might seize the *Kornelberg* Gate. Those Gentlemen that march'd before him, turned back on a sudden, beat off the Burghers, and set Fire to the next House as their Beacon to the Army. In less then three quarters of an hour there were seventeen Companies of *French*, and six hundred Lancers within the City, crying out *Kill, Vive the King, and, the Town is our own*. But the Burghers who were prepared for it, come out of their Houses, chain up the Streets, make strong Barricades, set Courts of Guards in the Market places and Carrefoours, and the Women fly to the Windows with Stones and such like Artillery. *Fernandez*, who with a hundred Horse thought to creep along the Rampart into the place before the Citadel unseen, meets at *St. Georges* Gate with five hundred Men well barricado'd who put him to a full stand; Two Companies of Foot which he set on to force them thence, were beaten off: in the mean time his retreat is cut off behind, so that he can neither go forward nor backward. The Prince of *Orange* coming thither, goes directly to him, masters him and leads him away Prisoner with his hands bound behind him.

His defeat greatly encouraged the Burghers. All without distinction either of Religion, Sex, or Condition, animate each other against the Common Enemy. The *French* are worsted every where, they betake themselves to flight: the precipitate

haste

haste of those that fled out of the Town, with that of the *Swiss* who strove to come in to assist, made an embarras at the Gate; they crowd more and more, and flile one another. Several after they had run from place to place about the Rampiers, finding no way to get out, and being closely pursued, were glad to leap down from the Wall. The Duke of *Anjou* beheld them with a great deal of pleasure, thinking they had been Burghers, when he found they were his own, and at the same time heard the roaring of two or three Volleys of Cannon scowring through his Troops: then he thought it high time to recall his *Swiss* and retire, leaving fifteen hundred of his Men, whereof three hundred were Gentlemen, stark dead upon the place, and two thousand shut within the City.

The Prince of *Orange* and the mercy of the Burghers saved the lives of these last: for so soon as there was no more resistance, they endeavour'd to secure them, assist the wounded, and withdraw those that lay in heaps at the Gate, some of them yet gasping for life; and even within three days after sent those Prisoners to the Duke with a great deal of civility. *Fernandez* only ran great hazard: the People who believed him to be the Author of that infamous Treachery, would have torn him in pieces, if the Prince of *Orange* under pretence of strictly guarding him, had not lock'd him in a Chamber within the Castle strongly barr'd with iron, and placed two Files of Soldiers at his Door.

The attempt failing, the Duke of *Anjou* touch'd at least with shame and confusion if not with remorse and repentance, retir'd to the Castle of *Berken* with the rest of his Forces who yet made up ten thousand Men, and from thence wrote Letters to the Deputies of the States, wherein having reminded them of his Services, and much exaggerated the contempt and unhandsome treatment he had received from them, told them the indignities done to him that very day, had put his People out of all patience, and call'd them into those disorders, for which he was extremely trouble'd; That he had not yet in the least changed the good will he had by so many effects express'd towards them, of which he was desirous to give them notice, intreating they would fend him an account of their last Resolutions, that he might take his measures by their Answer.

The States resolv'd some Deputies should be sent to him, and *Orange* obtained they should suffer Provisions for his Army to be carried after him. This favour having lasted but two days, he thought of gaining *Dendermond*, but those of *Antwerp* hidder his passage over the *Scheld*, and when afterwards he would have taken his way by *Vilvoord*, those of *Malines* let go their Sluces: so that his unfortunate Army was constrained to expose themselves to a march through that great Tract of Water, not without loss of above three hundred Men. In fine after they had trudg'd near thirty leagues with incredible difficulties, though it was but seven leagues distant by the direct road, they arriv'd at *Dendermond*, which serv'd them as the second Plank after their Shipwrack.

The Queen Mother, the Queen of *England*, and the King himself, for the honour of the *French* Nation, mediat'd and interpos'd to allay the fury of the *Flemings*, and palliate the fault of the young Prince. So much was effected by their Negotiations, that the States fearing he should give up to the *Spaniard* those places he yet held, agreed with him by a Provisional Treaty: That he should have ninety thousand Florins to pay his Army, provided he would retire to *Dunkirk*, and remain there whilst they endeavour'd an Accommodation; and in the mean time surrender *Dendermond* and *Dixmude*.

They thought with the assistance of his Forces to raise the Siege of *Eindhoven*: but *Biron* who command'd them, being ill seconded, and withall unprovided of every thing, was not in a condition to perform it, but had enough to do to struggle for two whole Months together with his necessities. Nevertheless the Duke of *Parma* durst not attack him in his Camp near *Rosendale*. Mean while the Disorders increas'd daily in those Provinces thorough the contrariety of Sentiments, and diversity of the Interests of the States Deputies, who agreed in nothing but their outcries against the *French*. Therefore after the Duke of *Anjou* had for two Months languish'd in his melancholy abode of *Dunkirk*, expecting their ultimate Resolution in vain, he Embarked the Eight and twentieth of *June*, to come to *Calais*.

Two days after his departure, the *Gemois* blinded by their obstinate hatred against the *French* and the Catholic Religion, shut up *Biron's* passage, whereby he might have gone to the relief of *Dunkirk*, so that it surrendred upon Compulsion; and after that *Newport*, *Furner*, *Dixmude*, *St. Vinochs Bergh*, and *Mienen* fell into the hands of the *Spaniards*. These losses redoubled their out-cries, and mutinies in

D d d d d

Ghent

1583.
January.1583.
February, &c.

April and May.

June.

July.

1582.
December and
January.1583.
January.

Ghent and Antwerp, in so much as the Prince of *Orange* not finding himself any longer secure in *Antwerp*, prudently retired into *Zeeland* with all his Family the Two and twentieth of *July*, having first assigned the States General to meet at *Middeburgh*.

July and Aug. A Month after, *Biron* went likewise out of the Country with his Troops, and led them to the Duke of *Anjou* who was in *Cambrésis*. He made signs as if he would have raised more : but this was only to have some pretence not to come to Court, though the King had sent for him. His last act had cover'd his face with so much shame and confusion, that he avoided the sight of all Mankind, wandering from place to place like one bereft of his senses, and was not able to admit his own Mother into his presence, who went on purpose to seek him out. Thus did he waste the last six Months of this year, the King taking little thought for him, as knowing the only remedy for these Escapades is the neglect of them.

1583:

But himself troubled with Hypochondriacal Vapours, (which affect the Brain, render the Mind feeble and inconstant, possess it with fantastical and airy Visions) had suffer'd himself to be led away with a humour of Devotion as little serious as unbefitting his Dignity. A Cloister was his most usual Retreat, Processions and Fraternities his most frequent Exercises, and Pilgrimages his greatest Expeditions; From these Devotions he would often in an instant leap into his pleasures abroad, and had even found out the art to blend them together; During the *Carnaval* he went by day about the Streets in *Maquerade*, and at night into the Houses, where a thousand youthful frolics were acted; then in *Lens* he went in Procession with the Penitents.

This year he erected a Fraternity at *Paris*, named Penitents of the Annunciation, because he began it on that day. They marched by two and two in three Divisions, of blew, black, and white, cover'd with a Sack, or Frock of those colours, having a Vizard on their Faces, and a Whip in their Hands, or at their Girdle. The Cardinal de *Guise* carried the Cross, all the *Grandes* of the Court, even the Chancellor and Keeper of the Seals, were of them : but not one of the Parliament would be present, lest they should seem to countenance and authorize this Foreign Novelty.

The People were too well acquainted with the disorderly and licentious lives of the Courtiers, to be moved with these superficial shews of Devotion: and moreover those loads of Oppression laid upon them by the Minions in new imposts, creation of Offices, and violent Taxes, which were raised (a thing unusual in this Kingdom) without any Verification of the Sovereign Courts, whetted the most slanderous Tongues and Satyrical Pens both against them, and against their Master. *Joyeuse* and *Elspertun* level'd at the Duke of *Anjou* whose grandeur was an obstruction to their vast designs, and the *Guise* were agreed with them on this point; *Elspertun* shock'd the *Guise*, and was shock'd by them upon all occasions: but *Joyeuse* would hold in with those Princes, because he had Married a Wife of that Family, or rather because he desired to make himself Head of the League, and gain the support of so strong a Party. The Queen Mother had a mortal hatred both for the *Guise* and for the *Minions*, but the declining in her power, found her self under the necessity of making use both of the one and other to ascend again. She trod the same path to her dying day, yet she endeavour'd to preserve the Duke of *Anjou* whom either of them sought to ruin, and studied to bring him once more to the management of Affairs for her own ends, though she were resolv'd not to let him hold it long. Such was the disposition of all Parties then.

1583.

The King himself had put the first thoughts of dividing his Kingdom betwixt them, into the heads of his brace of Favourites, as if they had been his own Children. *Joyeuse* had conceived a design to get *Languedoc*, and to joyn the Comtat of *Avignon* to it; and to this effect was resolv'd by the Authority of the King, to oblige his Holiness to Excommunicate the *Maréchal de Montmorency* as a protector and favourer of Hereticks, and to give him the Comtat in exchange for the Marquise of *Saluzzo*. Now that he might not refuse him this, he had contrived an intrigue to seize upon it, by means of *William Paris* Bishop of *Grace* Favourite of the Cardinal d'Armagnac the Popes Legat in those Countries: but the Mine being discovered *Paris* was assassinated by order from *Rome*.

Joyeuse did not give over the pursuing of his point, and finding he could get nothing but ambiguous answers from *Rome*, he resolv'd to go thither himself to negotiate this Affair with the Pope, imagining that the splendour of his favour, and the gallant propositions he would offer for the exaltation of the Pontifical Authority, would obtain all he desired. He was magnificently received at *Rome*: *Lewis* Cardinal d'Est presented him to his Holiness, he respected him as the Favourite of a

very

very potent Monarch: but for the rest did not comply with any of his demands, except a Cardinals Hat for the Archbishop of *Narbonne* his younger Brother.

The King stiling him his Brother in his Letters of Recommendation, the *Vénitien* upon his return rendit him as much honour as if he had been a Son of *France*, the Dukes of *Ferrara* and *Mantova* treated him in the same manner, and all the Cities of *France* where he pass'd made him their Compliments as they were ordered to do: nevertheless the vexation of mind he brought home with him for the Popes denial, or as some others will have it, an unfortunate trick of youth, cast him into a long fit of Sickness, which made him so lean, and so ill-favour'd, that it was some time ere he durst appear before the King, with whom during this interval his Rival had gained so much advantage, that he might easily have quite supplanted him, had he not feared some other might come into his place, whose more auspicious favour might perhaps have thrust him out likewise.

1583.

Queen *Margaret* was then at Court, where she could not forbear making feuds and practising her wanted malice. A Courtier whom the King sent to *Joyeuse* in *Italy*, being kill'd upon his Journey, and his Letters rifled, the King suspected it was by her contrivance, and resolv'd to be revenged by defaming her, as she endeavour'd to vilify him. He reproach'd her publicly of her familiarity with *James de Harlay Chanvalon*, said she kept certain Ladies about her that were her Confidants, whom he called *precious Vermin*; then some few days after commanded her to go to her Husband, and upon the Road, sent a Captain of his Guards who searched her very Litter, pull'd her Maque off her Face, and seized upon two or three of her Domestic Servants and brought them before the King with two of her Dames. He examined them each apart concerning the manner of Life and Conversation of his Sister, then sent them to the *Bastille*.

July.

The King of *Navarre* could easily not resolve to receive his Wife thus defam'd; he press'd the King to chastise her himself if she deserved to suffer such Indignities, if not to clear her of those Scandals: the King without offering to make out any thing, repeated his absolute Commands; and the *Maréchal de Matignon* having invested him in *Norae* by privately conveying Garrisons into all the places thereabout, forced him to receive her.

August, &c.

The Expences of the Favourites were excessive, and the depredations of the Finances, even by those very Men that manag'd the Treasury, much greater yet. This ill Husbandry begot such an extream scarcity of Money, that often times there was not enough to furnish the Kings Table, and if we may so say, the Portage-Pot stood often topsey-turvy. His Flatterers pretended the People loved him so infinitely, that whenever he did but signify his wants, all would untie their Purse Strings to assist him; it was for this purpose, but under colour of redressing the present Disorders, that he the precedent year, had sent to visit the Provinces by Persons of Credit and Probity, who with smooth and fine Harangues, concluded always with a touch upon that String, but to very little purpose.

When he found that Project would not take, he called an Assembly of Notables to *St. Germain en Laye*, thinking thereby to gain the good will of the People, and let them know that if he had sent Commissioners, it was not so much for his own Interests, as to hear their Complaints and do them Justice.

1583.

The Assembly was divided into three Chambers, each of them having a Prince of the Blood for President; The Affairs were all distributed, which they reduced to certain Heads, as well for the Reformation of the Clergy, the Nobility and the Judges, as for the Administration of the Government, and regulation or dispensation of the Finances. There were very excellent Propositions tender'd; as to set aside all sale of Offices and Employments; to assign punishments for all such as should invent any new Imposts or Creations; to purge the Kings Council of those that had any Combination with the Parties belonging to the Finances, and to prevent all under-hand villainous dealing therein: *Chiverny* had introduced that fraudulent practise amongst them ever since he had had the Seals, endeavouring thereby to procure both Employment and Authority to himself, as not having so much as he desired in Affairs of State.

Septemb. &c.

The Clergy were not forgetful in demanding the re-establishment of Elections, and the publication of the Council of *Tren*: as to the first point, all those that thought it much easier to acquire favour and interest, than merit and learning stood up against it: and for the second the Chapters, Parliaments, and the Kings Council made Head and oppos'd it; so that they obtained neither the one nor the other. As for the rest, the King established four Councils, i. e. the Council for Foreign Affairs, the Council of State, the Council de *Finances*, (or the Treasury) and the Privy-Council.

Council. They were composed of Men of the Sword, of the Church, and of the long Robe, to whom he prescribed even the fashion of their Garments both for Winter and Summer, and assigned them two thousand Livres *per Annum* Wages.

The remaining part of the year was spent in settling these Regulations and divers other Orders, the multiplication whereof in France hath never had any other effect but the multiplying of Abuses and Grievances. In the mean while the Three and twentieth of November died the Cardinal *Kene de Birague*, aged Seventy four years, who said of himself, That he was *A Cardinal without a Title, a Priest without a Benefice, and a Chancellor without the Seals*; (for in the year 1578. he had given them up to *Chiverny*) One might have added, *a Judge without knowledge in the Law, and a Magistrate without any Authority*, because in truth he had no learning, and bowed his Head like a tall Reed to every blast of Court wind; having more respect for a Valet in favour than to all the Laws of the Kingdom.

"A famous Ingenier named *Louis de Foix*, Native of *Paris*, but Originally of the Country whose name he bare, began this year to build the *Phare* at the mouth of the River of *Bordeaux*, near the ruins of another Tower which was named the Tower of *Cordonan*. Two years before he had done great service towards the Trade of *Bayonne*. The Sea had brought such vast quantities of Sand into the old *Boucaud* of the River *Adour*, that she had forsaken that, and had made her self a new one, but longer and more tortuous, by which she discharged her self into the Sea at *Cape-bretton*: He forced it by strong Banks, to take the former way, which is much the more commodious and in a direct line.

The greatest apprehension King Philip lay under, was, lest the *Low-Countries* should give themselves up to the King of France, rather than fall again under the tyranny of his Governors. Every one desired it, the honest *Frenchman*, to remove the Civil War out of the Kingdom, the Favourites in hatred to the Duke of *Arjou*, and the *Huguenots* to avoid the mischiefs threatened by the League. This was it made Philip endeavour and try by all means and ways to let France on fire first to prevent them from doing so in his own Countries. It is said, that having found amongst the Papers belonging to *Don Juan of Austria* some kind of Treaty between that Prince and the Duke of *Guise*, he threatened the said Duke he would reveal his secrets to the King, unless he would contract the like private Intelligence with him, and would at the same time have obliged him to take up Arms: but could not engage him to the last particular neither by his Menaces, nor by his Prayers.

Having missed his end that way, he took another quite contrary one: and would needs make the *Huguenots* rise, addressing himself to the King of *Navarre* profering to give him fifty thousand Crowns a Month, and two hundred thousand for advance. That King gave Ear to him for a while: but on a sudden repented it, and gave information to the King.

This was because they had put another design into his Head. *Gebard Truchese* Archbishop of *Colen*, had Married and struggled hard to keep both his Wife and his Bishoprick too: which induced him to embrace the Religion of *Calvin*, whose Principles allow the joining those two things together, which are not compatible in the *Roman Church*. It concerned the reputation of the Protestant Party to maintain him in his Archbishoprick: the King of *Navarre* fancied therefore that it might prove a considerable business to unite all the Princes of that Religion to undertake his defence, and to this end he solicited and exhorted them by a famous Embassy.

His design was by all applauded, but seconded by none: so that *Gebard*, who in the beginning had some advantage, being forsaken by all the World, even by *Casimir*, who was bulwark getting the possession of the Palatinate after the death of the Elector *Levis* his elder Brother, was turned out of all the places he held, and retired to the *Hague* in *Holland*, experimenting at leisure and to his own cost that a Wife without an Estate is a thing much more inconvenient than a Benefice without a Wife.

The King of *Spain* continually press'd the *Guises* to rivet themselves more closely to him. And to engage them, he let them see a Treaty of *Montmorency* which was then on foot: who being push'd at by *Joyeuse*, (he undertaking to thrust him out of *Languedoc*) had indeed made application for his secret protection. Besides the Favourites flock'd to them every hour, and tripping them day by day of their Offices and Governments, hurried them to despair: nevertheless considering the inconveniences and peril such are liable to who take up Arms against the King, they could not yet resolve to play so dangerous a part.

Though

Though the Duke of *Guise* knew that the Duke of *Arjou* hated him to death, yet he forbore not to tempt him with divers Propositions, for it would have been of infinite advantage: and he had a Son of *France* at the Head of his Party. The Duke of *Arjou* listened for a while to his proffers: but when it was least thought on or expected, they were amazed to behold that Prince upon his Knees before the King humbly craving pardon for his faults. This was in the time of *Caumont*, which fell out this year about the latter end of February: but he staid not above seven or eight days at Court, and then returned to *Chastellain-Chierry*. A distemper now seized

After this his Health continually impaired, a confirm'd Phthisick troubled him so grievously, that he went seldom out of Doors, and his violent Cough having burst a Vein in his Breast, he lost so much Blood as cast him into fits of fainting the Twentieth day of May. After which accident he yet languished twenty days more with a slow Fever; then gave up his Soul the Tenth of June. He carried with him to his Grave the Tears and Sighs of those unhappy People who had assisted him in the War of *Flanders*: for he died in Debt Three hundred thousand Crowns, and the King would rather vainly expend two hundred thousand on his Funeral than pay one Penny of his Debts.

Many imagined that his Death was not Natural, and said this was the first Act of that Tragedy whereof *Salvade* had made the Prologue. Now that which gave most credit to such Discourse, was two horrible attempts which were set on foot at the same time, One against Queen *Elizabeth* by a Natural Englishman named *William Parry*, who had undertaken to kill her in her Park, but he was detected and punished; the other upon the Prince of *Orange*, who was unfortunately kill'd by Pistol-Shot in his own House, by one *Balthazar Gerard* a Native of the *Franche-Comte*, and an Embassy of the *Spaniards*. Philip the eldest of that Princes two Sons, being then in the *Spaniards* hand, where he was held a long time, the States gave the second, named *Maurice*, the Government of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *West-Flise*, together with the Admiralty, though he were scarce Eighteen years of Age.

As *Monseurs* Life gave the Queen Mother work enough, put some stop to the ambition of the *Guises*, and lull'd the King of *Navarre* asleep, his Death quite changed the whole Scene and Interests of those Factions: It seemed already as if the succession of the Crown were open, the whole World knew the King was incapable of getting Children by reason of his debility proceeding from a Distemper which made him shed his Hair. The Queen Mother who little valued the Fundamental Laws of France, would needs call the Children of her Daughter by the Duke of *Lorraine* to the Crown; she had founded the Kings mind upon it, and endeavour'd to persuade him, that there remained but little of the Blood Royal beyond the sixth degree, which must needs become very cold and languid at that distance, that the *Bourbons* were no more of his Parentage than by *Adam* and *Eve*, and that it would be more natural to leave the Succession to his Nephews, than to Persons so far off. There is some likelihood the might have succeeded in her intentions, had the Duke of *Lorraine* and his Son, but inherited as much courage, and as many noble qualities as the Duke of *Guise* was Master of.

This Man seemed to take no notice of her design, but made her hope he would serve her in all things: but as he loved himself better yet than the elder Branch of his own House, he consulted his own proper advantage. Now because he had no right or title of his own to intermeddle in the Affairs of the Kingdom, he thought it convenient to make use of the Cardinal *Charles de Bourbon*, whom he possessed with the opinion that he was presumptive Heir to the Crown, as being nearer by one degree than the King of *Navarre* his Nephew, representation taking no place in a Transversal Line, so that this good Man hated his Nephew as his Rival, and hugged and look'd upon the Duke of *Guise* as a powerful Friend who helped him to make out his Right.

The King was well informed of all these practices by the King of *Navarre*, and the more he found them desirous to keep that Prince at distance, the more he thought it his Interest to draw him nearer: but to remove and take away all manner of pretence they could have whereby to render him odious to the Catholics, he would willingly have brought him back into the bosom of the Church, before he called him to Court. To that end he sent the Duke of *Espernon* to him, who strove to persuade him by Arguments of Interest, which ordinarily are most prevalent with Princes: but his Ministers and the Confessorsians deterr'd him from it, and perhaps he apprehended the King did not proceed sincerely, and that they only felt his pulse, to try whether they could divide him from his old Friends. Wherefore *Pleiss Morisy* to satisfy their Congregations, whom this Conference had hugely alarmed, caus'd it to be publish'd

February and March.

May and June

July.

1584.

1584.

to

November.

1583.

* The Country word for the Mouth of the River.

July.

1583.

October and November, &c.

to the great displeasure of the King; and the Kings advantage from his own Matter, was not to be seen in his private life, but in his publick one.

For the League began to report that *Espernon* was not content to convert, but to convert him in his Heresy; that he took to pride in maintaining his Error; and that the King, chalking him out the way to oppress the Catholick Princes, he would certainly, if ever he attained the Crown, overturn the ancient Religion. They desired more to know, whether they were made acquainted thereby his Majesty the King was agreed with *Montmorency*, at the very time he was raising Men to fall upon that Marshal, and that shortly after for his sake Italy, had prolonged the time for restitution of those places which had been given to the *Infidels*; on such grounds.

Their Emulation made this sound bright among the People, the Preachers thunder'd in their Pulpits, the Confessors whipp'd it in the Ears of their Penitents, and their Libels insinuated the same to all their Readers. To these supposed subjects of Declaration, they add'd the Protection of *Guyenne*, the Order of the *Garter* sent by Queen *Elizabeth* to the King, and a pretended League made by the Protestants at *Magdburgh* for the defence of *Edward the Sixth*. Then after they had stained the honour of the King by all the inventions they could think of, they highly recommended the Pity, Courage, and good-will of the *Lowain* Princes, whom they termed Bucklers of their Faith, and the Fathers of their Country and People.

They having heated the Zealous, stirr'd up the Factions, and perswaded the Simple, they began to rouse up the Soldiers, hold Assemblies, elect private and nameless Chiefs, upon whose summons by Ticket such as were enrolled were to meet at certain appointed places, to renew the League; first at *Paris*, then in the Provinces. The Duke of *Nevers* was he who laboured most to shape it into some form and regular method. In a few months it grew formidable, and in a condition to declare nothing was wanting to complete their Authority but a confirmation from the Pope: Father *Claude Mainwain* a Jesuit, carried the Platform and Members of it to *Rome*, the Cardinal *Peluc* presented it to his Holiness, and the Spanish Cardinals did second it, or hugg'd it rather, as we may say, in their Arms. The Pope did not reject it at first: but whether he was afraid of alarming the Protestant Princes, and offend the King to such a degree as to make him enter into Confederation with them, he would not countenance it by any publick Act, but thought it enough to entertain them with hopes.

Besides the cause of Religion, the extraordinary oppression of *Imposts* favour'd it extremely: all other pretences and practices of the *Grande*es had been of little efficacy to move the People, had they not been grievously molested. The loads that lay upon them were insupportably heavy in comparison of those in former Kings Reigns; the King had made Edicts for more than fifty Millions, of which but so much as two ever came into his Coffers; and the Gifts in this year 1584. amounted to five Millions of Gold. Wherefore to satisfy the People upon their menacing Complaints, he suppress'd sixty four Edicts which had been verified in Parliament, abated seven hundred thousand Livres of the *Tailles*, moderated his profusion in some measure, and erected a Royal Chamber for inquiry into the Accounts of the Financiers. Which would have afforded matter of great joy to all honest Men, had not the event made it plainly appear, that they pursued and inspected those Harpies rather to get some share in their Prey, than to hinder the like Depredations for the future.

Observing how the *Guises* by their careles had gained the favour of the People, he affected during some Months to appear Popular; he shew'd himself in publick and with a smiling and gracious Countenance, call'd the Deputies from the several Cities, and the principal Bourgeois of *Paris*, assist'd at the Fraternities and solemn Masses, but this borrowed Humour was soon spent, and he shrowded himself within his Cloister as before.

The Duke of *Espernon* with some of the Council, had made a Party to seize upon the Duke of *Guise*: he had notice of it and retired to his Government of *Champagne*, carrying his Nephew along with him: the Cardinal his Brother followed soon after. The Spanish Agents took advantage of this juncture, and never let them rest, till they had made a secret Treaty with them: It was negotiated at *Joinville*, and concluded the last day of December of this year 1584.

"It contained a Confederation and League Offensive and Defensive between King Philip and the Catholick Princes, for them and for their Heirs, to preserve the Catholick Religion, as well in France as in the Low-Countries. That when the Death of Henry III. should happen the Cardinal de Bourbon should be intailed in the Throne, and that all Heretical Princes relapsed should for ever be excluded; That in such case

case the new King should renew the Treaty made at *Cambray* in 1538. should banish all Hereticks by publick Edict, cause the Degrees of the Council of *Trent* to be observed, renounce both for himself and his Successors all Alliance with the *Turks*, hinder the Cities belonging to the *Low-Countries* to be put any more into the hands of the *French*, and aid the Catholick King to reduce *Cambray* and the Rebel Cities: Reciprocally the Spanish should furnish the French Princes with fifty thousand *Rifles per Mouth*, and should advance them four hundred thousand from six Months to six Months, for which the Cardinal de Bourbon should be accountable if he attained to the Crown.

Besides this Sum, the Agent of Spain caus'd several others to be paid to the Duke of *Guise*, which he scatter'd about with a free hand to gain those of whom he stood in most need. There were few, yea, very few indeed, in all France that were not to be bought, could he have paid down but the price demanded: but as all the Gold of *India* had not been sufficient to purchase and falsifie all that were Vohal, there happen'd to be multitudes who enraged that they had been neglected, or less valued than others whom they esteem'd much beneath themselves, turn'd the other way, and became sworn Enemies to this *Guise* Faction.

After the States of *Holland* had wasted a great deal of time in deliberating under whose Dominion they should seek a shelter, that might be able to guard and secure them from the oppression of the *Spaniards*, having lost the Cities of *Bruges* and *Ghent*, and the Duke of *Burma* holding *Antwerp* invested, they sent some Deputies to the King to intreat he would accept them for his Subjects. The Spanish Ambassador employ'd all his Efforts to hinder them from being admitted to Audience: however he could not: the King heard them, received their Propositions in Writing and promised to return his Answer. Then did the *Spaniards* press the Duke of *Guise* to declare himself, and could have no more patience with him till he had throw'd his Maïque aside.

When therefore he had put the Cardinal de Bourbon, (the best Card in his Hand) into a place of security, the Nobility of *Picardy* having been to fetch him at *Gailon*, whence they carried him to *Peronne*: he put forth a Declaration the Eighteenth of March, not signed by any one; then observing little credit was given to it, because it had no name, he put forth a second, bearing that of the Cardinal de Bourbon, together with the names of those Princes, Prelats and Officers, whom he said to be his Adherents. Many faults were found with this also, and having to deal with People of various minds, they changed and alter'd it again and again, so that there were hardly twenty Copies to be met with that were alike.

At the same time the Duke plaid his Game, *Verdun* and then *Toul* were surpris'd by *Guise*: but they fail'd at *Metz* where the Duke of *Espernon* had put things in good posture. Himself secur'd *Châlons* and *Mexieres*, the Duke d'Aumale most of the Cities in *Picardy*, *Brissac* that of *Angiers*, *Burgundy* secur'd himself of *Orleans*, the Duke of *Mayenne* of *Dijon*, and some others in *Burgundy* by himself, and of a great many Cities and Castles in *Dauphine* by the Nobility of the Country, whom he had charmed with his magnificence and civility. The City of *Bordeaux* barricado'd her self to drive out *Matignon*, but that wife and prudent Lord, making use first of his Intreaties till he had drawn his Men together, then of his Commands when he found himself the stronger, caus'd the Barricado's to be pull'd down, and seiz'd upon some of the most Mutinous, whom notwithstanding he pardon'd. Some few days after he craftily allur'd *Vallée* Governor of the Castle *Trompette* to come thither, and forced him to surrender the place.

Dariez second Consul of *Marseille*, had promis'd in the absence of the first, to make himself Master thereof; the Duke of *Nevers* was to have had that Government, and to facilitate the Enterprize, had sent four of the Duke of *Florence* Gallies thither crowded with Foot-Soldiers, who had cat Anchor without the Chain of that Port, expecting the Signal for execution. Now *Dariez*, by means of one certain *Boniface*, had rais'd a great Tumult in the City, and seiz'd upon the Castle of *Notre-Dame de la Garde*: yet did not carry the business on, or follow his first blow with vigour, but kept up the Commotion for three days without completing his design: In the mean while a notable Man named *Francis Bouquier*, who had great credit with the *Marseillais*, having got all his Friends together, betes him in a Court of Guard, and carries both him and *Boniface* away Prisoners to the Town-Hall, so that the Grand Prior coming the next day with the Count de *Carces*, they brought them forthwith upon their Trial. In one day they were Examined, Condemn'd, and Haug'd by Torch-light.

E e e e

The

The Duke of *Navarre* came to *Aignon*, as was conjectured, to encourage in the Enterprise; yet some have thought his Voyage had another motive; Being of a tender Conscience, he desired, say they, before he engaged farther in the League, to know whether it were truly the work of God; and that he might be certain, would try whether the Pope would give it his approbation. Father *Matthew* the Jesuit, (called the Courier of the League) made two or three Journeys on this occasion after another to *Rome*, to obtain a Bull for any in default of a Bull he demanded a Brief, and in default of a Brief a Letter only; that the Duke of *Navarre* might have a sight of it in the Vice-Legats hands. This was the occasion, as some believe, of that Princes going to *Aignon*; but Father *Matthew* lost all his labour, he could neither obtain Brief nor Bull.

Nevertheless there is a Letter to be seen, lately made publick, making mention that the Pope did not think good they should attempt upon the Life of the King; but only secure his Person, to seize upon his Places under his Authority; whence two things may be deduced; (if at least it were not an Imposture of that Courier to engage the Duke) the one that the Pope at the bottom did not discontinue the League; although he durst not declare himself for fear of the consequence and because of the uncertainty of the success; the other that the League had made some proposition against the Person of the King, and that the Duke of *Navarre* was not ignorant of it. However it were, the Enterprise of *Marillac* failing, he made a Journey to *Rome*, and from that time, as some write, or within a year afterwards, utterly renounced the League; and thus having offended his Brother in Law the Duke of *Guise*, he necessarily became his Enemy.

The Kings Council did not proceed all upon the same foot: *Espenon* and his Partisans would have them attack the League without intermission and without any quarter; on the contrary such as did dread the Duke of *Guise*, or hated *Espenon*, were of opinion to temporise. The King at first followed *Espenon*'s advice, but soon after falling into his natural softness, and persuaded by his Mother, he relaxed so far, as to give Commission to that Prince to go to *Espinay*, find out the Duke of *Guise*, and Treat with him.

His Order was the should oblige him to lay down his Arms before he entred upon any Negotiation, on the contrary the Duke of *Guise*'s design was to gain time that he might draw his Forces together. Which he craftily practised for ten or twelve days together: then in short told her neither himself nor Friends would quit their Arms till they were satisfied in their demands, and immediately took Horse to meet his *Reiters* who were then upon the Frontiers.

Scarce was he out of sight when *Brempre*, either for not being well paid, or for being so by both sides, labour'd to debauch the old Cardinal de *Bourbon* from him; no sooner had he a hint of it but he returned in post-haste to prevent it. In the mean while the King of *Navarre* puts forth Manifestos, to shew the justice of his Cause, in one of which he offer'd the Duke of *Guise* to decide this Quarrel between them two, with such number of Seconds, and in such place the Duke would make choice of, either within or out of the Kingdom. But the Duke was too wary a Man to be piqued with a bravado which would have reduced the general Cause to a particular one; he protested he honour'd the Birth and Merits of the King of *Navarre*, that he had no contest against him, and that he only concerned and interested himself for defence of the Catholic Religion.

These Manifestos however had a great effect upon the Spirits of such as were not then engaged to either Party, and brought in great numbers; and besides the Forces of the League were beaten and dispersed in divers Provinces, the Duke of *Montpensier* cut off five hundred Men commanded by the Baron de *Drou*, who lived at discretion in his Dutchy of *Chastelleraud*; the Duke of *Joyeuse* beat along before him the Troops of the Duke d'Elbauf, from *Touraine* even to *Normandy*, where they were totally dispersed; and *Espenon* getting on Horseback, as soon as he was cured of an Imposthume above his Jaw on the left Cheek, pursued four thousand Men, who had their Rendezvous about *Orleans*, so smartly, that they could never form themselves into a Body.

The heat of those who had declared for that Party began to cool, the Volunteers to retire to their own homes upon pretence of an approaching Peace, the Kings Servants to draw many by secret practices, and the *Huguenots* to raise Forces under-hand by the Kings tacite permission. The *Guises* perceiving that such Negotiations were ruinous to them, and that it was for those very ends they spun out the Treaty to such length, address'd a Petition to the King, demanded an Edict against the Religionaries, and protesting they were joyned together for no other purpose, and thereupon rashly

break

break off the Conference, mount their Horses, and put new warmth and spirit into their Party, principally those who dwelt in great Cities, and such as were of the Clergy who had most dependance upon *Rome*.

The King, whom they had made believe that the whole Party was unhing'd and scatter'd, fell from the greatest security into the greatest consternation. He sends the Queen Mother Order to conclude with them upon any terms whatever. For this a Conference was held at *Nemours* between her and the Duke of *Guise*. *Espenon* would needs be present, fearing lest his Head, or his proscription should be one Article of the Treaty; and this necessity of the times made that haughty Spirit stoop, though contrary to his usual custom; but the Duke would take no advantage unless it were to shew him more civility, and more respect; with design perhaps either to get him on his side, or else render him suspected by the King.

They did not only give the Heads of the League that Edict they demanded against the Religionaries (this was in the Month of July) and the full command of the Armies to execute the same; but also the Cities of *Chalon*, *St. Dizier*, *Reims*, *Toul*, *Verdun*, *Souffron*, *Dijon*, *Beaune*, *St. Esprit*, *Rue in Picardy*, *Dinan* and *Concarneau in Bretagne*. To the Cardinals of *Bourbon* and of *Guise*, the Dukes of *Guise*, of *Mayenne*, and d'Elbauf, each of them a Company of *Arquebusers* on Horseback for their Guards; an hundred thousand Crowns to build a Citadel at *Verdun*, and double that Sum to pay off the Men they had levied in *Germany*; as likewise a discharge for what Moneys they had taken of the Kings.

Hitherto the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde* had lain quiet without stirring in appearance; the publication of this Agreement gave them cause, to League themselves anew with the *Mareschal de Montmorency*, whose ruins must necessarily have followed theirs, and to send also into *Germany* for the raising of *Languiers* and *Reiters*.

Now the King being just ready to be crush'd betwixt two potent Parties, who were going desperately to engage each other, could think of no other expedient to avoid that destruction, but to draw the King of *Navarre* to him, to serve as a Bulwark against the League. He therefore sent some Deputies to tempt him a second time; but he could not be wrought upon, neither to return to the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, nor to suspend the Exercise of his own Religion for six Months, much less to surrender the Cities he held for security, He only promised to meet at a Conference with the Queen Mother, when they could agree upon the place of Interview.

Though Orders were given out to prosecute the *Huguenots* in all parts of the Kingdom, nevertheless in several Provinces the Governors knowing the Kings intentions, did not much press the execution of the Edict: *Montmorency* and *Chastillon* retrain'd *Languedoc*; *Matignon* made no great haste to do any thing in *Guyenne*, but only took care to prevent the King of *Navarre* from making any stir. The *Huguenots* had no other general word but *Vive le Roy*, and white Scarfs with the *Flower-de-Luce* for their Liveries. As to the rest they were weak enough every where, unless it were in *Dauaine* and *Poitou*. In *Dauaine* *Lesdigueres* who had put all things in order in good time, took *Chorges*, *Montelimar*, and *Ambrun*, and in *Poitou* and *Saintonge* the Prince found himself in a capacity to besiege *Brouage*.

Whilst he lay before it news was brought him how three Captains had seized on the Castle of *Angers*, having by a bafe and cruel piece of treachery kill'd the Governor, who was their Friend: but they were immediately besieged by the Citizens, then by *Brissac* and *Joyeuse*. The Prince thought it would be a noble exploit to gain a place at that time so considerable, he would needs go himself with the best part of his Forces: but not willing to abandon the Siege of *Brouage*, he left a small Naval Army there in the Canal, and fifteen hundred Men in the Trenches; to which we may add that the Inhabitants of the Islands offer'd to defend them in case of necessity. He had hopes the *Vicomte de Turenne* would in a few days bring four or five thousand Men more out of *Limsin*, and that he would undertake the management of the said Siege in his absence.

Now being eleven days in giving his Orders, and above fifteen in his march, he found the Castle of *Angers*, wherein there was but sixteen Men, had capitulated two days before his arrival. His want of diligence which made him lose so fair an opportunity, had almost utterly ruined him too. For having amused himself two days in attempting the Suburbs of *Angers*, and two more in composing some quarrels between certain Gentlemen, he found when he thought to repass the *Loire*, six great Boats filled with Soldiers upon the River, and five hundred Horse on the other shoar, who were disposed to cut off his Men as fast as they should venture to get over. He knew likewise that *Brissac* coasted him, and that *Joyeuse* was at his Heels; in so much that

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being

1585.

April.

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July.

September, and October.

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being beset on all sides, he was forced to divide his Army into small Parties and let them get off as well as they could. Most of them shifted away secretly enough, but all the Carriages and his Baggage was left in the Highways, or in Woods and Hedges: the Chiefs with very few in their company flipt happily by the Enemy, some one way, some another without the loss of so much as one. As for the Prince, going down by the Country of *Mayne* into the *Lower-Normandy*, he took shipping between *Avranches* and *St. Malo's*, passed over to *Jersey* Island, and from thence into *England*.

The unfortunate event of this Enterprize made the Forces that were before *Brouage* disperse as soon as the *Mareschal de Matignon* approached; and likewise those under the *Vicount de Turenne*, who disbanded them for fear of being embarrassed between the Duke of *Mayenne's* Army which entered *Poitou*, and that of *Matignon*. So that in those parts the *Huguenots* had no more left but two thousand Men commanded by *Laval* one of the Sons of *Dandelot*, together with *la Boulaye*, who after they saw the miscarriage of the design upon *Angers*, were got over the *Loire* in good time.

1585.

October and November.

The Kings Edicts which seized the Goods, and which gave Order to lay hold of the Bodies of all those that had taken up Arms for the service of the Prince of *Conde*, and commanded them to leave the Kingdom, did yet more increase their consternation. There were many abjured, according to a form prescribed and drawn up by the Bishops, and many who repaired to the King of *Navarre*. This Prince finding that all was like to fall upon his Shoulders, laid aside all former jealousy against the Prince of *Conde* which some Flatterers had possessed him withal, and joynd more strictly to him then ever.

May.

Some Months before a Thunderbolt from the Coast of *Rome* was level'd at the Heads of both those Princes. *Sixtus V.* succeeded *Gregory XIII.* who died in the Month of *April*. He was of a haughty Spirit, and one that delighted to attack those that were highest thereby to exalt his own name and power: so that consenting to the Requests and instant desires of the League, which his Predecessor had constantly refused, he sent forth a roaring Bull against the Princes, in a stile conformable to his Humour and to the grandeur of the Subject. He declared, "Henry, heretofore, King of *Navarre*, and Henry Prince of *Conde*, (whom he stiled the Bastard and detestable Generation of the illustrious House of *Bourbon*) "Hereticks, Relaps'd, "Heads, Abettors and Protectors of Heresie, and as such fell under the Censures "and Peins contained in the Holy Canons, and therefore deprived of all Seigneuries "Lands and Dignities, and incapable of succeeding to any Principality, namely to "the Crown of *France*, disengaged their Subjects from their Oaths of Fidelity and "Allegiance, and forbid them to pay any Obedience, upon pain of being involved "in the same Excommunication.

This Thunder-clap which one would guess should have been fatal, proved less hurtful to them then to the Holy See. For it excited not only the *Huguenots*, but even Catholics zealous for the ancient Truths and Liberties of *France*, to search to the very bottom what Authority this was that Popes had over Sovereigns, who found it was not such in the Councils and in the Canons as *Rome* imagined and pretended. Besides it gave the Excommunicated Princes an occasion to shew the bravery of their courage; for they found means to post up a Paper in the very Streets and Carefours of *Rome*, containing their oppositions, and appeal from that Sentence, viz. for the Temporal Concern to the Pairs of *France*, and for the Crime of Heresie, to the future Council; Before whom they cited the Pope, and declared him Anti-Christ if he did not appear. This Bull did likewise awaken the King with some apprehension, lest it should be an attempt to dethrone him; he put a stop to it, and would not suffer it to be published in the Kingdom. It were to be wished he had so order'd things as to have obliged the Pope to revoke it absolutely, as the Council of King *Charles IX.* did oblige *Pius IV.* to revoke one he had sent out in the year 1563. against Queen *Jane d'Alret*.

November, and December.

The League had compell'd the King to let them have two Armies to fall upon the Princes. The Duke of *Guise* commanded one towards the Frontiers of *Gampagne*, to prevent the coming in of any succours from the Protestants of *Germany*; with the other the Duke of *Mayenne* entered *Saintonge*. *Matignon* joynd him with those he had raised in *Bordeaux*; but instead of strengthening him he clogged and thwarted him continually, not only because he had private instructions from the Court to do so, but for spite another should have command in his Government.

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All the places of *Poitou* and *Saintonge* were greatly dismayed at the Princes absence, and the King of *Navarre* on his part extremely perplexed, for that his own Wife had revolted against him: However he not acting in concert with the Court, it was not difficult for him to drive her quickly away. She retired into *Auvergne* with some Gentlemen; There she ran divers Adventures, and remained in that Country till her Husband recalled her to make her consent to the dissolving of their Marriage.

As to the Duke of *Mayenne*, *Matignon* was so stiff in his opinion they ought not to undertake any thing during the Winter, that they separated their Forces as soon almost as they were joynd. The Duke went with his into *Perigord* to clear it of some paltry Retreats which sheltered a company of Robbers, and the *Mareschal* led his own back again to *Bordeaux*, to defend that Town from any attempts of the King of *Navarre*, or rather the Dukes.

The following Month of *February*, *Matignon* besieged the Castle of *Castels* upon the *Garonne*, at the request of the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, and sent word to the Duke of *Mayenne* it was high time to advance towards those parts. The Duke after he had taken some small Castles, which are not so much as mentioned in the Maps, passed the *Dordogne* at *Sonillac* with a design of besieging *Montauban*: but when he understood it was too well fortified, he fell upon certain pitiful beggerly places, without name and without defence.

1586.

February and March.

In the mean while the King of *Navarre* made them raise the Siege of *Castels*, and the Prince being return'd from *England* with ten good Ships, and fifty thousand Crowns lent him by Queen *Elizabeth*, disengaged *Kochel* which was in a manner block'd up, and surpris'd *Royan* which yielded him two hundred thousand Crowns contribution yearly.

1586.

March.

The Sixth of *March*, though amidst the greatest hurry of his Affairs, he Married *Charlota* Daughter of *Levis de la Trimouille*, and by that means brought into his Party the Duke *Claude* his Wives Brother, and all the Friends of that potent House.

The Duke of *Mayenne* lost near two Months time in waiting to surpris the King of *Navarre* when he should come on this side the *Garonne*, or go to visit the Countess of *Guiche*, with whom he was desperately in Love; and to that purpose had distributed his Horse in several Posts all along his way.

During this the Prince undertook to ruine the Harbour of *Brouage*; and in effect, he sunk so many Hulls of old Ships, that he choak'd it, and made it, as it is yet to this day, very difficult and dangerous to enter.

Matignon does a second time lay Siege before *Castels*. When he was just upon the point of taking it, the Duke of *Mayenne* runs thither to rob him of that honour, which increased their enmity and feud. The *Mareschal* pretended Sickness that he might not see the Duke: who in the mean time making his approaches to *Monsieur*, which hindered all commerce and passage into *Limosin*, *Perigord*, and *Quercy*, fell really sick, and was carried to *Bordeaux*, leaving to him the command of his Army. During his absence *Monsieur* surrendered the Fifteenth of *May* upon composition, which was but ill observed.

May.

All along the Month of *June* the Army lay idle, because *Matignon* jealous the Duke should be in *Bordeaux*, returned immediately and dismissed the Companies d'*Ordonnance*. When the Duke was well again, they jointly besieged *Castillon*: the Siege was long, toilsom and difficult, the Soldiers being dissatisfied abandoned the Trenches, the Generals were fain to lie themselves there twenty days successively. In the end the place was taken; they made good their capitulation with the Soldiery, but a certain number of the Inhabitants were sent away to the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, who condemned them to the Gallows.

June.

The same year the *Vicount de Turenne* regained it one fair night, forcing his way with a Petard: which gave the *Huguenots* occasion to brag that they with two pounds of Powder and in one quarter of an hour, did what the League could not but in two Months time, and with twenty pieces of Cannon.

This was all, the greatest Captain of the League could perform in nine Months. Perhaps it was no fault of his; He had no Money, for the Clergy within three Months time were grown quite weary of furnishing them, and the Pope contributed nothing but his Benedictions. He wanted Equipage, Artillery and Provisions, Ammunition, and had against him all things that usually ruin the great designs and reputation of Princes, for his Troops did often mutiny, his Captains quarrel'd with each other, his Colleague was jealous and suspicious, and the secret or Cabinet Council, from whence, if we may so speak, all those Animal Spirits ought to flow which keep life in an Army, mortally envenomed against him.

1586.

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He knew this but too well, and therefore, even trembling with rage, he demanded to be dismissed and pressed it to home that he obtained it. The Duke of Guise did vainly urge him by all imaginable Arguments to prevent it; he could have wished he would have remained in those Countries either for the reputation of his Party, or for fear he should gain the affections of the People of Paris, and deprive him of the voluntary Empire he had acquired over that spacious City.

Whilst he was in Guise, the Duke of Guise made use of the Army he had on the Frontiers of Champagne, to seize the Cities of *Raoul* and *Donay* upon the Duke of *Boulton*; On the other side the Duke of *Amant* having armed the *Picards*, (passionate Leaguers) seized on the City of *Doullens*, and of *Ponthieu*, which is a passage upon the *Sea* below *Pegibay*.

The Favourites jealous to see the whole power of the Sword in the hands of the *Guises*, their Enemies, desired the King he would likewise give them such Command; which he granted the more willingly as intending to raise them, and turn the affections of the Soldiers that way, who do more cheerfully follow plentiful Tables, and favour, the Mother of Rewards, than the bravest Captains. He had raised an Army that was to purge *Avignon*, *Vendôme*, *Gravelin*, and from those Countries pass into *Dauphiné*; this Employment was designed for the *Marschal d'Amant*; *Joyeuse* courted it so eagerly that the King could not deny it him.

He must also give the like to the Duke of *Espernon*, and withal a Government as well as to *Joyeuse*, who had already that of *Normandy*. The Government of *Provence* becoming vacant by the death of the Grand Prior, he instantly provided him with it. This Grand Prior had harboured a mortal resentment against a Gentleman named *Alpigny*. One day spying him at a Window of an Inn, it was at *Aix*, he goes directly up into his Chamber, and runs his Sword quite through his Body; *Alpigny* feeling himself mortally wounded, lost all Respect with his Life, and plunged his Sword into the Priors Belly.

So many Forces could not be maintained without a prodigious Expence, there was Money enough raised to defray it; but the Kings luxury, and the greediness of the Favourites, were such gulfs as swallowed up all. *Paris* had furnished two hundred thousand Crowns for this War, this lasted but eight days, the alienation of fifty thousand Crowns Revenue belonging to the Clergy, very little longer, no more than forty thousand Crowns Rent of the Demein. They would have raised more upon a creation of new Offices, and they sent twenty seven Edicts at once to the Parliament, which were the Less and Refuse of such as had been invented by the Italian Brokers for twenty years past. But these were all rejected, and this attempt served only to discover the weakness and the injustice of the Government.

The *Swiss* and the King of *Denmark* in the first place, then the other Protestant Princes of *Germany*, sent to the King a solemn Embassy, to desire him to grant a Peace to the *Huguenots*, pursuant to the Tenour of the Edicts of Pacification. Knowing not what to reply, he for some time avoided the sight of those Ambassadors, and went to *Dolville*, having given Order that some Noblemen should go meet and conduct them to *Paris*; Then from *Dolville*, under pretence of some indisposition, he went to the Waters of *Pongnet*, and from thence even to *Lyon*. But being pressed by their continual instances, he was constrained to return, and in fine he gave them an Answer, but very crude and very dissembling, whether to satisfy his Honour, or not to discontent the League, I know not.

He endeavour'd during these delays on the one hand to appease the fervour of the League, making them great profers, and on the other to bring back the King of *Navarre*, representing to him that his absence from the Court would keep him from the Crown, and gave the Leaguers too much confidence and advantage: but he could gain nothing neither of him nor of the Leaguers. These having held a general Council of their Party at the Abby of *Orcamp* near *Noyon*, refused those places of security and other great advantages he offer'd them. At their departure thence the Duke of *Guise* attacked the Duke of *Boulton*, and invested the City of *Sedan*, as being one of the principal Heads of the *Huguenots*, and giving the *Reiters* passage through his Countries. However the Queen Mother, who Negotiated eternally betwixt the two Parties, procured a Truce between them, imagining that by this obligation she might incline the Duke of *Boulton* to serve the King towards the Protestant Princes, and hinder their Army from entering into the Kingdom.

As for *Joyeuse* he could reckon amongst his Exploits nothing but five or six paltry Places; after which Winter coming on he put his Forces, half diminished by Sickness, into quarters. Having made a pompous flourish before *Toulouse*, he left the conduct to *Laverdin*, and came post to Court.

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The Duke of *Espernon* was more fortunate than so. The Parliament of *Aix* had taken the Government of *Provence*, and *Vins* having got some Forces together, offer'd him his service. He had an opposite Party of *Huguenots* and Male-contents of whom *Francis d'Orléans*, Vicount of *Cadours*, and the Baron d'Almeida, were the Heads. Now it happened that *Vins* pursuing them with too much heat, and besieging the Castle of *Almeida*, was defeated by *Lesdiguières* who came to their relief; which did marvellously help *Espernon's* business, and gave him so much advantage over either Party, that he became both the Arbitrator and Master, at least for that present time.

Winter approaching, he returned to the King, leaving the Command to *Bernard* Lord de la *Valette*, his eldest Brother, who had it already in *Dauphiné*; where he was no less active to ruin the Party of the League, than that of the *Huguenots*, by turning out such Governors as either of them had placed there.

In the Month of *December* the Queen Mother had a Conference with the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde* at *St. Bri*, which is within two Leagues of *Cognac*. She had according to her custom, carried in her Train a good number of the finest Women of her Court: but this time the Princes avoided the Nets he thought to spread for them by those alluring Charms, stood firm in maintenance of their Religion till they might have the judgment and determination of a National Council, and demanded the rupture of the League: the Queen on the contrary declared that the Kings positive resolution was that there should be but one Religion in his Dominions.

The *Guises* perceived plainly that the Kings main Resolution was to ruin them, and although he did not love the *Huguenots*, nevertheless he would tolerate them as an indirect opposition to their progress; wherefore they caught him to be decry'd by their Enmities and by their Preachers as an Abettor of Hereticks, and proclaimed every where, because he had courted the King of *Navarre* for an Accommodation, that he conspired with him to oppress all the good Catholics.

The inferior People, who the more ignorant are, are the more they must be meddling still with matters of Religion, grew hot enough of themselves; the Directors and Confessors animated the Citizens, who were both foolish and credulous, at their Confessions, or by the Persuasions of their Wives, and entertained them with Congregations, Confraternities, Parades and Oratories which they adorned with Plate and Jewels, Images and *Agnes Dei*, and with Processions which they caused to come thither from *Brie*, *Champagne*, and *Picardy*. These all made their entrance into *Paris* clothed in white Linen, bearing Wax Candles in their hands, from whence they called this year, *The year of white Processions*.

It was not so much wondered at to see the People led away thus with false and pretended Devotions, as that the King authorized them by his example. He went perpetually on Pilgrimage to divers parts of the Kingdom, walked in Procession on foot in the Streets of *Paris* in the habit of a Penitent, wore a String of huge Beads, or Chaplet, at his Girdle, each Bead being carved like a Deaths Head, shut himself up in certain Oratories with the *Hieronymites* (whom he had sent for out of *Spain*) or with the *Penitents*, who were *Bernardines* of a new cut begun in the Abby of that name within the Diocess of *Rieux* in *Languedoc*. He built Cells for the first in the *Bois de Vincennes*, and lodged the others in the *Fauxbourg Saint Honoré*, upon one side of the Garden of the *Tuilleries*.

Amidst these pious Divertisements, he amused himself likewise in carving of Images, casing them, and setting them up in some Cloister. He had another Pastime also, which was to buy and breed up little Dogs, such as are wont to be the vanity and delight of Ladies, in which he expended above a hundred thousand Crowns a year, and little less in Monkeys and Perroquets. There were a world of People that followed the Court with all this dainty Equipage, and himself during the last years of his life carried a Panier or little round Basket on a Scarf full of little Spaniels and the like Creatures, which he often cherished with his Voice, and by froaking them.

Espernon raised to the highest degree of favour, from which *Joyeuse* began to decline, was ever pulling on the King to destroy the *Guises*, and they in retaliation having conspired his ruine, framed divers Projects for it. He had so much craft as to persuade the King they were all Contrivances against his Sacred Person; and by that means prevailed he should ever keep above him that famous Band of *Forty five**, whom he chose himself, perhaps for that very end which the event will shew us. They were all *Gascons*, whom the desire of making their own fortunes, had fitted for any undertaking, *Lognac* being their Captain. It is credible that the knowledge the *Guises* had of those intentions, did the more engage them to that unhappy necessity of fortifying themselves against an Authority that was to be employ'd to ruin them.

Notwith-

December,

1586.

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Vide, The Memoirs of Sully, Vol. 1. Fol. 79.

* Quarante-cinq.

1586.

October.

The two Armies drew up their Battalions in the Plain near *Contras*; this was about Eight of the clock in the Morning, upon the Twentieth day of *October*. The shock lasted but half an hour; the Princes running speedily in upon them, rendered *Joyeuse's* great Squadrons of Lances useless, and press'd so hard upon his amazed *Gentil Armée*, that they could never come to do execution, but were soon cut in pieces. The Infantry lost their courage when their Cavalry were dead, they pacifely gave ground, were routed, and most of them put to the edge of the Sword, in revenge of *la Honte Saint Hilaire*. The Duke of *Joyeuse* having generously taken a resolution to dye by the Cannon, fell into the hands of two Captains, who killed him in cold Blood, though they were proffer'd a Ransom of an hundred thousand Crowns. In a word, the Royals lost Cannon, Bag and Baggage, Eighteen, almost all their Chiefs, and five thousand Men who died upon the place; amongst whom, there were Four hundred Gentlemen and Officers. The King of *Navarre* had not above Five and twenty or Thirty of his Men killing. The Prince of *Condé* was thrown off his Horse with a rude thrust of a Lance, which did much incommode him. It was the act of the brave *St. Luc*, who not able to make his escape, and seeing to be roughly treated by the Prince his capital Enemy, laid him thus on the ground, and having first fore'd him to ask his life, afterwards stricken himself prisoner.

The valour of the King of *Navarre* signal'd it self much more in this days battle, then did his Conduct in improving the advantages of it: Since very far from drawing directly towards the foreign Army, as the Prince of *Condé* would have had him, undertaking (if they would let him have Men) to go and seize upon the passage at *Somme*: he kept his victorious Army separate, contesting himself with taking an Oath of his Captains, that they should meet again the Twentieth of *November*, on the confines of *Angoumois* and *Perigord*, to march towards the *Reîtres*. He only retained Five hundred Horse, and taking the Count de *Saiffus* along with him, pierced into *Gascogne*, whither the violent Love he had for the fair Countess of *Guiche*, attracted him as it were person.

The news of the victory of *Contras* had not those effects, or that influence as might well have been imagin'd, either on the Court, nor in the Confederate Army; the King shew'd little sorrow, perhaps, because all that perish'd in that Fight, were of the Leaguers: He made however a magnificent funeral for *Joyeuse*; and as for the Forces of the Confederate Army, they were so discourag'd by the length of their March, and for that they heard the King of *Navarre* had turned his back upon them, instead of coming towards them, that they had little joy of the news.

Their *Reîtres* mutined from time to time, and the *Swiss*, who in the beginning appeared very zealous, treated an accommodation for themselves in particular, promising to retire into their own Country, if they would pay them Four hundred thousand Crowns.

That which made them in such haste to be gone, was the defeat of the *Reîtres* at *Auneau*; this is a small City in *Beauvais*, enclosed with ill-favour'd Walls, but which hath a pretty good Castle. The Baron de *Dona* had lodged himself in the City, and all the rest of the Army in the adjacent Villages, but could not gain the Castle, and had satisfied himself with taking the Oath of him that was within, that he would commit no act of hostility against him. The Duke of *Guise* was always in the rear of this Army with Three thousand Men, having sent back the Duke of *Mayenne* into *Burgundy*, and *Anneau* into *Fiardy*, that they might cover the places there from any surprize of the Duke of *Espernon*. The twenty fourth of *November*, a little after Mid-night, the Captain of the Castle gave his Foot entrance into the Town; they presently forced the *Reîtres* barricado's, who having only Pistols, could not defend themselves against Muskets and Pikes. There were near upon Two thousand of them kill'd in the Streets, or in their Lodgments, and all their Baggage plundered. *Dona* with as much courage as good fortune, pierced, he being the Tenth, thorough the enemies, before they had shut up the City Gates, and so saved his Person, and his Great Cornet.

This Army half defeated, and ready to be forsaken by their *Swiss*, pursued their march by going up the *Loire*. They received a second check at the Bridge of *Giens*; *Espernon* approach'd struck so great terror in the *Langueyeurs*, that Five and twenty of his *Arquebusers* disarm'd Twelve hundred of them. The remainder kept on their march by *Morvan*: but they dispospos'd themselves by the fatigues and difficult ways of those Countreys, so very much, that they hardly kept together in any warlike Order. This extream misery forced them to accept of an accommodation offer'd them by the King: *Chastillon* refused to be comprehended, and retiring with an

an hundred and twenty *Maitres*; and an hundred and fifty *Arquebusers*, before the Articles were signed, got to the *Vivarets*, having also beaten some Troops of *Man-delots*, Governor of Lyons, who would have barr'd their way to *Riviere*.

The Accommodation made, the *Reîtres* and Chiefs of the Confederate Army were splendidly regaled at *Marigny-lez-Nonains*, by the Duke of *Espernon*. Going from thence, they divided their Forces into two Bodies, part of them cross'd the Countrey of *Roriz*, and a corner of the Duke of *Savoy's* territory, who allowed them pallage: The others took their march by *Burgundy* and the *Franches Comtes*, with such diligence, that they deceived the *Marquis du Pont*, and the Duke of *Guise* who watched them, and got into the County of *Montbéliard*. Some Companies slipping from thence into *Lorraine*, gave occasions to that two Princes to lack that Countrey most horribly, and to put above Ten thousand People to the edge of the Sword.

The Prince of *Cony* did with much difficulty get into the Countrey of *Mayne*, marching with a small Train, and his white Cornet folded up in his Valise, and lodging in Gentlemens Houses as a private Person. *Clermont* trudg'd away with his *Swiss*, and the Duke of *Bouillon* to *Geneva*; they both languish'd to death in a short, while after; common report accus'd the Fealt at *Marigny* for it. The Count de *la Mark*, younger Brother to the Duke, died before in *France*, upon his march with the Confederates Army.

The Duke of *Bouillon** had only one Sister named *Charlotte*, to whom he left his Estate, but he ordain'd by his Will, that she should not Marry without the consent of the King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Condé*, and the Duke of *Montpensier*, and substituted to her, that Duke and his Son, the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince successively, upon condition, that neither she nor they should not innovate any thing in the Religion. He named *la Noie* Executor of his Will and Testament, made him Guardian of that Prince, and Governor of his Sovereign Territory: But as divers weighty Reasons hinder'd this prudent Lord from going into that Countrey, so soon as he could have wish'd, the Pupil was much oppress'd, and almost ruin'd.

Although that little State were worth at that time but Forty thousand Livres Rent, nevertheless it was sought for by a great many pretenders. *Robert de la Mark*, *Marle-vrier*, Uncle to the Pupil, said he had a Right by a tacit Substitution in favour of *Males*, which he affirm'd to be in that House: The King of *Navarre* had an interest to marry this Heyre's to a Prince of his Religion: the Duke of *Montpensier* as the nearest Heir, would have put Garrisons into the places to secure them; and the Duke of *Guise* strugled to get it by force of Arms; yet notwithstanding, demanded the Heire's for his Son.

He was the most dangerous of all the Competitors; Six weeks after the death of the Duke, he attack'd this petty Estate, made grievous havoc about *Sedan*, and besieged *Janetz*. The first three Months he did but invest it, afterwards he besieged it more closely, and then again the valour of those that defended it, enlarg'd that Siege to a Blockade. In fine, *La Noie* being arriv'd in that Countrey, found it safest to surrender it upon composition, the Town only, not the Castle, which yet held out a long time, and surrendered in fine to the Duke of *Lorraine*: but this was not till a little before the death of King Henry.

The Catholic party chanted nothing but the praises and triumphs of the Duke of *Guise*, thorow out all Christendom: The Pope presented him with a Sword, grav'd all over with Flames, marks of his zeal and valour, and the Duke of *Parma* with a Suit of Armour, and this Elogy, *That it belonged to none but Henry of Lorraine, to call himself Head of the League*. All Paris echo'd with the loud noise of his victory over the *Reîtres*: but amidst this popular applause, he had one mortal displeasure, that the King sought every occasion to pluck him down, and lift *Espernon* his Enemy to the highest pitch of Grandeur.

The Duke of *Joyeuse* had had the Government of *Normandy*, and the Admiralty; when he was slain at *Contras*, the Duke of *Guise* pretended to have some relique of his Shipwrack, and therefore earnestly demanded the Admiralty for *Brissac*: But the King, after he had given him some fair hopes, invest'd the Duke of *Espernon* with that Office, and the Government of *Caen*, and *Havre de Grace*; and likewise gave him all the spoil belonging to *Bellegarde* his Cousin, mortally wounded at *Contras*, i.e. the Government of *Angouleme*, of *Xaintonge*, and the Countrey of *Aunis*.

November and December.

1587.

* His name was Robert.

December.

From January to the end of the year, 1588.

1587.

November, and December.

The Duke of Guise was more rung and pierced that the Favours were done to his Enemy, then for the denial to him. Wherefore in a great Assembly of the Princes of his House, and the Chiefs of the League whom he had summoned at Nancy, upon the First day of January, of the year 1588. It was resolved, that they should make a Petition to the King, wherein amongst other Articles, "He should be summoned to joyn more openly with the Holy League, to put away both from his Presence, and from all Offices and Governments, such as were enemies to the Publique, and abettors of Heresies, which should be named to him, to cause the Council of Trent to be published; to establish the Holy Inquisition; to command the Clergy to redeem their alienated Lands; to consign such places as they should name, into the hands of certain persons, where they might build Forts; and to maintain an Army on the frontiers of Lorraine, to hinder the Germans from returning any more.

Espernon having had contest in the Council with Peter d'Espinoe, Arch-Bishop of Lyons, and Villeroi Secretary of State, even to the giving them outrageous Language, made the King lose those two most important Servants, who Declared when occasion offer'd.

The League was not a little strengthened by it; as the Huguenots party was much weakened by the death of the Prince of Condé, amongst whose Virtues one cannot tell whether it were Courage, or Liberality, Generosity, or love to Justice, or Courtesy and Affability that had the preeminence. He died the Fifth of March at St. Jean d'Angely, his ordinary Residence, being poisoned by his own Domestique Servants.

The Judges of the place, by an Act above their Power, and against all forms of Law, involved Charlotte-Catherine de la Trimoille his Wife in this crime, and made Process against her, so far, that she had lost her life, had she not proved to be great with Child. It was of a Son, of whom she was happily deliver'd the First day of September, six Months after the death of his Father. She was afterwards still detained in the same place till King Henry IV. ordered her to appear before the Parliament of Paris who declared her innocent, and caused all those proceedings to be burnt, as being injurious, and not to leave any footsteps for slander.

It was now above a year and half since the King resolved to make an exemplary punishment of the Heads of the League, who had stirred up Seditions, and contrived strange Designs, even, as he verily believed, against his own Person. They were called the Seize (i.e. the Sixteen) because they Abetted and Governed that Party in the Sixteen Divisions, or Wards of the City of Paris. The Duke of Guise had left Forty or Fifty Gentlemen with them in his behalf, to give them Orders, and take care for their defence; and these had provided Arms, and raised Money privately, to be employ'd upon occasion. These People informed of the Kings intentions, sent to the Duke of Guise, to implore he would come to their assistance. He was then departed from Nancy, and came into Picardy, to justify his Cousin the Duke d'Aumale in that Government. For having held it by provision in the life-time of the Prince of Condé, he would not resign it after his death, whilst the Duke of Espernon, on whom the King had bestowed it, endeavour'd to wrest it out of his hands.

While the Duke of Guise was at Soissons, the King dispatched Belieue to sound his intentions: but some important Affair having called that Minister back to the King, he went away without concluding any thing, and promised he should hear news of him within three days; and indeed he wrote twice, but sent his Letters by the Post, instead of an Express Courier, so that the Duke might plausibly pretend he did not receive them. During these transactions, the Sixteen pressing the Duke earnestly to come to their aid, because the danger was very nigh, he parts from Soissons with only Seven Gentlemen, wisely avoids Philibert de la Guiche, Grand Master of the Ordinance, who went to seek him on behalf of the King, and arrives at Paris on Monday the Ninth of May about Noon. He alighted at the Filles Repentier, where the Queen-Mother at that time was.

She leads him immediately to the Louvre amidst the crowd and acclamations of the People, who flock'd about him as their Protector. The King informed of his coming, deliberated, whether he should put him to death, and it was known he had resolved it: but whether he had not time to give his positive Orders, or whether the fight and presence of so formidable a Person, who always kept his hand upon the hilt of his Sword, and by his fiery and piercing looks, did forewarn them, that if they made the least attempt, he would fall directly upon the Author of his death, they offer'd not to touch his Person. This visit was spent in accusations and reproaches

proaches on the Kings part, and in justifications, and most humble submissions on the Dukes part. In the Afternoon they had again a long Conference in the Garden of the Tuilleries, the Queen-Mother making the Third betwixt those two.

Paris was full of unknown Faces, the Streets and Houses of knots of People buzzing, and of confused murmurings, and hollow whispers, which betokened an approaching Tempest: Things could not rest long in such a turbulent posture: the Duke was not ignorant they bargained for his Head, and the King was told the League designed no less then to make him a Monk, and that the Dutchess of Montpensier shew'd the very Cizars which were prepared to shave him. This was because he had affronted that Widow, by discovering some secret defects of hers, in his Discourses. An Outrage, much more unpardonable in respect of Women, then any thing beside that can be attempted, or that can be done against their Honour.

The Tenth day of May the King therefore gave Command, all strangers should depart the City of Paris, and ordered the Houses should be searched, against which the Parisians making some resistance, he took occasion to send five or six thousand, as well French as Swiss, into the City, by the Gate St. Honoré, which was opened to them by two Eschevins.

The honest Bourgeois could have been glad the King might still be Master: yet they did not approve, that to seize upon Fifteen or Twenty guilty persons, he should put the Capital of the Kingdom in danger of being plundered, or turning Rebels: and therefore they did not second this so well as they might else have done. He posted City Companies, and Companies of his Soldiers in divers places: The first did him little service, the others were beaten off, or hemm'd in by the Leaguers, who were well prepared for this Attack. The commotion began near the University, thence got into the City, where about three or fourscore Swiss were knock'd on the Head; then Afternoon over all the whole Town; the Barricado's being carried on from Street to Street, till they had brought them as far as the Louvre, and made the Sentinel retire.

The King and Duke did yet dissemble their game, though so apparent, and felt each others Pulses by Envoyez, who brought and carried several Propositions. If the Duke of Guise had any other design but to defend himself and his friends, it must be granted, that he wanted either Courage or Conduct; for after that part of Paris which is called the Ville had taken Wild-fire, had he follow'd his blow, he might have surrounded the Louvre, and seiz'd on the Kings Person. But he did not press on that opportunity as he might: On the contrary, being piqued with generosity, he went to disengage the Soldiery, and sent them back disarm'd to the Louvre; he some hours afterwards returned their Arms again, and entred upon Treaty with the Queen-Mother.

But the next day he was much amazed to hear, that whilst she flatter'd him with the fairest hopes, the King following her Council, or perhaps his own Fears, had made his escape in great disorder, by the new Gate to the Garden of the Tuilleries, and from thence to the Monastery of the Feuillants, where he took Horse. That night he went and lay at Traper, near Versailles, and the next day at Chartres; his Officers followed in a great hurry: The Queen-Mother staid at Paris, not to pacify those disturbances, but to keep things in such a tottering posture, that they might ever stand in need of her Mediation and Interposition.

From Chartres the King wrote to all the Cities and Governors; the Duke of Guise from Paris to his friends and partisans: The Style of the former was languishing and fearful; on the contrary, that of the Duke of Guise and the League, Victorious and triumphant. They said the day of the Barricades, was a day replete with the protection of the Lord of Hosts, and conjured the other Cities to joyn with them, as Members to their Head.

To make themselves most sure of Paris, they set aside the ancient Prevost des Marchands, and the Eschevins, seize upon the Bastille and the Arsenal; as in the Provinces they seiz'd on several Towns, the Duke of Aumale upon all in Picardy, excepting those which he attempted in vain three times; the Cardinal de Guise on Reims and Chalons, as their friends would have made themselves Masters of the greater part of those in Normandy, if the Duke of Montpensier, who was gone to take possession of that Government, had not prevented them.

The Queen-Mother ceased not to Treat with the Duke of Guise, to which end she made use of the Dutchess of Montpensier, whom she cajoled with the hopes of Marrying the old Cardinal de Bourbon. These two joining together, perswaded the Duke of Guise to reconcile himself to the King; and for this purpose, obliged the

the Leaguers, after they had made Processions to appease the wrath of God, to go in the Habits of Penitents to *Charres* to crave pardon of the King. They were conducted thither by *Henry de Joyeuse*, who was called *Faiber Angel*, representing our Lord at his going to Mount *Calvary*, with all the Trinkets, and Persons they employ'd in those days, to act the History of the *Passion*. Thus travelled, they went to seek the King, who was then at Church, and coming before him, cast themselves upon their knees, and with a loud voice cried out for Mercy.

For the same end the Parliament sent their Deputies some few days after, to let him know they were most sensibly afflicted and concern'd to find he had forsaken his *Lawes*, and to beseech him to return, and avert his just vengeance from falling on the Heads of his Subjects. He answered to the King, that if he designed to ruin the *Parliaments*, as they would have made the People believe, it was in his power to reduce them to ashes; and to the Latter; that he would Treat the Inhabitants of *Paris*, as Children that had offended their Father, not as Slaves.

After Dinner, having sent again for the Latter, he charged them to threaten the *Parliaments*, that he would take away their Sovereign Courts, if they persisted in their factious humour. Then three days afterwards he sent a Master of Requests to the Parliament, to assure them he was resolv'd to assemble the Estates-General before the expiration of the year; that he would carefully endeavour the Reformation of his Kingdom, and assure them of a Catholique Successor.

It is not certainly known what motive obliged him to engage so far; but the Duke of *Guise* judg'd it fit to press him upon that point. He therefore caus'd a Petition to be presented to him in the name of the Princes, of the City of *Paris*, and of all the good Catholiques, who did beseech him, to send for that purpose the Duke of *Mayenne* into *Dauphin* with one Army, and to march himself into *Guyenne* with another, leaving the Command of *Paris* to the Queen-Mother; to forget the Barricades, and other irregularities; to confirm the Election of the *Prevost des Marchands*, and the *Echevins*; and above all, to put away the Duke of *Espernon*, and *la Valette* his Brother, who contemned the Heretiques.

Those enemies *Espernon* had in the Kings Council, greedily embraced this occasion to annoy him; the Queen-Mother clubs with them, and all together, made such an impression on the King, that he sent him word, He must stay a while away, and not come near him or the Court. The Duke did not take himself to be out of Favour for all this. He came to wait upon him at his return out of *Normandy*; the King would not admit him to the Council, but Commanded him to retire to his Government of *Angoumois*. Before he departed, he surrendered up that of *Normandy*, and indeed he could not have held it: the King bestow'd it upon the Duke of *Montpensier*.

One would have thought his absence might have calmed the Tempest. In effect, the King shew'd himself more willing to come to an accommodation, but this appeared to be only a design to get some places out of the hands of the League, especially *Havre* and *Orleans*; it was upon the score of *Havre* that he went to *Roien*, but *Villars*, who held it, a haughty Man, and who had engaged his Word to the Duke of *Guise*, soon cut off all his hopes of gaining it. As for *Orleans*, *Entragues* who was Governour thereof, did not positively deny to give Obedience to the Orders brought him by *Schomberg*, to render it to the King. The Duke of *Guise* was then just on the point of concluding his Treaty with the King; when he heard they were dealing with *Entragues*, he made great instance that City should be one amongst the rest which he demanded for security. The King resisted a long time upon this particular, at last he was forced to condescend to it; but afterwards, by a subtilty more ingenious then becoming a great Prince, he said they had mistaken in transcribing the Order from the Secretary; and that it was there the City of *Dourlans*, not *Orleans*; and this contest was one of the main subjects which led him to the greatest extremities, against the Duke of *Guise*.

However upon this foot was the Treaty made of the Month of *July*, which besides that City, granted to the Princes of the League, *Bouger*, *Dourlans*, and *Montivert*, withal, left in their keeping for Four years, those places that had been given them by the Treaty of *Nemours*: permitted those others who had declared for them, to remain in the same condition they were in: Continued their *Prevost* and *Echevins* des *Marchands* at *Paris* for two years more, and allowed them many other things of good advantage.

At the same time appeared at Sea, that formidable Armado of *Philip* of Spain, which he set forth for the Conquest of *England*. They had been seven years about preparing and equipping it, and every year he laid out above a Million of Gold for the expences. The King apprehending that the Leaguers, if he ran them into despair, might get them to land upon the coasts of *France*, durst no longer deny those things they ask'd of him. He gave them that Edict which bare the specious name of *Re-Union*. By which renewing his Coronation Oath, he swear'd to root out all *Schisms* and *Heresies*, and never make any Peace or Edict in favour of the *Huguenots*; ordained likewise all his Subjects of what quality soever, to swear the same; and that his death hapning, they should acknowledge no Prince for their King, who was an Heretique, or abettor of Heresie; Declared Rebels, and Criminals of *Leze-Majesty*, those who refused to sign this Edict, and approved all that had been done the 12th and 13th * of *May*, and since, as well at *Paris*, as in other Cities, as being done out of pure Zeal for the Catholique Religion.

He swear'd this Edict with an appearance of great joy; all those that were of his Council, and of his Court, did the same thing, excepting the Duke of *Nevers*, who refused the Oath three or four times, till the King enjoyned him to it upon pain of disobedience. The Parliament did forthwith Register and make publication of it, and all the great Cities received it. This done, the King retir'd to *Charres*, towards the end of the Month, and the Queen brought thither the Duke of *Guise*, and presented him to the King, where appeared in their countenances, and in their discourse, and in either of their proceedings, so many marks of Confidence, and a cordial Affection, that the whole Court was overjoy'd at this reconciliation, and the most cautious believed it might be unfeigned.

At this time the King of *Navarre* was returned from *Bearn* to *Roell*, and sought to gain the favour of that City: where indeed he had no very great credit, during the life of the Prince of *Condé*. *Lesdiguières* was busy in *Dauphin*, curbing the Cities of *Gap* and *Grenoble* with Forts; he mated *Grenoble* so effectually, that they demanded a Truce for six Months. He and *Montmorency* had also besieged the Pont *Saint Esprit*, when the Edict of *Re-Union* was brought to him. It made the *Mareschal* put up his Sword, but hasten'd *la Valette* to make a League Offensive and Defensive with *Lesdiguières*.

There was nothing in *Dauphin* that made head against the last, but only *Charles de Simiane d' Albigny*: nor did he spare any thing to gain his amity, he offer'd to give him his Daughter in Marriage, to share his Authority between them, and to leave it solely to him at his death. These advantageous proffers had less power and influence over the Spirit of *Albigny*, then that zeal he was confin'd in for the Religion of his Ancestors: he ever constantly resisted him, but not with so much success as courage.

The *Provençaux* in the mean time were risen up against *Valette*; the Kings private Orders, the Parliaments hatred to the Duke of *Espernon*, and the ambition of *Vim*, who pretended to that Government, did but too much animate those Spirits, whose Blood is soon heated, and easily incited to a commotion. The supplies which came to him from *Dauphin*, did but little service, when the Parliament had once set him beside the Government; most of the Gentry, and all the Cities abandon'd him, excepting four or five petty places, which he maintained till the death of the Duke of *Guise*, when the face of Affairs were changed by the Kings changing of his mind.

In the precedent Month of *August*, the Duke of *Espernon* saw himself in most dreadful danger: his kind fortune and great courage drew him out of it. Having staid some days in the Castle of *Loches*, after his leaving the Court, before he resolv'd to go to *Angoulême*, the Mayor of the Town had order from the King to oppose his entrance; and not able to do so, because *Espernon* had prevented the Courier, he undertook to seize him in the Castle * or the Kings House where he lodged. He entred therefore with Ten Men well armed, under colour of bringing a Courier to him: but running rashly into the Wardrobe, instead of going directly to his Closet, he mist his prey, and perish'd with his Brother-in-law, who crept in thorow a hole to come to his aid. The other Conspirators and their friends, who had taken Arms in the City, apprehending to be over-born by the Soldiers, who came thundring in to the Dukes assistance, and the Duke to be starved to death: having not eaten in Thirty hours, this fear and that necessity made an accommodation between them, and obliged them to stand to it.

* The Barrio-cado's.

September and October.

1588.

August.

* This Castle is distinct from the Citadel.

Villeroy was taxed, as having abused, or contrived Letters under the Signet to destroy *Epiphany*; but the King clearly owned the business. He was grown so peevish, that towards the end of the same Month he dismissed the Chancellor de *Chiverny*, *Villeroy*, and *Pinard*, Secretaries of State; and *Pompey de Believre*, Sur-Intendant des Finances. At the same time he received Favours upon the Leaguers; for he put the Seals into the hands of *Planchet de Montesson*, Advocate in Parliament, whom they revered, because of his fervent zeal for the Catholic Religion. He also declared the Cardinal de Bourbon the nearest of kin to his blood; in effect he was so, but not the fittest to succeed; and he permitted the Clergy to furnish five hundred thousand Crowns towards the expenses of the War. Now that the said Body Ecclesiastical might raise it, without alienating their Fund, he consented to the erection of an alternate Receiver, and two Comptrollers of the Tenth, hereditary in each Diocese.

This Fund was ordained for the maintenance of two Armies which he had raised. He gave the one to the Duke of Mayenne, and the other to the Duke of Nevers: but this was upon the refusal of the Duke of Guise, who by advice of the Archbishop of Lyons, resolved to remain at Court, and got a constant and certain Fund settled to keep his Table of Grand Maître.

The event made it appear, that this resolution was not prudent; for the beams of his power shining perpetually so bright in the Kings Eyes, awakened his resentments, which perhaps might else by little and little, have been extinguished, and laid to sleep in the shades of oblivion. He was offended that the Pope should in a Letter call the Duke, and the Cardinal de Bourbon *Macababians*, and say they had saved the people of *Israel*. Besides this, the Duke of Nevers, and *Lognac*, Captain of the Forty-five, did perpetually stir up his indignation: The Duke of Nevers, because he irreconcilably hated the Duke of Guise, and *Lognac*, because having in some manner succeeded to the Kings favour after *Epiphany*, as Second with *Bellegarde*, Cousin-Germain to that Duke, well knew that the House of Guise, always enemies to the Favorites, would not suffer him long in that post.

They labour'd on both sides to gain the Deputies for the Estates. The over-confidence of the League was a little humbled by the defeat of *Philips* Armado, which equally threatened both France and England. That *Invincible Fleet*, they called it, after it had been scolded, beaten, scatter'd every where by continual tempests, and then by the English and *Hollanders*, having lost near Ten thousand Men, and above Three score Ships; had much ado, torn and shatter'd as it was, to recover the Ports of Spain. The King was at *Chartres* when he received the news of it; and it was this perhaps which emboldened him to go to *Blois*, where his presence was necessary, to see and take notice of the Deputies, as they repaired thither.

The Fifteenth of September being come, but very few of the Deputies, the Assembly was put off till October, and the first Session was open'd on a Sunday the Sixteenth of that Month. The Clergy had an hundred thirty four Deputies there, amongst whom appeared Four Arch-Bishops, Bishops One and twenty, and Two Chiefs of Orders, attired in their Rochets and Surplices; The Nobility had an hundred and fourty in Velvet Gowns, and Caps; The Third Estate, an hundred ninety one, part of them Lawyers, part of them Trading People, the First with Gowns and square Caps, the others with short Cloaks and round Bonnets.

Before the opening of this Assembly, the King knew by the tenor of their Papers or Instructions, that there was a party made to diminish his Authority, and augment that of the Estates; wherefore he gave notice in his Harangue, otherwise very eloquent, and very patheticque, of his resentment against the Duke of Guise; for which that Prince made such violent complaint to him, by the mouth of the Arch-Bishop of Lyons, that he was obliged when he gave it to be Printed, to retrench, and alter many things, which were but the deeper imprinted in his Heart.

At the Second Session which was the following Tuesday, he swore to the Edict of Re-Union, and ordained, that it should be observed for a Fundamental Law of the State, and would have the Three Orders swear to it with one voice; the Clergy laying their hands upon their Breasts, as the others hold theirs aloft. This done, he protested he would forget all that was past, and charged the Prevost des Marchands to assure the City of Paris of it.

Who can resolve whether these words were a sincere Truth, or a profound dissimulation; if his Soul were then such as he professed, it did not hold long. He look'd upon the Duke of Guise as a dangerous Rival, all whose actions seemed by his interpretation, to tend to the ruine of his Authority; he was nettled that they should

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force him to swear to the Edict, that the League had constrained the Count de *Solsons* (for he had quitted the King of Navarre) to take Abolition of the Pope, notwithstanding they made all their effort, though in vain to hinder his Holiness from granting it, and that when the said Count had brought his Letters of Pardon to the Parliament, a Taylor with a Crew of the most hot-headed Leaguers, went to the Palais and so frightened the Counsellors, that they durst not proceed to verify it.

He was yet more stung and offended for that the Estates made great Complaints against the Government, demanded the suppression of new Offices, an abatement of the Tailles and Impôts, the punishment of Financiers and Favourites, and used all manner of practices to moderate and clip the Sovereign Power, and set up the Laws. Which did not only proceed from the Factions of the League, but also the unanimous desire of the People, who imagining the King would ere long lose either his Life or Senses, (for *Miron* his chief Physician had imprudently said that the one or the other would come to pass within a twelvemonth) thought it now necessary to make so strong and high a fence against him that should next succeed to the Crown, that he might never be able to force the same, nor bring such heavy Oppressions upon the Subjects as France had groaned under ever since the Reign of Francis I.

The Huguenots prompted by the same Spirit, endeavour'd likewise to restrain the Power of the King of Navarre in an Assembly he had Convocated at *Rochel*. For apprehending he might change his Religion, they demanded Protectors in each Province, and Chambers or Courts of Justice to hear their Complaints, and do them Right. He had much ado to avoid the first, and hinder them from making choice of *Prince Gasimir* for their Protector General: but as to the second he was forced to grant it, and set up of those Chambers in five or six Cities; However he revoked them two years after when he came to the Crown.

The Duke of Mayennes Army made little progress in *Dauphine*, because he staid at Lyons to decide some Controversies there were for the Government of the City, between *Mandot* and the Son of *Villeroy*; they spent all their Fire against the Fort of *Ossans* which *Lesdigueres* had built in their way: this scurvy Redout resisted thirty days before they would capitulate. In like manner that under the Duke of Nevers in *Fatouas* was consumed in taking some small places of no importance. They lay before *La Gannache*, when they received the news of the Duke of Guises death.

The King thought himself daily wounded by fresh and more heinous offences: their vehement urging him to receive the Council of *Treux* did greatly displease and perplex him: the demand of the Estates that their Instructions or Memorials should be conclusive, appeared yet ruder to him; but he took the Deputation they made to oblige him expressly to declare the King of Navarre incapable of succeeding to the Crown, to be altogether insupportable.

During these times the Duke of Savoy, a Man of high courage, and a genius much greater than his State, did not forget to do his own business. Believing the Kingdom of France was going to be dismembered, he thought he had more right then any one else to get his share, as being almost the only Male Prince, though by the Female side, that was then remaining of the Blood of the great King Francis, and withal having some pretensions upon the Marquisate of *Saluzzie* and other Lands on this side the Alps. However he would not varnish his design with that pretence, but rather chose the fair Mask of Religion: In effect *Lesdigueres* being very powerful having taken the fair Mask of Religion: In effect *Lesdigueres* being very powerful having taken *Chabreau-Dauphin*, and being leagued with *La Valée* who had the Government of *Saluzzie*, there was some danger lest Calvinisme might from thence step into his Countries, and become the most prevalent under favour of so pernicious a Neighbourhood.

The Duke Armed therefore, feigning he designed against *Montferrat*; and *La Valée* being so embarrassed in Provence that he could do nothing on this side, he seized about the end of September upon the City of *Carmagnole*, and invested the Castle. The Lieutenant surrendered it in few days after; *Saluzzie*, *Cemal*, and all the other small places of the Marquisate, made but very little or no defence, excepting *Ravel*. The Jews was very great to France, as well because there was in *Carmagnole* an inestimable Magazin of all sorts of Arms, and four hundred pieces of Cannon, as because that Country was the only passage the French had left them to get into Italy.

Now as in all misfortunes we still lay the blame on them we most hate, the King failed not to accuse the Duke of Guise for this, though he appeared to be altogether innocent: for he was so far from corresponding with the Duke of Savoy, at least at this very time, that he was at great variance with him. Therefore he prosper'd to pass

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August.

1588.

August.

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October.

the *Alpes* and tear this Usurpation again out of his hands, and engaged the Estates to declare a War against him.

1588.

November,
and December.

In the mean time the King tired with the difficulties and troubles that fasted up every day, and which he believed were created by that Duke, was often transported to passion, and had thoughts of the extremest revenge, but when those fits were over, fell into great afflictions, and unexpressible thoughts of despair. Nay sometimes he took so much disgust at the burthen of Government that he would needs ease himself, and lay the whole weight thereof upon the Queen Mother; and during these intervals, or weakness of Spirit, he seem'd to have an entire confidence in the Duke of *Guise*, even so far, as to seal the same with a solemn Oath upon the sacred Mystery of the Altar, both having communicated, as it was said, at the same Table, either of them taking one half of the same consecrated Wafer. But immediately after, the remembrance of things past, the fear of what was to come, and the never-ceasing reports of the *Quarente-cinq*, who craftily intermix'd calumnies with truths, bad him repent his weakness, gave him new fire to his indignation, and made him once for all determine to put him to death.

* Forty-five.

December.

Those of his Council and amongst his Servants who had any fence of honour and generosity, were of opinion he should act King-like, and rid his hands of him by ways that were both just and irreproachable. The *Mareschal d'Aumont* would have him brought to Trial, and forfeit his Head if he deserv'd it; *Grillon-Motre de Camp* of the Regiment of Guards refused to assassinate him, but offer'd to make him draw his Sword, assuring the King he would kill him or forfeit his own Life.

The contrary advice notwithstanding took most with the King; and this not so much for any strength of reason as the present disposition and humour he then was in which this exactly suited. For we must know that during any great Frights, such as were at this very time and had lasted above three weeks, he was hugely tormented with vapours from the Spleen, which redress'd him but in extreme chagrin and fever. Those that were well acquainted knew it very dangerous to offer to disturb him at such Seasons; and it is held, that *Chiverny* and *Mirisy* had often hinted to the Duke, that if he plac'd his Game with him whilst he was invaded with those black and pricking fumes, he would certainly repent it.

This resolution could not be kept so private but it was known to many Persons; the Duke had notice from above a hundred by word of Mouth and Writing; he quoted even the very particular circumstances, and all his Friends press'd him to retire, the Archbishop of *Lyons*, only, was of a contrary sentiment and prevailed above all the rest. He made him believe that all those reports and the notices given him came from the King to fright him away, so to ruin his Reputation; and afterwards make his Process in his absence. This Prelate was since reproached that he had thus expos'd the life of his Friend, only out of fear lest if he left the Court, the King would have hindred his promotion to the Cardinalship, which he hoped would be done at *Rome* after *St. Lucier's day*.

1588.

December.

The Duke was so imprudent as to lodge within the Castle, and thereby expos'd himself to the mercy of his Enemies, and was deprived of the assistance of above five hundred Gentlemen, and a thousand other Persons who were his Friends that quarter'd about the Town. The better to draw him in, the King pretended he must dispatch several weighty Affairs before the *Christmas* Holidays, and gave order all the Council should come thither early the next Morning being the Three and twentieth of December. The Council sat in a Hall of the Castle near the Kings Chamber, who had his Apartment in the second Story, the Queen Mother making use of the first.

* Forty-five.

The King had caused little Cells to be built upon one side of his Chamber, in those he plac'd his *Quarente-cinq* about four hours after mid-night, leading them thither himself with a small Wax light. In the morning about Eight of the Clock, the Duke being come to the Council-Hall with the Cardinal his Brother, the Archbishop of *Lyons*, and some others, the King sends for him to come speak with him in his Chamber; Nine of those Forty-five who were plac'd at the entrance of the passage, fall upon him, some catch him by the Collar, others hold him by the Arms and Legs, give him twelve or fifteen stabs with their Daggers, he shakes them, and drags them along, and used all the efforts of an invincible despair, till being thrust into the Reins with a Sword, he falls down at whole length with these words, *Ah! thou Traitor!*

Lume-

Immediately the *Mareschal d'Aumont* seizes the Cardinal and the Archbishop in the Council Hall, and shuts them up in a Garret; others in divers places lay hold on the old Cardinal de *Bourbon*, the Dutches of *Nemours*, the Prince de *Jainville*, the Dukes of *Nemours* and *Elbauf*, de *Hautefort*, *St. Agnain*, *Bois-Dauphin*, *Brissac*, la *Bonville* and *Picard* the Dukes Secretary. At the same instant almost *Richelieu* Grand Prevost de l'*Hôtel* enters the Council Hall, bawling out they would have murder'd the King, and lays hands on the President de *Nully*, la *Chapelle* *Mortean* Prevost des *Marchands*, two *Echevins* of *Paris*, and *Vincens le Roy* Lieutenant Civil of the City of *Ameins*. The rest ran forth in great confusion. Some made a shift to get to *Orleans*; such as could not make their escape, because the Gates were strongly guarded, were forced stay behind, and cover their apprehensions with a feeming joy.

Those that had slain the Duke, dreading lest the Cardinal should another day demand satisfaction for his Blood, sollicit'd the King with so much vehemence that he consented likewise to his death. Two things amongst the rest moved him to determine it, the one was they reported he spit forth all the injurious language, reproaches and imprecations that a despairing fury and rage could possibly express; the other was that having found the Popes Legat easily inclined to allow of his justification touching the death of the Duke, he imagin'd it would be no hard task to obtain his remission for the Murder of the Cardinal. *Du Gues* a Captain in the Regiment of Guards, provided four Soldiers for this execution, each of them being promised an hundred Crowns. The Cardinal therefore being called for by the King, these Murderers, who waited his coming thorough a Gallery slew him with their Halberds.

1588.

Richelieu caus'd the Bodies of these two Brothers to be burnt, and their Ashes to be scatter'd in the Air lest the People should make Reliques of them. *Pericard* de-em'd his life and liberty at the price of all his Masters secrets: but neither threats nor caresses could extort the least syllable from the Archbishop that might stain the memory of his Friend; and yet the King, either because his fury was spent, or because he had formerly loved him, would not have them take away his Life.

Few People boasted of having a hand in this action, either out of shame, or for fear of a future revenge. It will not be amiss to observe two things; the one, that such as had the greatest obligation to the House of *Guise*, were the main Instruments of their destruction, the other that these Princes were drawn into the snare under the publick faith, and by the like most subtle and artificial dissimulations, as they had join'd in to decoy those of the House of *Bourbon* and the Admiral de *Coligny*, at the *Massacre* in the year 1572.

Such as were most clear-sighted did from that very time judge this must be attended with terrible Consequences: the King himself began to perceive it, when after the Murder of the Duke of *Guise* going to the Queen Mother to let her know what had pass'd, saying to her, *Madam, now I am King indeed*, the asked him whether he had taken order to secure *Paris*, and hinder the People from rising in all parts of the Kingdom, and made him sensible as well by her countenance as her discourse, that he was not yet in the condition he thought himself. And then again when he found the Legat, who though not much mov'd at the death of the Duke of *Guise*, came now and declared he had incur'd *Excommunicatio Majorem* for that of the Cardinal: but much more yet when he came to know that not one of those Orders he had sent abroad had succeeded, they not being able to seize upon any one of the Heads of the League.

December.

For the Duke of *Mercur* who was at *Nantes*, had diligent notice given him by the Queen *Louisa* his Sister, and prevented their taking of him. Likewise the Duke of *Mayenne* received a Courier at *Lyons* sent him by *Roisieux* a Gentleman belonging to his Brother, and not finding the People of that Town in a disposition to protect him amongst them, he went to *Chalon* in *Burgundy*, made himself Master of the Citadel, and from thence hastned to secure *Dijon*. The same *Roisieux* made them of *Orleans* take up Arms who besieged *Entragues* their Governor in his Redoubt at the Gate *Baniere*.

The Sixteen, having kept the news private till they were secured of the Gates of *Paris*, held an Assembly in the Town-Hall, where they chose the Duke of *Aumale* to be their Governor. For the first two or three days being yet uncertain of the events, they put this colour upon their Revolt, that it was to maintain themselves in perfect unity against all such attempts as might be made in prejudice to their liberties, and the Catholick Religion; but when they heard and found *Orleans* had declared, and the Duke of *Mayenne* in *Burgundy*, they were no longer afraid to withdraw themselves from the Kings obedience, whom they now call'd only *Henry de Valois*.

1588.

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With

1589.
January.

With this beginning of new Troubles ended the year 1588, which the Prognosticators had predicted would be fatal to all great Empires. It would be prudence to bury in forgetfulness the furious heats of the *Parifans* against the King, the declamations of the Pulpiters, the lewd Songs, the infamous Discourses, the bloody Satyrs, wherewith they mangled his Reputation; and I might omit, were it not too great an injury and breach in History, what the Faculty in Divinity, esteemed the leading one of all Christendom, addressed, upon a Consultation held with them, That the French were discharged of all Oaths of Fidelity, and their Duty of Obedience towards Henry de Valois, and that they might, with a safe Conscience, take up Arms against him, which drew somewhat after it of a most terrible Consequence.

The first President *Achilles de Harlay*, and many more of the Parliament directly opposed these Phrenies, and endeavoured to moderate their overheated Spirits. *Bully le Clerc* otherwise a Fencer, and then a Procureur in Parliament, had the confidence to come into the Grand Chamber, and cause a List to be read over of such as he said he had Order to Arrest. When they had named the first President, and ten or twelve others, all the rest of the Company rose up and followed them most generously to the *Bastille*, marching by two and two along the Streets to move the People to compassion. In effect they were ready to run to their Arms, but their Preachers hindered it, by giving them to understand that all this was done for the maintenance of Religion and the publick safety. *Bully* kept those he had a mind to in the *Bastille*, as the first President, and some others.

The same day he seized upon many more in their Houses, as well such as belonged to the same Company as to the *Chambre des Comptes* and the *Comtes Aides*: but most of them got out again the same day or soon after, having given their Oaths against the King. Some really changed Parties, others dissembled till occasion presented to evade, but many believed that they should be better able to serve their Country by returning to their places in the Parliament. Of those was *Barnabé Brisson* who supplied the Office of first President, and the next day held Audience with Doors well open, having made his protestation before a Notary, that he did it by compulsion to save his own life and all his Families. The League likewise changed the whole Bar as they pleased; *Mole* was chosen Solicitor General because the People earnestly demanded it for the reputation of his great Probity.

1589.
January.

When the League had thus reformed the Parliament, the first Act they demanded of them, was a Declaration to be sworn to by the Princes, Cities, and Commonalties of the Kingdom, united with the three Estates for the preservation of Religion and publick security. These three Estates were but the Seize, and the Deputies of five or six Cities of that Party, out of whom they had chosen a Council of Forty Persons. They afterwards obliged them to receive the Petition of *Catherine de Clever*, Widow of the Duke of *Guise*, who desired leave to take information concerning the death of her Husband, and Commissioners to make Process against such as should be Convicted. The Parliaments, the Chambers Assembled, having heard the Solicitor General's motion admitted and granted the Petition, and named two Counsellors to manage and carry on the said Process.

The King, against all these attempts, opposed nothing but a little Parchment and Wax, multitudes of Letters which he sent every way, and several Declarations, at first very soft and gentle, then somewhat more vigorous; One amongst others which commanded the Duke of *Aumale* to go out of *Paris*, interdicted the Parliament, and all other the Kings Judges to exercise any Jurisdiction; then another which declared the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Aumale*, and all the revolted Cities, guilty of the Crime de *Lèse Majesté* in the highest degree, and deprived them of all Offices, Honours, and Privileges; In pursuance whereof he made an Edict which transferred the Parliament and the *Chambre des Comptes* to *Tours*, as he afterwards did that of *Rouen* to *Caen*, and the University and the Prefidial of *Orleans* to *Beaugency*.

It was thought that if he had but mounted on Horseback and appeared at the Gates of *Orleans* or *Paris*, who lead the dance to all other Tumults, he had stilled them with ease: but he was grown so effeminate thorough idleness that he could neither perform any thing with vigor, nor keep himself any competent time steady to the same resolution. He stirred not from *Blois*, but continued the Estates there, whom he persuaded himself would suddenly find out some remedy for all the grievances and troubles in the Kingdom.

In the mean while the Leaguers and Friends of the deceased Duke, drew after them almost all the People of the whole Nation, already too much prepossessed with ill-favour'd sentiments against him. Even those very Persons who ever had abhorred

Faction

1589.
January.

Faction and Rebellion, finding he had caused a Cardinal to be Maltreated, imagined he struck at the Catholick Religion it self, the manner and circumstances of those Murthers gave a horror to all the World; even the King of *Navarre*, though it were really very advantageous to him, could not find in his heart to rejoice, and *le Pifist Moray* hindered the *Rochellers* from any publick Expressions of it, for fear they might be reproached for approving that ambiguous act by any solemnity.

It could never be certainly known whether the Queen Mother had any hand in it, there being only conjectures both for and against it: but it is certain the King did never afterwards communicate any affairs to her. So that thinking Life a burthen without any Authority or Power, being overwhelmed with Age, for she was seventy and two years old, but much more with trouble and sorrow to see that fate, manage all the obstructions she had contrived, brought her greatest Enemy to near the Crown: and withal being pierced to the heart that the Cardinal de *Bourbon*, when she would needs visit him upon his Bed of Sicknes and languishment, callt that bloody reproach in her teeth, *Ab, Madam, is it thus you have brought us all to the Butchery*: He fell sick and died of it the Fifth of January. Her death was esteemed a thing very indifferent, causing neither joy, nor sorrow; and her memory would have vanisht with her breath after all the noise and stir she had made for thirty years together, had she not brought down too many curses upon France to be so soon forgotten.

A second time the King made the Estates swear to the Edict of Union, so he was a Zealous Catholick. After this they presented their Papers to him, which he began to examine for some days. The Fifteenth and Sixteenth of the Month he heard their Harangues: which were full of fine words, sound Reasons, wise Expedients, but their Tongues and Hearts were very far asunder, so that it was nothing but a Scene where each one acted a part quite different from what he was indeed.

Now they sending him notice from all parts of new Commotions, and finding most of the Deputies retired without taking leave, he dismissed them all, upon the Twentieth day of the Month; and that they might carry with them into the Provinces some Marks of his Bounty, to the Nobility he gave *Brissac* and *Bois-Dauphin* their liberty, and to the Third Estate that of three or four Deputies whom *Richelieu* had seized on. But all of them made him an ill requital, reserving only the injury in memory, but not the favour and pardon. Moreover he granted and caused several Articles of their Instructions or Memorials to be proclaimed, amongst others an abatement of the fourth part of their Tailles; of which in truth there was above a third part of non-value, and never could be raised.

From *Blois* he caused all his Prisoners to be transfer'd to the Castle of *Amboise*: but the Duke of *Nemours*, of a bold and active Spirit, found the invention to escape disguised like a Kitchen Scullion, and got to *Paris* without stop or stay. The last day of the Month he had news that the Citadel of *Orleans* had surrendered to the *Bourgeois*. He had hoped that the Duke of *Nevers* whom he recalled from *Poitou*, would have relieved it: but after the taking of *la Ganache*, his Forces being all Leaguers, either dispersed or went over to his Enemies.

1589.
January.

He heard almost at the same time that *Paris* had drawn in all the Towns and Palaces round about them, excepting *Melun*; That *Dreux*, *Crespy* in *Valois*, *Sentis*, *Clermont* in *Beauvoisis*, *Pont Sainte Maixence*, *Amiens*, *Abbeville*, *Rouen*, and all those of *Normandy*, excepting the *Pont de L'Arche*, *Diepe*, and *Caen*, had set up the Colours of the League; That *Bois-Dauphin* had stirred up all the Country of *Main*; That the Duke of *Mayenne* was Master of all *Burgundy*, excepting *Semur* and *Flaviigny*; That *Lyons* had cast their Rider and chose for Governor the Duke of *Genevois*; to they called the Duke of *Nemours*.

As to *Bretagne*, the Duke of *Mercoeur* did not make them move as yet, because the King his Brother in Law amused him with the hopes of giving him that Duchy after his death. *Stephen Durand* First President of *Toulouze*, and *Janner Daffi* Attorney General, contained that City near a Month: but at last *Urban de Saint Gelais* *Laufac* Bishop of *Comings*, a Man equally ambitious and violent, made it revolt, and put the Populace into such a fury that they inhumanely maltreated those two Magistrates, dragg'd their dead Bodies thorough the Streets with the Kings Effigies, and hanged them on the Gallows.

The *Parifans*, and the Dutcheffs of *Montpensier*, who could not well agree with the Duke of *Aumale*, invited the Duke of *Mayenne* to *Paris*: as soon as he had settled *Burgundy* in good order, he begins his Journey thither to satiate him. All *Champagne* was of his Party, but only *Chaumont*, for the Inhabitants having received information of the death of *Guise* before the Governor had any notice, which was *Rosne*, assembled

assembled together and turned him out. From thence he went to *Seny*, where his presence was requisite to fortifie his Friends, then to *Orleans*, where he found the Citadel surrendered to his Party, afterwards to *Charres*, who received him with extraordinary joy, and lastly to *Paris*, where he arrived the Tenth day of *February*.

That vast number of People were yet so furiously enchanted with the memory of the Duke of Guise, that they would needs bestow the Title of King upon this Brother, but he did not find himself sufficiently bottom'd to accept of so high a Dignity. He consider'd that besides the divisions it would necessarily have begot betwixt him and the other Chiefs, who were content to be his Companions, but not his Subjects, and the Spirits of the Authors of that grand Revolution, tended rather to establish a Democracy than a Monarchy. Wherefore he presently labour'd to diminish their Power: increased the Council of Forty, with fourteen more wholly at his own devotion, and admitted not only all the Princes of the League, but likewise the Presidents, the Kings Attorneys and Solicitors in Parliament, the Prevost des Marchands, and Echevins, that he might carry things by Multitude upon occasion. Then not able to endure this curb by any means breaks it quite the following year when he was going to give the Battle of Ivry.

Notwithstanding, it was that Council had conferred upon him the command of the Armies, and the Quality of *Lieutenant General of the State and Crown of France*: but he gave them little thanks for it, because they limited his Power. His Commission was verified in Parliament the Seventh of March, and he took the Oath before for Council Affairs, and a little one for the Chanceries and Parliaments; either of them had on one side the Flower-de-Luce, as was usual, but on the other an Empty Throne, with these words about it: *The Seal of the Kingdom of France*. And he had the name, and to link all the

Now to make a real Union of this Party, as they had the name, and to link all the Cities to them that had declar'd already and intended to declare, he made an excellent Regiment, which being sent into the Provinces, brought others into him. By specially *Lash*, where *John Bodin* the Kings Attorney in that Court, prevailed so by his interest and Eloquence that it was accepted, having made it clear that the joining of so many Cities ought not to be called Rebellion, but Revolution, that this was a just one against an Hypocrite and Tyrant King, that Heaven it self seem'd to authorize it, becaufe States have their periods as well as Men, and the Reign of *Henry III.* ought to be the Climacterical to *France*, he being the *LXI.* King since *Pharamond*, who, according to the Vulgar Account, was the first King of the *French*.

To this pretended Order, succeeded a general Diſorder, an univerſal Robbery thorough the whole Kingdom, ſeizures of Goods, ſales by outcry, Imprifonments, Ranfoms, and Reprizals. The Offices, Benefices, and Governments, were divided into two or three, private Families were even divided within themſelves, the Father bandying againſt the Sons, Brothers againſt Brothers, Nephews againſt their Uncles. Nothing was to be gained but by thoſe that had nothing to loſe; thoſe that had wherewithal were obliged to ſpend it, but the Thieves gained on both hands. They neſtled themſelves in old Caſtles, or in ſmall Towns, from whence they bolted out to pillage the Neighbouring Countries, took up the Kings Rents, made private Perſons compound for theirs, enjoy'd the Churches Revenues, and thus enriched themſelves with great eaſe and little danger.

with great ease and little danger.

In the beginning of *March*, the King not finding himself secure at *Blois*, retired to *Tours*. He first took out his Prisoners from the Castle of *Ambois*, sent the Cardinal de Bourbon to Chinan whereof *Chavigny* an ancient Gentleman was Governor, the Prince of *Goinville* (who from henceforward was called himself Duke of *Guisé*) Prince of *Foix*, and the Duke d'Elbeuf to *Loches*. The Duke of Mayenne's Affairs, as we may say, did do of themselves. For even in the Month of *February* the Cities of *Metz*, *Arles*, and *Marseille*, offended at the Kings restoring la *Valette* to that Government, took the Oath for the League : but he in the mean while passed his time at *Paris*; where he and his Officers consumed in fruitless Expences the Moneys allotted upon the Country, with the Confiscations and Sequestrations of the Politicks and Huguenot Estates.

While that Duke was in the greatest hurry of his Affairs, it hapned that four or five of his Friends and Intimates being in deouch with some Ladies of Pleasure in the *Hôtel de Carnavalet*, one of them seeing him pass by ran after him, and haled him in almost by force: he did not stay above half an hour with this Company, yet made a shift to get and carry that away with him, that forced him to keep his Chamber several

several weeks after, but being in haste, he had time to take only palliative Remedies. So that the venom remaining still in his Blood, rendred him more slow, lumpish, and melancholy, and in his Person stupified the activity of his whole Party.

In the Month of *March*, *John Lewis de la Rochehoucauc* Count de *Randon*, debauched *Rion*, and part of *Auvergne* whereof he was Governor, he had drawn the whole Country after him, if some Lords, as *Koffignac*, *Saint-Herem*, *Algerre*, *Clémence*, *Caniillac*, and *Ovadour*, amongst whom *d'Effiat*, having the Kings particular Orders had acquired great credit, had not opposed their courage and skill against his Interest and Faction.

The Duke of *Mercaur* having balanced a while, debauched likewise all *Bretagne*, excepting only *Vitre*; the Nobility of the Country were cantonized there against him, and whilst he beleagued it, *Renes* escaped from him. *Gefroy de Saint Belin* Bishop of *Poitiers*, and the Mayor and some other Leaguers stirred up that Town, which however did not yet declare for the League.

Lingors remained under obedience of the King. *Pichery* retained the City of *Angers* in despite of *Briffac* who had put them upon riling, and reduced them by means of the Castle where he commanded. *Matignon* prudence defeated the Conspiracy of the Leaguers, who were beginning to Barricade themselves at *Bourdeaux*... but he durst not search it to the quick, the Combination being too general, and (a thought it sufficient to hang two or three of the most Zealous.

Since the King, *Monseigneur* return to *Rosbel*, he had taken *Maran*, and then *Niob*, by *Esfalado*. Some few days after happened the Murder at *Blair*, but that made no alteration in the conduct of his Affairs; neither did it oblige him to discontinue his *War*. The Cities of *Loudon*, *Touars*, *Montreuil*, *L'Isle Beaucourt*, and even *Chablais* opened it self, open'd their Gates to him. From thence he advanced as far as *Argentan* in Berry to aid the City which held for the King, against the *Catle* that stood for the League. Which gave so much jealousy to *La Chyvre*, that he declared for the League, and made the City of *Bourges* declare with him.

The happy progress of this Prince and his Proximity, gave the King some reason to court his assistance in his extreme necessity, the Duke of *Navarre* who apprehended this medley of *Huguenots* and Catholics might bring Religion into danger, diffused him with all his might, and there were without great obstructions on either hand. On the Kings part, the fear of farther offending the Court of *Rome*, and scandalizing the Catholics, the Confidence of so soon violating an Oath twice reiterated before the Estates, and the flame of being forced to call into his assistance him whom he had so roughly persecuted. On the King of *Navarres* part, the just suspicion left they should sacrifice him to appease the fury of the League, (for this King that invited him was himself one of the principal Authors of the bloody *St. Bartholomew*) and the constraint of stooping to the Favourites, who sported with the lives of those that did not bow the knee before them. Notwithstanding *Du Plessis Mornay* and some others by their prudent management removed all their Obstacles, and accommodated every thing between these two Kings, upon condition the Treaty should not be divulged till the King should think it fit.

It contained an agreement of a Truce for a year, during which time the King of Navarre should aid him with all his Forces, and should give him up all such places as he should take from the common Enemy; Reciprocally the King should give him the *Pont de Ce* upon the *Loire*, and one place in every Bailiwick as a retreat for his sick Men.

When the Legat had discover'd this new Confederation, he employ'd all his power and interest to incline the Duke of *Mayenne* to an Accommodation, even so far as to offer him Conditions much beyond the power of his Commission. The King finding he did but only lose time, that in the Dukes Army they gave him no better Title than the *Tyrant*, the *Murderer*, and *deboned Henry*, and that the Duke was at *Châteauneuf*, within three days Journey of *Tours*, he caus'd the Truce to be proclaimed, though with a great deal of repugnance.

There were several other Envoys on his behalf to solicit for his Abolition, and other in behalf of the League to oppose it. The thing was found to be much more difficult to obtain of the Pope, than he had imagined ; In that Court the Blood of a Cardinal is not so lightly valued, and Pope *Sixtus* who gloried in trampling upon Crowned Heads, would be sure not to let slip this opportunity of magnifying his own power. He demanded before any further proceedings, that they should for the Cardinal de Bourbon and the Archbishop of Lyons at liberty : *Charles & Angeline* Bishop of Maut, had made him believe the King would grant him this : but when

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in stead of a compliance, that Prelat entertain'd him with excuses and *ragione di stato*, and at the same time they were informed by Letters from the Legat, of the Kings Confederation with the Head of the *Huguenots*, the Pope lets by a *Monitory* the Fifth of May, by which "he demanded and commanded to let the Cardinal and the Archbishop at liberty within ten days after publication, and to give certain notice "thereof within thirty by an authentick Act: In default whereof he declared he "had incur'd the Censures Ecclesiastical, especially those which are contained in the "Bull in *Causa Domini*, of which he could not be absolv'd but by the Pope himself, "unless at the point of death, and upon giving security to make satisfaction; cited "him to appear personally at Rome within sixty days, allowing him twenty days "for each Admonition, and dissuailing all Indulgences, Faculties, and Priviledges "to the contrary, granted by the Holy See either to him or to any of his Predecessors.

1589.
May and June

This Monitory was published in Rome, and affixed upon the Church doors of St. Peter, and St. *Jehan de Laveran* the Three and twentieth of May, and the Month of June following in the Cathedral of *Chartres*, in that of *Meaux*, and some other Churches in France: but the King still pretended cause of ignorance. He notwithstanding had well enough foreseen this thing, and the apprehension he had of it hasten'd him to satisfy the King of *Navarre* by giving him a passage upon the *Loire*. *Du Plessis Mornay* by his Address brought it so about as in lieu of *Pont de Ce*, a very ill-favoured place, he gave him the City of *Saumur*, whereof his Master gave him the Government.

This security being granted, the two Kings met about the Thirtieth of April about the hour of One in the Afternoon at *Plessis Les Tours* in the Park, he of *Navarre* was come to the Bridge of *la Motte*, which is a Rivulet a quarter of a league beyond *Tours*, and had brought part of his Forces which were quarter'd about two leagues beyond that, but would venture no farther. Nevertheless *d'Amboise* and *Chastillon* having informed him that such mistrust displeased the King, press'd him so home that they prevail'd with him to pass the River of *Cher* and come into the Park. His old Captains trembled both for anger and for fear, lest the King, said they, in a season wherein treachery may be so advantageous to free himself out of that Labyrinth wherein another had drawn him, should have agreed for his Absolution at the price of this Princes Life, and defin'd his Head a present to the Pope to accompany the Admirals.

The same day to dispel their fears, he returned to his lodgment: but the next day by six in the morning, and without giving them notice, he repasses the River with only one Page, and came to the King as he was rising. The two Princes spent all that morning and the next, in consulting of their Affairs. Their resolution in gross was to attack *Paris* the principal head of the League, and that which gave motion to all the rest. They reckon they should for this purpose have the Forces of the *Huguenot* Party, and great numbers of the Nobility, a powerful assistance which the King expected from *England*, and a levy of twelve thousand *Swiss* whom *Sancy* was gone to raise in the Protestant *Cantons*. After they had remained together two days, the King of *Navarre* went to *Chinon* to bring forward the rest of those Troops he had left there.

1589.
April

In the Provinces the two Parties had had divers Rencontres, *Saintour* a Royalist besieging *Mere* upon *Seine*, *Hautefort* who qualified himself Lieutenant General for the Union, in *Brie* and *Champagne*, charged him, kill'd, or caused most of his Men to drown themselves in the Marishes.

But the advantage which the Duke of *Montpensier*, Governor of *Normandy*, gained over the Leaguers, was much more considerable: He had besieged *Falaise*, *Briffac* brought four thousand *Gautiers* to its relief, he marches out to meet them and cut them all off near the Village of *Pierrefite*, which is within two leagues of *Falaise*, and afterwards went and rooted out the whole Nursery of them at *Vimoutier*, *Bernay*, and *la Chapelle-Gautier*, where part of them were knock'd on the Head, part scatter'd, and the rest constrained to lay down their Swords, and fall to the Plough-share.

These were all Peasants that for two years had held those places, not for any particular Party, but to defend themselves from the robbing Soldiery, and from the Tax-gatherers, greater Villains yet than the Men of the Sword. Their first place of meeting was in the Parish of *la Chapelle-Gautier*, whence they had their name: they were to the number of ten or twelve thousand. Happy if they had not admitted two Gentlemen amongst them, who did engage them in the quarrels of the Grantees, for which they had not the least concern.

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At parting from *Chasteaudun* the Duke of *Mayenne* did not go directly to *Tours*, as it seems he ought to have done; but turns himself to some other Enterprizes. The one was upon the City of *Vendosme*: he took it by the treachery of *Francois Maille Benehard*, to whom the King of *Navarre* had given the Government, and in the same draught of his Net caught all the grand Council who lodged there.

He had another, to surprize the Duke of *Epernon* Cavalry, who were quarter'd about St. *Ouis*, and to have taken Prisoner *Charles de Luxembourg* Count de *Brienne* his Brother in Law, that he might exchange him for the Duke d'*Elbauf*. For we must know that the Duke of *Epernon* was come back to the King with a good Party of Soldiers, and had quarter'd his Foot at *Blis* to defend it from the fury of the Duke of *Mayenne*, who threaten'd to lay it level with the ground, and sow it with Salt in revenge of the death of his Brothers. The Cavalry of the Count de *Brienne* were wholly cut off, and he hemm'd in and then made Prisoner in St. *Ouis*: but the King left him there not much caring to exchange him. This hapned some few days after the Enterview of the two Kings.

The King of *Navarre* absence made way for the Duke of *Mayenne* soon after to attempt upon the City of *Tours*. Perhaps the secret correspondence he held with some of the Inhabitants who were Leaguers, or even the Kings own Officers invited him. He parted about Evening on the Seventh of May with his Army, and after a march of thirteen Leagues, got the next day by Ten of the Clock in the Morning so near the Suburbs, that the King, who was gone out to walk towards *Marmoussier*, did narrowly miss of being surprized by some light Horsemen.

1589
May

The Duke a great Temporiser, lost half the day in light Skirmishes: it was near four in the Afternoon, when having felt their pulses, he roundly attack'd the *Fausbourg St. Symphonien*, and carried it in less than half an hour. Which made it seem probable, that if he had done so at the very first, he might have taken the Town wherein he had a great Faction: but towards the Evening *Chastillon* arriv'd with the King of *Navarre* Forces who lay not far from *Tours*, and intrenched himself in an Island right over against the City.

Upon this the Duke reflecting that he had but few Horse, and that his Foot were all new raised Men, that the King of *Navarre* would soon return in Person with that part of his Troops who were remaining at *Chinon*, judg'd it safest to make a retreat, and dislodged without noise at the first break of day, taking his march towards *Anjou* to gather up in that Country, and in *Perche* and *Mayne*, those Companies which the Gentlemen of the League had raised there.

This first Effort of the League having succeeded so ill, the Nobles, who before gave the King so lost, perceived now he would be able to defend himself, and hasten'd to come to him with great diligence. Then having room to march into the Field which way he pleas'd, he desired the King of *Navarre* to draw his Forces to *Bosgency* to make an essay upon *Orleans*, sent the Count de *Sossion* into *Bretagne* to secure the City of *Reims*, and himself made a Cavalcade to *Poitiers*, thinking to confirm that City to his own Service, which as yet did vacillate betwixt both Parties. But *Orleans* stirr'd not for the approach of the *Navarrois* Army; the Count unfortunately fell into the hands of the Duke of *Mercaur*, who made him Prisoner in *Chasteaugiron* within three leagues of *Reims*; and the King did not find in *Poitiers* that kind disposition they had given him hopes of.

He returned therefore to *Tours*, where he began afresh to fall into his wonted idleness, still flattering himself with some accommodation with the League: when the King of *Navarre* took the liberty to wait upon him, and row'd up his sloath by so many arguments of danger and honour, that he forced him to mount on Horseback, desiring of him but only two Months labour and activity to set him at rest all the remainder of his life.

Two messages of good news did likewise help to awake and spur him forwards, one the defeat of the Lords de *Savenze* and de *Brasse*; the other the gaining of a Battle at *Sentis*. *Savenze* and *Brasse* were Brothers, and of the bravest, indeed, amongst all the *Picards*, and the most zealous Leaguers; who as they were bringing two hundred Lancers to the Duke of *Mayenne*, were charged by *Chastillon* in that part of *la Beausse* near *Bonneval*, where yet the Crofs of *Savenze* is to be seen. He slew a hundred of them, and took fourscore Prisoners, whereof the most part died of their Wounds. Amongst others *Savenze*, who refusing any manner of help or consolation, let his Soul fall forth together with his Blood, detecting the Murder at *Blis*, and spending his last breath in praising the heroick vertues of the Duke of *Guisse*.

1589.
June

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As to the affair of *Senlis*, *Tore* who had great influence over that City, because of the Voicings of *Chantilly*, having reclaimed them to the Kings service, the Duke of *Angoulême* would needs set upon it with some *Parisian* Forces, and four thousand Men brought him by *Baguay*, who called himself Prince of *Cambray*. Now the very same day they had capitulated to surrender, *La Noue* and the young Duke of *Langueville* who had drawn together some Ten thousand Men to go and meet the *Swiss* raised by *Sancy*, and some Lords of *Picardy*, whose Houses *Baguay* had ruined, relolved to succour it.

They briskly attacked that Citizen-Camp, and found no great resistance, for they defeated and routed themselves upon the very first sight of their Army. There fell about two thousand of them upon the place, and almost as many in the Woods of *Chantilly*, who were knock'd at Head by the Peasants, and a thousand Prisoners with all their Baggage and Artillery. *Mayenne* and *Chamoin* lost their lives upon the spot. *Angoulême* made but one continued Stage in running to *St. Denis*, where he pickt up some small fragments of his defeat. The Victors marched along by the very Gates of *Paris*, throwing in some Voices of Cannon, which carried to the *Hales*, and afterwards they put Provisions into *Vincennes* which held yet for the King.

July.

The Dutche of *Montpensier* finding *Paris* much startled at this grand rout, press'd the Duke of *Mayenne* to come and take some course, otherwise all would be lost. He came therefore within fifteen days, having first reduced the City of *Alençon*. When he had held some Consults with the Sixteen concerning the present state of Affairs, he went to regain the City of *Montreuil* which had surrendered to the Duke of *Espenon*, then immediately defended along the *Seine*, and encamped near *Paris* to cover it. For already the Kings Army was before *Pontoise*, and took it upon composition after *Hautefort* was slain, and *Alicourti* the Governor, grievously wounded in the Shoulder.

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July.

The Evening of the Capitulation, the King had notice that the Foreign Assistance he expected, consisting of Ten thousand *Swiss*, two thousand *Languevents*, and some Light-Horse, were arrived at *Poissy*. By this means his Army amounting to above Thirty eight thousand Men, the opinion of the King of *Navarre* and the younger Captains (though contradicted by the old ones.) made them resolve to attack *Paris* by main force. So that the King extended his Army from *St. Cloud* (where he lodged in the House of *Gondy*, even to the Gate of *Nuilly*, and the King of *Navarre* his from *Vauvres* to the Bridge of *Charenton*.

The Duke of *Mayenne* had enclosed the Suburbs on that side with great Retrenchments, and distributed his Men about to guard them. *La Chastre* was to defend those of *St. Germain*, *St. James*, and *St. Marcel*, and himself those of *St. Honoré*, *St. Denis*, *St. Martin*, and *St. Laurence*, in case the King should bring any Forces on that side. He had not above ten thousand Soldiers: but the Duke of *Nemours* was on his march to bring him the like number, and he expected three thousand from *Lorraine*, and some Cavalry from divers parts of the Kingdom: sufficient Supplies, but not so near at hand, as was their danger.

Upon sight of the Kings Army, the Royalists who were numerous in *Paris*, the Cowards, and such as had a great deal to lose, did almost all declare bare-fac'd for an Accommodation, and they were already observed to run from House to House to exhort their Friends to follow their example. The apprehensions of a most bloody punishment did chill the Spirits of the hottest Leaguers and turn their zealous hearts into lumps of Ice, to little purpose did their declaiming Pulpiters endeavour to encourage them, and keep their Souls from fainting with false reports, pretended to be sent them from all parts of the Nation: there was great danger leit upon some general attack, which was resolved to be made on the Second day of *August*, their Swords should fall out of their trembling hands, and more yet, leit whilst they were engaged in Fight, the Royalists should charge them in the Rear, and set open some Gate for the Assailants entrance.

The Duke of *Mayenne* rather than come to such a dangerous extremity, had made his Party to go forth with four thousand Men all relolved to die like him, to run head-long upon the Enemies Lodgment and sollicite fortune de la guerre (who sometimes shews a kindness to the generous in despair) either to lead him safe by the hand out of that dismal Storm, or bury his high and noble designs in a most glorious death.

He was yet in this extream resolution, when an accident as dreadful as it was unfore-seen, snatch'd him from the very brink of the Precipice. A *Jacobin* Monk named *Frier Jacques Clement*, a Native of the Village of *Sorbonne* near *Sens*, aged Twenty five years, Profess'd of a Convent in *Paris*, and lately made a Priest, (other

wife

wife, dull and ignorant enough) of a very melancholy temper, and susceptible of those black vapours and imaginations formed in the brain by adulterers, unhappily undertook to deprive the King of life. In what manner and by whom he was induced to this, is a matter of too great importance to be discoursed without more certainty and light than I could ever find; but this is plain that if he were not prompted by any other to this design, there were some at least much pleased he had undertaken it, and who gave him inspirations and an opportunity, since they brought him acquainted with the Count de *Brienne*, and some other Royalist Lords Prisoners in the *Bastille* and gave him a Pass-port of that Council, and a Letter of Credence from the President de *Harlay* for the King, but which was counterfeit.

La Guesle Solicitor-General, going from his House of *Vauvres* with his Brother to *St. Cloud*, met him upon that Road, and learning from him that he had business of great importance to deliver to the King, caused him to get on Horseback behind his Brother, and carried him to *St. Cloud*. Where his brutality, strength of courage, or an assurance of his pretended glory of Martyrdom, never was so undaunted a Fellow seen as this pestilent Monk: he slipped merrily with *La Guesle* Servants, was not concerned at all the questions they put to him, and rested all night in a profound sleep. The next morning being brought by *La Guesle* into the Kings Chamber, he goes up to him without any dread, speaks to him without hesitation, presents him certain Letters, and as he was reading, takes his time, draws a Knife out of his Sleeve and plungeth it into his Belly. The King feeling himself wounded cries out, plucks the Knife out of his Wound, and gives him two blows, the one on the Forehead, the other in his Cheek. *La Guesle* draws his Sword, strikes the Monk imprudently upon the Forehead with the Pummel, and two or three of the *Guareme-cing* more imprudent yet, kill him upon the place. When they had found whom he was, the Grand Prevost caused his Body to be torn asunder by four Horses, burnt the Quarters, and threw the Ashes into the Air.

At first the Wound did not appear to be very dangerous: but as soon as they had indication by a Glister given him that the small Guts were cut, and that there was no cure, he waited for death patiently, and prepared himself in such manner as a most Christian King ought to do. He made his Confession to the Chaplain of his Closet, who gave him Absolution, upon the promise he made, of being ready to submit to whatever the Pope should Ordain, yet spake not a word of setting the Cardinal de *Bourbon* and the Archbishop at liberty. While he was entering the second time upon his Confession, he fell into a swoon, then utterly losing his speech, he expir'd about four in the morning, the Second day of *August*, which was the next after his being wounded.

The preceding Evening, the King of *Navarre* informed of the danger he was in, came to visit him, the frequent fits of fainting he fell into every moment, would not allow him to make long discourses: but when dead, the several Factions made many different ones for him according to their Interests. The Catholics reported he exhorted him to abjure his Heresie, and to profess the true Faith; the *Huguenots* on the contrary, that he desired them to refer those Disputes to the Convocation of the Estates General; some others, that he conjured them to remain united, and pursue the Revenge for his Death: but it is most certain that he embraced him several times, and that he called him his good Brother, and his lawful Successor.

They carried his Corps to *St. Cornille de Compeigne*, where it was reposed till the year 1610. when it was brought to *St. Denis* with that of the Queen his Mother which was at *Blair*, to accompany the Funeral Pomp of *Henry* the Great. Both of them were placed in the *Mausoleum* of the *Valois*. *Benisse* Secretary of the Closet, a faithful Servant, caused his Heart and Bowels to be buried in a private place of the Church of *St. Cloud*; then when *Henry* IV. had restored *France* to its perfect Peace, he placed an Epitaph there which is yet to be seen, and founded an Anniversary for him.

Henry III. ceased to live in the Eleventh Month of the Nine and thirtieth year of his Age, and the second of the sixteenth of his Reign. He had no Children by Queen *Louise* his Wife, she survived him till the year 1601. and the Forty seventh of her Age. She made choice for her retirement of the Castle of *Moulins*, which was part of her Dowry, where she passed the remainder of her days in the continual exercise of Piety and Christian Vertues.

With this King ended the Branch of the *Valois*, who had Reigned One hundred and sixty one years, (accounting from *Philip* IV.) and furnished *France* with thirteen Kings, most of them Magnificent, Liberal, Valiant, Religious, and Lovers of Politic Learning: but, to say the truth, not over-fortunate in War; who notwithstanding

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have

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have acquired to this Kingdom by good Conduct, rather than by force, *Dauphin*, *Burgundy*, *Provence*, and *Berry* and chased the *English* wholly out of *France*, after a War of an hundred and thirty years together, with various success and fortune.

But, who began to burthen the People with Tails and Impositions, (little known in the Reigns of their Predecessors, unless in cases of urgent necessity, by grant of the Estates, and only for a time) who have alienated the Sacred Demesns of the Crown, permitted *Placians* to possess Pleas, taken away Canonical Elections of Benefices, introduced the Venality of Offices, and even of Nobility; multiplied Officers of Justice, and of Finance, composed great numbers of Regulations and Ordinances, changed the ancient Militia of the Kingdom to entertain Soldiers upon pay, level'd the power of the great Lords; called Women into the Court; and in fine made many other changes, whereof we must refer the Judgment to the Sages whether they be more profitable, or prejudicial to the State.

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Henry

Henry IV. King LXII.

P O P E S,

SIXTUS V. near thirteen years
under this Reign. Months.

URBAN VII. Elected the 15th of
September 1590. S. only twelve
days.

GREGORY XIV. Elected the
5th of December 1590. S. ten
Months ten days.

INNOCENT IX. Elected the
29th of October 1591. S. two

CLEMENT VIII. Elected the
30th of January 1592. S. thirteen
years and one Month.

LEO XI. Elected the 1st of April
1605. S. twenty seven days.

PAUL V. Elected the 26th of
May 1605. S. fifteen years, and
near nine Months; whereby five
years under this Reign.

HENRY IV. King LXII. Aged Thirty five years and
eight Months.

Although there had been hitherto no example in *France* of a Prince that came to the Crown from a degree so remote as was *Henry* King of *Navarre* in respect of King *Henry* III. to whom he was of Kin but in the tenth or eleventh: nevertheless it was the Sentiment both of the People and the Lawyers, that this succession in a Masculine Line, extended to infinity. And indeed those that would have excluded him did not make this distance beyond the seventh degree any part of their pretence, but the defect of his Religion; and they believed they had to shut up all the Avenues by the Edict of Re-union, which the Estates General and the deceased King had twice sworn, and by Pope *Sixtus* his Bull, that they imagined he could never attain it, even though he were converted.

During the night between the Second and third of *August* whilst his Predecessor was in his greatest agony, he held several Councils tumultuously in the same House with his most cordial Servants, then when he saw he was giving up the ghost, he retired to his quarters at *Meudon*, followed at first by a good number of the Nobility, who accompanied him out of curiosity rather than affection. And there being lock'd up in his Chamber he consulted sometimes with one, sometimes with others, shewing great confidence to all, but generally suspecting every one.

Some, though but a very few, swore fealty to him without any Condition. *Biron*, the most considerable, and the most imperious of all those that were there, believing the Kingdom was going to be dismembered, as it had been at the end of the *Carlisle* Race, made known he desired to have the County of *Perigord* for his share. The King commanded *Saucy* to offer it to him: but *Saucy*, who could not claim the like advantage for himself, did so pique him with generosity, as he renounced that demand, and went along with him to the *Swiss* Soldiers, to persuade them to remain in the Service of the new King. The fear they had of losing their pay, was a strong charm to hold them by; however some of them disbanded.

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This was a great advantage for the new King : but as to the rest he was without Money and without Credit, the Princes of the Blood had neither the power nor will to serve him; the old Cardinal de Bourbon was his Concurrent; the Cardinal de Vendosme's ambition gave him jealousies; the humour of the Count de Saligny agreed but ill with his; the Prince of Condé Brother to those two Princes, was of little effect, by reason of his deafness and his other natural defects; Montpensier their Cousin, the richest and most powerful of them all, was well enough content he should be King, and never would have endured any other; but he desired he would abjure his Religion.

As to the Lords who were in the deceased Kings Army, they were not very well inclined towards him. Those that had been in favour, apprehended lest he should take revenge for the ill impressions they had given their Master of him, and besides they would willingly have preserved the same power they had in the late Court, for which reason they made their Cabals apart four or five years together. The rest feared he would bestow their Commands upon his Huguenots, and the Huguenots themselves apprehended he might change his Religion. A suspicion which they had long before conceived, and which they began to look upon as an approaching truth, when they saw him ready to step into the Throne.

Thus did he not know whom to advise with : every resolution seemed perilous, he found it as greatly inconvenient to declare himself immediately a Catholic, as to persist in his Huguenotism, and the medium between those two Extreams was attended with the inconveniences of both. Whilst these different thoughts were rowling in his Head, there met an Assembly of Nobility, right against his Lodging, where it was resolved it should be declared to him, that the Quality of Most Christian, being essential to a King of France, they did beseech him to take up the Crown with that Condition. The Duke of Longueville undertook to carry him this Message : being come to the Door he fell upon some Considerations, and gave ground, but Francis d'O supplied his place, and delivered it boldly.

The following night, the King held Council with five or six of his most intimate Friends to give an Answer to the Nobles, who at the same time were all assembled in the House of Francis de Luxembourg Duke of Piney. It was resolved in the Kings Council, that happen what would, he should yet persevere in his Belief; In the Assembly it was Decreed they might acknowledge him upon these Conditions; That he should instruct himself within six Months; That in the mean time he should forbid the Exercise of the new Religion; That he should admit none to Commands or Offices that did profess it, and should suffer the Nobility to send their Deputies to the Pope, to make him understand and allow of the Reasons which obliged them to remain firm to his Service. He readily consented to all these points, excepting the second, in compensation whereof he promised to restore the Exercise of the Catholic Religion over all and the Clergy to their Livings.

There were divers that signed this Accommodation with regret, and some who did absolutely refuse it, amongst others Esperson and Vitry : This last threw himself into Paris, and for a while gave himself to the League : the other having protested he would never be either Leaguer or Spaniard, ask'd leave to be gone, yet allowed some days for the new King to raise the Siege of Paris with honour. Was it that he feared lest this Prince, to whom he had very lately done ill Offices near Henry III. would shew him some foul play, or rather borrow some great Sums of Money never to be repay'd? Whatever Motive it were, his example was cause that the greatest part of the Army disbanded, for which the King had such a Resentment against him all his whole life as was the occasion of great mischiefs.

On the Leagues side, the Parisians, when they knew of the death of the King, considering rather the greatness of that peril had been to near them, than the enormity of this detestable Parricide, made publick Rejoycings, lighted Bonfires, set up Tables in the Streets, threw aside their black Scarves, and put on green ones, running desperately from the Town to the Trenches, and from the Trenches into the Town again.

Meant while in the Morning about Ten of the Clock was fought that famous Duel between John de Pisse Marivaux and Claude de Marolles, both very brave Sword Men. The latter much moreskillful, though a great deal younger, had generously accepted the others Challenge. They chose for their Field of Battle, the Plain behind the Charreaux, Marolles directed so well, that he ran Marivaux into the Eye with his Lance and kill'd him. He gave his Corps to his Friends, being fatished with his Sword and Horse as Trophies of his Victory.

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When the Parisians were a little recover'd of their first Transports, they were all of this mind, that they ought not to admit of an Heretical Prince to the Throne of St. Lewis. This Resolution appeared so plausible and so Christian-like, that it was embraced even by those that had always detested the League as a Faction. And indeed this drew great numbers of People that were truly pious and considerable throughout the Kingdom to their Party : with whom they joynd till the Kings Conversion had fatished their Consciencies, and secured the Catholic Religion, which certainly must have run a great hazard, had they not obliged him to change. But on the other hand Henry III. against whom the fury of the People was bent to revenge the death of the Guise, being now out of the World, their heat was abated of a sudden, and those angry Spirits having that Object no longer in view, did not act with the same passion and violence.

The Duke of Mayenne considering all these things, perhaps with more slowness than is requisite in such great and such pressing occasions, knew not what to resolve upon, his Friends advis'd to have him be declared King, so to collect and unite the scatter'd Members of his Party, and although this Advice did not please the Sixteen, nor Mendoza the Spanish Ambassador, yet had the thing been done, they must then have consented. Others would have him agree with the King, who offer'd him Conditions very advantageous, and did almost promise to share the Kingdom with him. Another sort press'd him to declare to the Catholics of the Royal Army, that all his Resentments being extinguished by the death of Henry III. to which he did not in the least contribute, he had now no other Interest in that Cause but for Religion; and that therefore he should intreat they would all joyn with him, and oblige the King of Navarre to return into the bosom of the true Church, or if he would not come in, to elect another of the Blood Royal whom they should think fit. He embraced neither of these three ways, but following that of the Garantie and the most notable of the Bourgeois, he resolv'd to Proclaim Charles Cardinal of Bourbon King, which however was not done till four or five Months after.

In vain therefore did the King essay by divers ways to make him submit : he could get no other Answer, but that he would hearken to no Conditions till he had set the Cardinal at liberty, and did himself return unto the Church. In the mean time observing the Duke debauched many of his Captains from him, as well by the temptations and caresses of the Parisian Gossips, as by his secret Bribes, he resolv'd to decamp and march into Normandy to secure himself of those Cities whose Governors had not hitherto declared for the League. This was in truth, to go and gather those Sums that were due, and to receive the English succours : but he first accompanied the Corps of his Predecessor to St. Comille de Gompeigne, and in his way took Creil upon Oyse, Meulan on the Seine, Clermont in Beauvoisis, and Gisors.

He was after this forced to give his Nobility leave to go and take care of their Harvest : but he sent part of his Troops with those of Picardy commanded by the Duke of Longueville, another with those of Champagne conducted by the Marshal d'Amont, and even some Companies into Angoulmois with the Duke of Esperson, that it might be thought he went not into those Countries but by his Order.

The more affectionate to the publick Liberty, said it belonged to the Estates General to decide a Question so important; and, indeed, the King had assigned them at Tours in the Month of October, and the Duke at Paris in the Month of November, though neither the one nor the other did it out of any other end but to amuse the People. They did not forget on either part to give notice to all the Princes their Friends of what had happened, and to seek their assistance. They were both of them near the same Age, both very valiant, the Duke of Mayenne till then in reputation as the better Commander : but he soon lost it, wanting celerity, which is one of the main qualifications.

In effect, he was slow in resolving, much slower yet in execution, negligent in pursuing his advantages, heavy of Body, a great sleeper, and a huge Trencher-man. His Secretaries and Officers were stupified with the same Laziness; There were Pacquets of great importance lay oft-times two or three days on his Table and never open'd. Those that managed his Monies were prodigal and ill Husbards, so that he never had enough at a time of need. His sloath tired the more active, and his sullen gravity, not to say pride, distast'd his most zealous and faithful Partisans, as his suspicions and eternal jealousies disgusted and offended such by whom he might have been very much assisted. The King on the contrary, was not sparing of caresses and fair words, shewed a great deal of confidence in those Princes from whom he received any help, was affable and familiar, quick, active, and vigilant, not lying

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so long time in Bed, as the Duke was sitting at Table, with this sparing and frugal even to excess; yet handfomly bestowed what he could not well refuse.

As for the two Parties, that of the League was much the greater; for they had the generality of the common People, most of the biggest Cities, all the Parliaments, the except *Reims*, and *Bordeaux* (and this last did not owe him till a year after) the better part of the Ecclesiastical Order, the assistance of *Spain*, the encouragement of *Rome*, and all the Catholic Princes (but the Republic of *Venice*, and the Duke of *Flourens*): yet there was no union amongst their Chiefs, nor Authority sufficient in their General to fasten and hold all these different notack pieces together, who were more opposed by each other than by the King himself.

The Royalists Party had almost all the Nobles, the Officers belonging to the late Court, all the Protestant Princes to Friend, and the *Huguenots* with their old Soldiers enured to hardships and trials, ready to expose all, that they might get a King of their own Religion; and indeed, they did render him most signal service, and would have done him much greater yet, if a suspicion of his Conversion had not tied up their hands. As for the Nobility, having no pay, they served him as it were by turns, a Month or six weeks together was the most, then they returned to their own homes, and those of some other Province came and supplied their places.

He had but three thousand *French* Foot left, two Regiments of *Swiss*, and twelve hundred Horse: with these he defended into *Normandy* along the *Seine*. *N. le Blanc-Rolet*, a Man of courage and judgment, Governor of *Pont de l'Arche*, was the first that declared, and came to meet and bring him the Keys of the place, *Emar de Chates* gave him the same assurance for *Diepe*, and *Gaspard de Polet la Verme* for the City and Castle of *Caen*. These favourable successes engaged him to the Siege of *Rouen*, *Aumale* and *Brissac* were within with twelve hundred Horse, nevertheless the People beginning to waver, and not knowing how to rely either upon their conduct, or their valour, the Duke of *Mayenne* judged it necessary to go thither himself.

He had near four thousand Horse, and fifteen thousand Foot; for *Henry Marquis de Pont*, Son of the Duke of *Lorraine*, after the taking of *Jamers*, was come to join him with a thousand Horse, *Christopher de Bassompierre* with four Cornets of *Reiters*, the Duke of *Nemours* with three thousand Foot, and fifteen hundred Horse, *Baglany* with two thousand Men, and the Duke of *Parma* had sent him as many. The King did not believe this Army could have been ready so soon, nor that they would march this way. When he found they came directly to him, he decamped from before *Rouen*, and went and took the City of *Eu*: but he was much astonished when they came and told him they had pass'd the *Seine* at *Vernon*.

He then perceived he had no other course to take, till he could get his Nobility and Friends together, but to retire under the Walls of *Diepe*; and perhaps he might not have had time to do this, if the celerity of the Duke of *Mayennes* Army had not been retarded by the absence of their Chief: for he was gone post from *Mantes* to *Beins* in *Haynault*, to confer with the Duke of *Parma*.

When he return'd, he designed to coop the King up in that corner; and to that purpose took all the little places round about it. By this means he thought first to invest him, and afterwards wholly overwhelm him: which appeared so feasible and undoubted, that he sent word every where, even into *Spain*, that he held the *Beanois* pent up in a place from whence he could not escape him, unless he would leap into the Sea.

The Parliament of *Tours* had so great a dread of it, that they sent Deputies to propound to the King to associate the old Cardinal of *Bourbon* to the Crown, and the King himself startled by the timorous Counsels of such as were about him, and apprehending lest the Barks that descended from *Rouen*, and those Vessels the Duke of *Parma* was preparing at *Dunkirk*, should invest him by Sea, as he was already by Land, took it into consideration whether he ought not to go away for *England* while the Coast was clear. The plurality of Votes had carried it on that side, if the bold Remonstrances of the *Marechal de Biron*, who could do every thing with him, had not made them reject that mean-spirited Advice.

He lodged himself therefore at *Arques*, which is a Burrough with a Castle situated upon a rising ground, within a League and a half of *Diepe*, between the two little Hills that shut up the Valley where runs the River of *Betune*, of whose Mouth the Sea makes the Port of that City. The Duke Lodged on the Hill at the right hand, and attacked the Suburb du *Poiet*, whence being repulsed, he lay still three days together without attempting any thing. The fourth he made a great effort to gain the Kings Retrenchment; but having lost five hundred Men, he retired, and rested quiet

quiet two days more, after which having decamped and taken a march of seven or eight Leagues, he return'd to a sudden to *Poiet*, and began to batter it, but it was at a distance only and very coldly. The tenth day he raised the Siege for good and all, and retreated a great way into *Picardy*.

Besides his slowness and uncertainty, there were other clogs no less heavy, that hindered him from moving with that force and promptitude requisite in such great Enterprises: his *Germans* and *Swiss* refused to fight, unless he would first pay their *Musters*; and they were hourly ready to fall together by the Ears with the *French*, upon such piques as are ordinary betwixt different Nations. Besides all the Commanders of his Army, taking the Kings surrender, or flight to be unavoidable, fell already into disputes about the sharing of the Kingdom. The *Marquis du Pont* believed the Crown was his due, the Duke of *Nemours*, the Duke and the Chevalier d'*Aumale* rolled at his Pretensions, and being possessed against each other with the like jealousies, as against him, did narrowly watch each others motions. This was it that upon this very first occasion betray'd the weakness of the Duke of *Mayenne* and the League, and gave the Royal Party so mean an opinion of them, and so good a one of themselves, that after this very day they made no difficulty, not only of standing their ground in any place, but of following and seeking them with unequal Forces.

Before we enter any further into this confusion of Troubles, it will be fit to note the disposition of *France*, both within and without, in respect of the two Parties. Pope *Sixtus* had declared for the League, because the first news he had after the death of *Henry III.* reported they were absolute Masters of the whole Kingdom, and he believed that depending upon him, they would let him make such a King as should entirely submit the Crown to the Crozier.

The King of *Spain* would not determine this grand Quarrel, which he might very easily have done, had he at first commanded the Duke of *Parma* to enter *France* and to join with the Duke of *Mayenne*: but his interest was to ruin the Kingdom by their own Contentions, and then snatch up some fragments for himself. Upon this prospect, he never sent but slender assistance to the Duke, but with fair promises joyned to a great deal of ostentation. And indeed the Duke never had any sincere amity for, or strict tie with him, but knowing, as he thoroughly did, his intentions, the Forces they lent did often give him more fear and embarras, than they did him service.

The Seignury of *Venice* and the Duke of *Florence* had an interest that there should be a King in *France* to balance the overgrown power of the *Spaniard*, who too much over-top'd them. Wherefore the Seignury owned *Henry IV.* at first dash, notwithstanding the oppositions of the Popes Nuncio and the *Spanish* Ambassador: and the *Florentine* profer'd to lend him three hundred thousand Crowns, provided he would make a Match for *Mary de Medicis* with one of the Princes of his Blood.

The Duke of *Lorraine* pretended to the Crown for his Son the *Marquis du Pont*; but in an Assembly of some Deputies of the Cities in *Champagne*, at *Champanot*, in *Bassigny*, where he made his demand of it, not one gave him their Vote; and his Son whom he sent into *France* with some Forces, acquired so little reputation, and had moreover such ill fortune amongst the Women, that he carried back nothing, as 'tis said, but the Crown of *Venus*.

The Duke of *Savoy* had no less pretensions than the said *Marquis*, he derived his Title from his Mother, Daughter of the great King *Francis*, and that supported with the Alliance of *Spain*: However knowing himself too weak to carry the whole Kingdom, he would only have laid his hands upon *Provence* and *Dauphine*; and to that effect sent to the Parliament of *Grenoble*, whom he thought pretty well disposed to favour him by the care of *Charles de Simiane d'Albigny*, to make out his right to them, and incline them to own him. But he met with no great satisfaction: the Parliament replying that his demand concerned the whole Kingdom, that therefore he ought to make it to the Estates General, in whose determination they would absolutely acquiesce.

As for the Provinces, the Duke of *Mercoeur* was Master of the better part of *Bretagne*; *Normandy*, *Picardy*, and *Champagne* were almost all Leaguers; *Burgundy* was kept quiet under the commands of the Duke of *Mayenne*, excepting that in the following year the Count de *Tavannes* a Royalist took some Castles there, from whence he made War upon the Vicount his Brother, a passionate friend to the Duke of *Mayenne*. The greater part of *Guyenne* obey'd the Kings commands, there being none but the Cities of *Agen*, *Villeneuve*, and *Marmande*, as also some Castles in *Agenois*.

Agénor and his *Daughter*, who were of the opposite Party. The Duke of Mayenne had no doubt drawn all that Province after him; had he bestowed the Government upon *Brian*, and not on the *Marguis de Villars*, his Wives Son, who by her importunities made him commit that grots mistake. As for the rest the *Marechal de Malignon* had retained *Bordeaux*, *Anne de Lorraine*, *Cohne de la Vallée Limosine*, some other *Perigord* and *Quercy*; and the Duke of *Espernon* *Angoulême*, *Parthenay* on the contrary remained for free.

The County along the *Loire* was likewise embroil'd. *Berry* and *Orléans*, as also *Mayne*, *Reims*, and *Beauvais*, held for the League; *Toulaine* and *Reims* for the King. *Montmorisy* had secured for him the Gate of *Languedoc* whereof he was Master, having said him a promise of the *Commissaires* *Soubert*; but he would not break that *Truce* he had made with *Henry*, who held the Cities of *Narbonne*, *Caracasenne*, *Pau*, *Rodez*, and even that of *Toulouse*, which is capital of the Province, with some other lesser places.

In *France*, the Parliament and the *States* made War against each other, more but of private animosities than affecting to either Party. The Duke of *Savoy* concern'd himself for his own Interest; but this Year he was employ'd against the *Swiss*, and in the pursuit of a design he had conceived of taking the City of *Grenoble*. The Duke of *Nemours* held *Lyons*, and *Vienne*; and *Albigny* *Grenoble* and some petty Towns for the League. *Lodowick*, Head of the *Huguenots*, and *Alfonso* *Dominis* Head of the Catholic Royalists, being assist'd together, master'd almost all the rest of *Dauphine*. In *Alsace* the Count de *Randa* a zealous Catholic, had made fire of *Limagne*; but off the contrary most of the Lords of the Province, as we have before hinted, remain'd him faithful.

The *Parisians* who thought the taking of the *Bearnois* (so they call'd him) infallible, were miserably surpriz'd, when they saw he (after the having received a supply of four thousand *English* the evening before the day that the Duke of Mayenne decamp'd from *Dijon*) having made a long march, came on *All-Saints* day attack'd and forc'd their great Retrenchments of the *Pinkburgs* * *Saint Jacques* and *Saint Germain*, then the *Fauxbourg* themselves, with so much vigour, that he might have enter'd the City, had his Cannon but come timely enough to beat open the Gates. It's said he got up into the Steeple of the *Abbey St. Germain*, and thence at leisure contemplated the tumults and hurry he caus'd in *Paris*.

Bourgoing Prior of the *Jacobins*, was taken in the Trenches of the *Fauxbourg Saint Jacques*, with his Armour on and fighting courageously; they convey'd him to *Tours* where the Parliament condemn'd him to be drawn by four Horses, upon the Depositions of some Witnesses, whether true or false, who gave Evidence that he had incited *Jacques Clement* to kill *Henry III.* which he ever constantly denied, and died so.

The Duke of Mayenne knowing the King drew toward *Paris*, sent the Duke of *Nemours* thither with all expedition, who did not arrive till towards night; the next day he came himself with the gros of his Army. Upon the noise of his arrival, the King withdrew his out of the *Fauxbourg* into the Field, and having stood there three hours in battall, went to *Lisieux*. From thence he went and took *Elampes*, and *Jauville*, then *Vendôme*. *Maille Beuehard* who was Governor, not having the discretion either to surrender it in time, or defend it bravely, was there beheaded.

He march'd afterwards to *Tours*, where he staid but two days, and went to attack *Mans*. In it there were twenty Companies of Foot, and one hundred Gentlemen; *Bois-Dauphin* commanded there. They had caus'd all the Suburbs to be burnt down, as if resolv'd to defend themselves to the utmost extremity, and yet at the first Cannon Shot glancing upon their Wall, they made Composition, which the more honourable, by so much was it the more shameful. In time, in *Anjou*, *Mayne*, and *Touraine*, the League could preserve only the Town de *St. Ferre Bernard*. The King felt that, it being of more importance to employ his Arms for the reduction of *Normandy*.

In the Month of September, Pope *Sixtus* had chosen the Cardinal *Castan* to go Legat into *France*. His Orders were, "To take care they should provide France "with a King that were Pious, a Catholic, and agreeable to the French; To that "effect to go directly to *Paris*, where the Ambassadors of Spain and *Savoy* were to "meet, to hear all the Propositions should be made to him, to shew himself wholly "disinterested, to engage for no Pretender, to heat even the King of *Navarre*, if "there were any hopes of reconciling him to the Church, with honour and dignity "to the Holy Sec. After these Instructions given, the Pope received Letters writen to him by the Duke de *Piney*, (deputed to his Holiness on behalf of the Royalist

Nobility)

Nobility) assuring him he was upon his Journey towards *Rome* to give him a good Account of that Body; this caus'd him to stop his Legat for some weeks: but the League importuned him so much that he was at last oblig'd to let him go.

He arriv'd at *Lyons* the Ninth of November, so fraught with an opinion of his great Power and Conduct, that he thought to dispose of all *France* at to his own pleasure, and unravel all the grand Affairs with those little Intrigues, and trivial Subtilties they make use of in deciding those amongst themselves at *Rome*. So having refus'd the offer the Duke of *Nemours* made him of his City (which ever since the death of *Henry III.* he had kept neuter betwixt both Parties) and without giving notice of his coming to the Catholic Lords who were with the King, but only to the Duke of Mayenne, he caus'd his Brief to be published containing the subject of his Legation, and afterwards came to *Paris*.

Now because in the Brief no mention was made of the Cardinal de *Bourbon*, the Duke was poss'd with some apprehensions, lest the Pope and the *Spaniard* had agreed to make some other Person King, and by consequence make him lose that Authority he would preserve under the name of that Cardinal, and therefore to prevent that danger, he made haste before the arrival of the Legat, to have him solemnly declar'd King; and in effect he was proclaimed so in all the Cities of that Party by virtue of a Decree of the Council for the Union verifi'd in Parliament; and from that time Justice, and all other public Acts, began to be administred in the name of *Charles X.* the Title and the Power of Lieutenant General still reserv'd to the Duke.

There were then four different Factions in *Paris*, (besides that of the Royalists who durst not too openly discover themselves;) That is the Party call'd the Politicks; because they consider'd the State much more than Religion, for which the greater part being less concern'd then for their own proper interest, believ'd the stronger side was ever the most just; and wish'd the King might become so, but in the mean while never declar'd for him. The second, was that of the *Lorraine* Princes, consisting of their Friends and a Party of Zealous Catholics; The third, were the *Spaniards*, (if we may use this Phrase) whom the luster of *Peruvian* Gold had fetter'd to King *Philip's* Interest; and the fourth a sort of People too amorous and fond of liberty, who aim'd to set up a Government whereby absolute Authority might be restrain'd within the bounds of Laws. This latter did not long subsist, the other three (though Enemies amongst themselves) conspiring to make them odious and to destroy them; in so much as not knowing which way to turn, they quickly join'd with the *Spaniards* who receiv'd them with open Arms.

In the beginning the *Spaniards* promis'd themselves their own hearts desires from the charming power of their Pistols: they did not know they had to do with People that were ever craving and never satisfied. Wherefore when *Mendoza* the Ambassador (imagining he had made a Party sufficient) propounded in Council that they should chuse the King his Master for Protector of the Holy Union. The Duke was hugely surpris'd, and after he had consult'd with his ablest Heads, made Answer, that the Legat being so near, it would be thought a Crime to resolve upon so weighty a business without first communicating of it to him. This reply piqued the *Spaniards* much; and they were quits with him, for some days after, when he demand'd Money, they paid him with the very same evasion. In this manner being all jealous of each other, and employing their greatest care, the one to usurp, the other to defend themselves, they in this mean while let slip the opportunity of destroying the common Enemy, and continuing to act in the same manner still, they labour'd only to the advancement of his Affairs, and the destruction of their own.

The Duke sensibly touch'd with the reproaches of the *Parisians*, for having kept his Army three weeks about the Town without doing any thing, takes the Field the Two and twentieth of November. He gains the *Buis de Vincennes* and some other Castles upon Composition, laid Siege to *Pontisse* which defended it self but very poorly, this was in the beginning of January, then went to attack *Meulan*. He promis'd himself after the taking of this last place, to do the same by *Pont de l'Arche*, and by that means keep the River of *Seine* open from *Paris* even to *Rouen*. It was easie enough for him to gain the Town of *Meulan*, the difficulty was to take the Fort, which is an Island join'd to the two Shoars by two Bridges.

As then the King was in *Normandy*, where he had reduced almost all the places, *Alencon*, *Argentan*, *Domfront*, *Lisieux*, *Bayeux*, *Falaise*, and *Honfleur*. There were none but the two last that sustain'd a Siege; the first was taken by assault from the Castle, (the Mote which was its chiefest strength being frozen up) and was miserably sack'd; the other capitulated as soon as the King had block'd up their

Harbour,

1589.
September.

* Vide, in
March pre-
ceding.

* Or Suburbs
St. James.
November.

1589.
November.

September.

November.

1589
November

1589
November

1589
January.

Harbour, by which they daily received refreshment sent them by *Villars* from *Rouen*.

Now when he was informed the Duke was before *Meulan*, he hastens thither with part of his Men, puts relief into the Fort, then some few days after comes again with his whole Army. Now the Duke being well lodged in the Burrough, and he much incommoded in the Field by the great Frosts, resolved to draw him out thence by attacking *Peissy*, which lies a League above it. He immediately gains the Town by *Escalado*, and falls a battering this Bridge. The Duke runs thither upon the noise of the Cannon, and could no way stop their fury but by breaking down two Arches of the Bridge. The King having done what he desired, went and laid Siege to *Dreux*.

During this the Legat was arrived at *Paris*. He there received the Compliments of the Magistrates, and all the distinct Bodies Corporate of the City, presented this Bull in Parliament who verified it without any modification, and went afterwards thither himself in great pomp, believing there remained nothing more for him to do but to take possession of the Sovereign Authority. But as he would have placed himself in the Kings Seat, which is in the corner under a *Canopy*, the first President pul'd him gently by the hand, as if to show him respect, and sat him on the Bench below him. The Parliament of *Tours* having seen his Bull, and observing it was directed to the Kings Enemies, forbid he should be named for Legat; that of *Paris* on the contrary dam'd their Decree, and thus these two Companies often fought with the points of their Pens.

1590.
January.

February, and
March.

The King making much ado with his demanding a Conference to be instructed (writing however quite contrary to the Protestant Princes) many of the Leaguers began to grow cool, and even some Preachers were so bold as to speak in favour of him. The Faculty of Theology made a Decree of the Tenth of February, wherein they condemned these Propositions, *That it was lawful to agree with the Heanois, to own him upon condition he became a Catholic, and to say him Lamin and Seldin.* The Legat at the same time wrote his Circular Letter the first of *March*, to all the Bishops, forbidding them to appear in any Assembly for that purpose, and withal took a new Oath of the *Prout des Marchands, Escheviers, Regensiers, Docteurs, and Captains* of each Quarter, or Ward, to persevere in the Holy Union to the last moment of their lives. This was done in the great *Audience* after solemn Procession.

The Ambassador of *Spain* was not so discouraged upon their first denial to own the King his Master for their Protector, but he would needs attempt it a second time, which had no better success than the former. He likewise offer'd the Duke a very great supply: but he who would readily have accepted it in the beginning, apprehending it might be to stife his Authority by a greater, told him he should be satisfied with five or six thousand Men, and the remainder he would rather have in Money.

During the difficulties created by their Agents on this Subject, he goes to the Duke of *Parma*, and procured of him fifteen hundred Lances, and five hundred Archbushers on Horseback, Armed with Breast and Head-piece, they were called *Cavaliers*, all commanded by *Philip* Count of *Egmont*, a young Man growing in Reputation, but who as yet was more rash than valiant.

With this Re-inforcement having no less than four thousand Horse, and ten thousand Foot, he marches to the relief of *Dreux*, and passed over the River *Seine* at *Montes*. The King having notice of it raised the Siege and came to post himself at *Nonancour*; The same night he arrived there, his Council resolved to give Battle, though his Army were less in number by a third part than the Enemy. It was not the Dukes design to engage him, but only to put some Men into *Dreux*, as he might with ease, all the *Avantures* being left open: but the King decamping from *Nonancour* to draw somewhat nearer the River *Eure* towards *Tory*, that so if the Enemies attempted to pass over, he might fight them separately, the Leaguers imagined he was flying. Then *Egmont* presses the Duke to follow and fall upon him, and while the Duke knew not what to resolve, brags he would attack him with his own Party alone and beat him. These Huffsings and the vain discourtes of the *Parisians*, who reproached his sloath, constrained him to pass the River *Eure*, and engaged him in Combat.

1590.
March 16.

Those that call'd so loud for Battle fell into a sudden consternation when they saw the Kings Forces, who far from running away came directly towards them, but there was now no way left them to avoid it. The next Morning being on *Wednesday* the Fourteenth of *March*, the two Armies ranged themselves in Battalia right against

Tory,

Tory, in that great Plain which lies in the midst of a Peninsula between the Rivers *Aure* and *Iron*, and the *Eure* which receives them both. In less then half an hour the Army of the League was utterly defeated, the great Squadrons of their Lancers broken with the others Swords and Pistol Shot, their Laniquens cut in pieces, and most part of their *Frenchmen* kill'd upon the place. The *Swiss* only stood their ground: but when they saw they were about to break their Battalions with great Guns, they lowered their Pikes and surrendered their Colours; which were immediately restored to them again by the generosity of the King, who desiring to oblige the whole Nation, wrote a very civil Letter to the *Captain*.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, after he had performed all the Duties of a great Commander and brave Cavalier, drew part of his Men over the Bridge, then caused it to be broken down; and with that remnant escaped to *Montes*. The Inhabitants were willing to receive his Person, but not quarter his Troops, but made them go thorough ten by ten, *Nemours, Amale*, and some other Chiefs, with what they could rally, retired to *Chartres* over the Plain.

The Duke attributed the loss of this Battle to his *Flemish* Men at Arms, who were heavy and unskilful, as well the Men as their Horses; to the temerity of Count *Egmont* who commanded them; to the mistake of the *Vicomte de Tavannes*, who being short-sighted, ranged the Squadrons so near each other that there was no space enough in the intervals for the *Rifles* to wheel about and draw up again in the rear of the rest; and above all to the cowardize of those very *Rifles*, who having at first given ground, fell into the Dukes Squadron, and continuing still to wheel off during the whole fight, fell upon the others likewise and so put them into disorder.

Fear of being pursued he had broken down the Bridge of *Tory* and there hapned the greatest slaughter of the run-aways, the *Rifles* defended themselves a while in the Burrough, but were all knock'd on the Heads. The King having pass the River at the Ford of *Aure*, was come to Lodge at *Rosly*, which is a League beyond *Montes*: His approaches startled the Inhabitants of that Town; the Duke perceived by their looks there would be little facility for him there, and for that reason retired speedily to *St. Denis*.

The Plain of *Tory* was not the only place wherein destiny, to speak like the Vulgar, declared for the King: the same day it gave him in *Avange* another advantage of great importance, and such as wholly confirmed his Affairs in that Province. The Count de *Randan* had surprized the Town of *Issire*, and built a Citadel; the Gentlemen Royalists, and the Citizens of *Clermont*, who is nearer to those of *Rion*, had a great deal of Zeal for the Kings Party, surprized the City by their intelligence with a Consul, and besieged the Citadel. *Floras* Sonnet of *Avange*, commanded on this occasion; *Randan* comes to relieve the Citadel, and invested both him and his Party in the Town.

1590.
March.

The Lords of that Country, amongst others *Rosignac* the Kings Lieutenant, the *Vicomte de Lavedan*, the Baron de *Chabron*, the Marquis de *Curion* who commanded the little Army, and *d'Effiat*, came to disengage their Friends. This could not be without a Battle: it was very obstatinate, but, in fine, the Leaguers were overthrown. It cost them five hundred Men, whereof there were an hundred Gentlemen, and amongst the rest the generous Count de *Randan*, who being taken Prisoner died of his Wounds in *Issire*. Those of the Citadel, having heard of this defeat capitulated, and the Victors returned in great triumph to *Clermont*.

The Duke of *Mayenne* was no sooner parted from *Montes*, but that City and that of *Vernon* turned their backs upon him. It was said, that if he could but have left a good Garrison there, he had stopp'd the King upon the Banks of the *Seine*, and made his Victory vanish; In effect he had neither Implements nor Ammunitions to make a Siege, nor could he keep the Nobility with him any longer, who upon the rumour of a Battle came in all haste to him without any Equipage.

The Wife *la Noie* was of opinion he should go directly to *Paris*, where the Victory of *Tory* had wonderfully raised the courage of his Friends, and depressed that of the Seize: the *Marcheval de Biron*, most prevalent in the Council of War, and *Po* Surintendant of the Finances hindred it. The first, as it was said, because he feared lest the King, whom he treated as his Scholer, should free himself, if we may so say, from the power of his Ferula, and have the less regard of him, if his business came to be dispatched so soon; The second because he desired rather to reduce *Paris* by violent means. For he judged that in case it were so, the King would have just cause not only to take away the Cities Revenue, but likewise extort great Ransoms from them, and lay such Imposts as he pleased. Now whatever motive he had, he rested

fifteen

fifteen days at *Mantes*, in which space the League did a little recover out of their altonishment, calmed the Peoples fears, and repaired their leaks.

Their Chiefs, that they might gain more time, made some Proposals for an Accommodation. *Villeroy* first entred into Conference with *Plessis Morisy* in the Castle of *Saunders* near *Mantes*, the Legat procured abothier at *Noisy la Sec*, between the Cardinal, *de Guise*, and the Marechal *Biron*, and was also present himself. All very ineffectually for them, because the King, without any delay, prepared himself to besiege *Paris*, which city he sent out to *Yves d'Amboise* to hold.

He had already taken *Logny*, *Enghien*, *Montreux*, *Bray* on the *Seine*, and *Melun*. Some false intelligence put him upon attempting the City of *Sens*; but he was repulsed by *Charny*, with the loss of three hundred Men. From thence he came and seized on the Castle and Bridge of *Saint-Mammès* the five and twentieth day of April, having fifteen thousand Foot, and little less than four thousand Horse.

Then *Paris* found they were block'd up. That innumerable and confused multitude of People, without Heads, at least not absolute, without foresight, without Discipline, who apprehended no danger, because they understood it not, and who relied upon their great numbers and strength, had made no provisions for the Belly, nor for War, neither had the Chiefs taken any care to provide against either publick or private necessities. When it came into their thoughts it was too late: the Countreies about them had no Corn nor Forrage, all the Bridges beneath the City were in the Kings power, and the *Marne* could furnish them with little, because the Harvest that year had been very ill in *Champagne*. They had scarce any other Stores but three thousand Muids of Corn, and ten thousand Muids of Wine, which *Givry* suffer'd to pass the Bridge of *Chenoy*, for a present bestow'd upon him of ten thousand Crowns, and out of a secret Complaisance he had for *Mademoiselle de Guise*, with whom he was mightily smitten.

The Duke of *Mayenne* Orders and their Necessity confer'd the Government of the City on the Duke of *Nemours*, his Brother by the Mother, a young Prince of an active boldness and great vigour. He had then no Men of note about him but the Chevalier *d'Amale*, brave, but wild and untractable, and of Soldiers only twelve hundred *Langueuocs*, as many *Engels*, and *Berardine de Mendoza* Ambassador from *Spain*, sent for a hundred Horse. In the City were the Princesses of *Nemours*, *Montpensier*, *d'Anjou*, *de Guise* with her Daughter, and some other Ladies of Quality, the Spanish Ambassador, the Archbishop of *Lyons* Keeper of the Seals for the League, the Legat with all his Train, and divers French Prelats, besides the Cardinal *de Guise*, who thought more Royalist than a Leaguer, would not however forsake his Flock in their necessity, but very charitably relieved them.

It would be very difficult to say which was greater, either the vigilance and cares of the Governor, or the zeal of the *Parisians*. In a short time they had made great quantities of Powder, repaired the breaches in their Walls, cast up Breast-works and Mounts, cover'd the Suburbs with great Intrenchments, fixed Chains in every Street, filled great numbers of Barrils with Earth to make Barricado's, planted Posts and Bars at all the Avenues, cast seventy five pieces of Cannon, wherewith he furnished the Rampiers, and secur'd the River both above and below with Massive Chains, which were held up by strong Ettacado's, and defended by Forts built on either hand.

The *Parisians* on their part gave the very Furniture of their Kitchens to found their Cannon, each House provided a Labourer to work upon their Fortifications, paid all the poor that put their helping hand, exercised their Soldiery three times a week; and which is more considerable admitted a Garison amongst them, and saw their Country Houses ransack'd and destroy'd without murmuring.

Most of the Handicrafts-men and all Forreigners were gone out of the City, the great Hostels were empty, the substantial Citizens had sent their Families away: yet there remained two hundred thousand Souls, and but Provisions for one Month only, (at the rate of a pound of Bread a day for each person) besides fifteen hundred Muids of Oats and an hundred Muids of Pulse.

The King in the first place master'd the Bridges of *Charenton* and *Saint Cloud*, (six young *Parisians* defended themselves three whole days in the Bridge-Tower of *Charenton*) took *Vincennes*, besieged *St. Denis*, and placed Garisons of Light-Horsemen in all the strong Houses for seven or eight Leagues round about; whence they beat the Roads night and day, that nothing passing by, the City might in short time be reduced to Famine. This method after seven or eight days trial, seeming too tedious, he

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he endeavour'd to draw the Besieged to a Battle, and for that purpose order'd an attaque upon the *Faubourg Saint Lawrence*: but there experimenting their brave defence, and by some other great Skirmishes observing they had yet too much vigour to be forced within their Barricado's, and their Commanders too much prudence to hazard themselves in the Field, he returned to his former design of famishing them.

The Duke of *Mayenne* was gone to beg some assistance in *Flanders*, where he had enough to do to endure the pride and affected low pace of the Spanish Council: In the condition he left *Paris* he did not believe it could hold out one Month, and not being able to relieve it, but by the aid of the *Spaniards*, he feared he should lose it in saving it, and that they would deliver it only to get it for themselves. At the same time also happens the death of the old Cardinal de *Roubon*, who ended his days the Ninth of May at the Castle of *Fontenay* in *Poitou*, under the guard of the Lord de *la Boulaye*. The King had put him into this Lords custody after the taking him out of the hands of the Lord de *Chauligny*, who was both old and blind, at the very time when the Lords of the League were bargaining with that good Man to set him at liberty.

This fresh accident put him to great trouble, he was in need of a King to fix the Eyes and Veneration of the People, he foresaw the *Spaniards* would presuade to chuse one, and he knew the difficulties that would arise on that side, as also from the Chiefs of his own Party who hinder'd him from attaining it. All his study was therefore to find out this plausible delay to put off this Election, and he did succeed therein as he desired, but such proceeding ruin'd his Party.

The Heads of the League had wisely before-hand disposed the People so, as that this death should cause no alteration. The Faculty of Divinity consulted by the *Prevost des Marchands*, and by some noted *Bourgeois*, had made Answer, That Henry of Bourbon could not, because of the Scandal, and danger of his relapsing, be admitted to the Crown, if King Charles X. or any other lawful Successor should happen to die, or yield him up his right, or if even the said Prince should obtain Absolution, and that those who died for so holy a Cause, should gain the Palm of Martyrdom, and be Crowned in Heaven as brave Defenders of the Faith.

At five weeks end the Duke of *Mayenne* could get off the Duke of *Parma* but four thousand Foot, and two hundred Laques, with which having joyned some two thousand French whom he pickt up, or who were sent him by *Babuy*, he advanced as far as *Laon*. Immediately the King goes from his Camp with five and twenty hundred Horse, thinking to meet him in the Field and charge him: the Duke had a hint of it, and making use (this time) of great celerity, got under shelter of the Walls of *Laon*. Whilst the King was harralling him, *St. Pol* being detached privately with eight hundred Horse and some Foot, and having gotten together a pretty good Convoy of Provisions, conducted it along the Banks of the *Marne*, and put it into *Paris* before the King could get back to his Camp to prevent him.

During the Siege, the War went on variously in the Provinces, I shall mention only the most remarkable passages. *Francis de Roussel May-David* surprized the Castle of *Vernault*, and likewise made himself Master of the City after a very bloody fight, in which *John de Dreux Morainville* was slain, who was said to be the last Male of the House of *Dreux*, Illue of *Lewis* the Gros, by *Robert*, fifth son of that King. *Lansac* had a design upon *Mans* which was discover'd, and his Troops defeated at *Memers* (where they waited to see the event) by *Herric* Governor of *Alencon*. He was more unfortunate yet in another Enterprize upon the Town of *Mayenne*: having taken it and holding the Castle besieged, the same *Herric* and *Montaigne* put him to the rout, and cut off or took above twelve hundred Men of two thousand he commanded.

The Leagued Gentlemen of *Bretagne* surprized the City of *Sable* and attacked the Castle: *Rambouillet* (whose Wife had been taken Prisoner in that place) in-treated the Nobles of the Country to assist him. His two Brothers with as many as they could get together fell upon the Besiegers; the first charge was but with little success; but at the second (when they had gotten some Cannon and a Reinforcement of a thousand Men, sent them by *Kochepot* Governor of *Angers*) they broke thorough their Barricado's, pierced even into the Bass-court of the Castle, and followed them so close as they betook themselves to their Heels, but not breaking down the Bridge, the greatest part were kill'd or taken Prisoners.

In *Languedoc*, *Montmorency* armed slowly, thinking by such coldness to make them fend him the Constables Sword, which other confederations with-held. *Albigny* and

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and *Lesdiguières* made War in *Dauphine* by taking and re-taking several Forts from each other. The latter being the stronger marched sometimes towards *Lyons* to assist *Maugiron* who held one of the Castles of *Vienne* for the King, and had *St. Geronimo* for Antagonist. He likewise went frequently towards *Provence* to help *la Valette*. *Montmorency* also pulled the *Rhose* divers times: but that was to endeavour to lay hands on some places to enlarge his Dominion.

1590.

Provence was miserably rent and distracted by three or four Factions, not reckoning the Royalists. The Duke of *Savoy* had his; the Countess of *Sault*, and the Count de *Carces* each theirs. That of the Duke seem'd to be the most predominant, and to draw the two others to his Interests; but the the Countess (it was *Christienne d'Aguerre* Widow of *Lewis d'Agout* Count de *Sault*) a Woman of great courage, and of a high spirit, would not introduce him into the Province, but to make her self the stronger; and the Count de *Carces* likewise, not being able to stand upon his own Legs, gave that Duke footing only that he might be enabled to make head against *la Valette*. For he imagined that being prime Lord of the Country, and Lieutenant of the Forces by Authority of Parliament all the Authority there ought to devolve on him. The Parliament was also mightily divided between these three Factions, and moreover some of the Officers belonging to them, had left them to follow the Kings Party and that of *la Valette* his Governor. These had withdrawn themselves to *Manoche* where they affirm'd they were the true Parliament.

January, &c.

During the first heat of these Commotions, the Dukes Money and Practices gave him the advantage, the Magistrates of the chief Cities, amongst others *Marseilles* and *Aix*, being all for him. A great Assembly of the Clergy and Nobility which was held at *Aix* in the Month of *January*, resolv'd to put the Province under his Protection, and deputed a Bishop and the eldest Consul of the City to him; and after that the Parliament Ordained likewise that he should be called in to defend it; To which they added that the Estates of the *Bizarrats* (so they named the Royalists) should be confiscate.

As to the rest, it were folly to engage in a Relation of all the several Intrigues, and Exploits of so many Parties, who changing every moment both their Designs and the management of them, did not well know themselves what they would have or do; I shall therefore not mention them, no more then those of several other Provinces. Only of *Bretagne* let me say that the Prince de *Dombes* rudely repul'd the Duke de *Mercaur*, took *Hennebon*, *Montcontour* and *Lambale*: but could not engage him to a Battle. I shall likewise take notice of the great change at *St. Malo's*, because it was a place of great importance.

March.

Honorat de Baill des Fontaines Governor of the Town, lodged in the Castle which lies upon the Harbour, and had there stowed all the Riches he had scraped together in the time of his being in favour with King *Charles IX.* The *Malouins* being persuaded that he had plotted to introduce a strong Garrison into their City, and let the wealthiest Merchants at Ranfom, conspired to rid their hands of him. Having therefore corrupted a *Valet de Chambre* of his, they scaled the Castle on the Fourteenth of *March* in the night, and it so hapned that he was kill'd with a Carbine Shot at a Window, whether by chance, or designedly, I know not. After which they plundered his Goods, then got the Duke of *Mercaur* to justify them, and fell in with the League, yet they warily refused to admit of any Soldiers, but kept the Castle themselves.

1590.

July.

The Affections of considering Men, as well as fortune and success, began to dispose their minds by little and little to favour the King. Pope *Sixtus* better informed of the condition of both Parties, and comparing the qualities and the manner of that Princes acting with the Duke of *Mayenne*, did well foresee that he would have the better, and indeed, he received into *Rome*, then to his Audience, the Duke de *Piney* deputed from the Catholick Nobility, notwithstanding the threats and protestations of the Spanish Ambassador, and had sent Order to his Legat in *France*, that he should make no use of Excommunication, but try all ways of prudence and gentleness to bring back the King.

The People began likewise to be made sensible of the real goodness of this Prince, as he had already taught them to dread his courage. And the Duke of *Nevers*, who had hitherto remained as it were Neuter in his own Town, after his having consider'd of all the methods likely to convert him, judged none could be either more certain or more Consistent, then wisely to thrust himself between the *Huguenots* and him, to divide him from them, and so draw him mildly towards the Catholick Church. With this

this design he came about the beginning of *July*, and brought in great numbers of the Gentry by his Interest and Example.

It was about the same time the King recalled the Chancellor de *Chiverny*, and restored the Seals to him: *Montbolon* had discharged himself of them after the death of *Henry III.* fearing he might be engaged to Seal some thing in favour of the *Huguenots*, though he still remained of the Kings Party; in which he this year died, honoured by good Men with the Surname of the *French Aristides*. After his demission the Seals had been managed by the Cardinal de *Vendosme*, then put into the custody of *Ru/s*, Secretary of State, but without any power of using them save by Order of the Marshal *Biron* who had a hand in every thing.

About the time of his return, the City of *St. Denis* surrendered, and a design the Leaguers had contrived upon *Senlis* miscarried. *St. Denis* having consumed all their Stores, wherewith it was as little provided for as *Paris*, made their Composition; which was advantageous enough, because the King desired to lodge there. As to *Senlis*, *Bouteville* who was Lieutenant to his Cousin *Tore* there, walking one night upon the Rampart overheard some People beneath in the *Fosse* who spake very low, and perceived they planted a Ladder against the Wall: he rouls down a huge Stone from the Parapet which beat the Ladder in pieces and broke the Thigh-bone of one of them; this Fellow not able to get away revealed the whole Conspiracy. They found twelve Soldiers concealed in the House of a *Chanoin*, who were all Hanged, and with them twenty seven, as well Priests as Monks, in their Ecclesiastical Habits.

There flocked People from all parts to the Siege of *Paris*: some that till now had been irresolute, were brought in for fear of sinking with a Party they believed could never rise again, others in hopes of Plunder, believing *Paris* would be left a Prey, and that they should get Mountains of Gold: many by the express Order of the King. The Prince of *Conty* brought the Forces of *Poitou*, *Touraine*, *Aujon* and *Maine*; *Humières* sent a Party of those of *Picardy*; and the Vicount de *Turenne* being recover'd of a great fit of Sickness, was brought in a Litter at the head of a thousand Horse and four thousand Foot.

The King was not without great disquiet, the interests and desires of the Catholicks and *Huguenots* were very different for the gaining of *Paris*. The former as we have observed, wished he might get in by an Accommodation; the others would have it by force. All agreed in this one point that they were much dissatisfied with him, because the Catholicks urging him to become a Convert, and the *Huguenots* to revoke the Edict made against them by *Henry III.* he could not as yet satisfy either the one nor the other, so that from complaining they fell to caballing and conspiring.

In this perplexity he had about the end of *May* given a Pass-port to some Deputies of *Paris*, to find out the Duke of *Mayenne* and exhort him to Peace: but by what motive I know not, presently recalled it again. A Month after finding the Siege drew out in length, and the disturbances caused by the two Parties in his Army, increased more and more, he consented to a conference betwixt the Legat and the Marquis de *Pisany* newly returned from his Embassy at *Rome*. It was held in the Hostel de *Gondy** in the *Fauxbourg St. Germain*: but the Propositions on either part were so far distant, that the Cardinal de *Gondy* who was present, could find no medium to bring them any thing near a conclusion.

After the first fifteen days of the Siege, the People beginning to find some scarcity, they made a review of all Provisions in every House, and they commanded all those that had more then for two Months to carry the overplus to the Markets and to the Bakers; by this means they had Bread at six blanks the pound three weeks together. During which the Populace, allured by those distributions the Spanish Ambassador under-hand made of Penfions to the most Factious, and publicly to the Rascality, of some handfuls of half Sols, stamped with the Arms of *Castile*, spent their time in singing and dispersing Songs of false news which *Madam Montpensier* forged from day to day to amuse the Citizens.

At six weeks end, which was the midst of *June*, Wheat came to be at double the price, and a fortnight after failed them all of a sudden. Then their hunger spoiled their Mirth and turned their lewd Songs into sighs and groans. The poor subsisted some days with Bread made of Bran, then fed upon Herbs, whereof they found good store in many Gardens. Those to whom they had committed the oversight of these things, had not taken timely care to send away such People as were unserviceable, whose number amounted to above five and twenty thousand. These were poor Peasants, or Handycraftsmen; to whose lot the bitter Potion first did chance to fall.

1590.
June and July

* It is now the Hostel de Gondy.

May and June

1590.
June.

One day great Crowds of them were gathered together at the Gate St. Vitor, hoping to get out by a Pass-port they had sent to the King for: but his Council dissuaded him from allowing that favour. When those Wretches saw he had refused it, they made so horrible an out-cry, as much startled the whole City. They resolved therefore in the first place to take some order to supply their present necessities; and for this purpose went to search all the Clergymens Houses and Convents, who were found to be provided, even the very Capucins, for above a twelve-month: they were therefore enjoined to bestow Food twice a day on all that were in want of Bread. They reckoned seven thousand Families that purchased it for their Money, and five thousand that had no other Money but their grateful Thanks.

The said time expired, their Miseries began to grow greater then before: they be- thought them of haking and grinding of Oats to make Porage; and because Wine failed in the Cabarets, they invented and distributed I know not what kind of Be- verage made with Oatmeal and Roots.

* A Measure
about Twelve
Bushels.

July.

In the Month of July Bread rose to a Crown the pound weight, the * Septier of Wheat above sixscore Crowns, one Sheep a hundred Livres, and other things in pro- portion. Amongst the Poor, Dogs, Cats, and Mice were greater dainties, than formerly Partridge or Hares; old Unguent, Candles, Grease, and the most fetid Oyls, were used for seasoning their Broths of Herbs or Grass.

For want of Aliments, they were fed with Processions, particular and solemn Vows imposed upon them, Prayers of forty hours long, Sermons twice a day, several Fraternities and Spiritual Assemblies, withall various and false coined Intelligence, and approaching hopes, which though prepared for them a thousand several ways to fit their Palates and stay their Stomachs, proved notwithstanding so thin a Diet as afforded but slender nourishment: There are strange things related of this Famine; Perhaps they may have added somewhat to the truth of the Stories: but certain it is above ten thousand People perished for want of Food. And yet of these poor Wretches, some were so persuaded of the justice of their Cause, and the glory of Martyrdom, that they crawled to the Gates of the Churches there to surrender up their Souls to Almighty God; others were so cowardly, they rather chose to starve in their own Houses then die bravely with their Swords in hand. Some few only leaped over the Walls, and stealing through the Enemies Guards, retired to certain Officers who were their Friends.

These being for the most part some Servants of the Kings, did implore his Cle- mency with such repeated importunities, that he gave leave for three thousand of those wretched Ghosts to come out of the Town, divers whereof were choak'd, so soon as the compassionate Soldiers gave them Bread to eat. The said Commanders perceiving by this, that the King would not use the extremest severity, took the confidence to let some numbers of them daily pass by, when they were upon the Guard; nay many did even lend in small refreshments to their Acquaintance, to their old Landlords, and most particularly to the Ladies; and by their example the com- mon Soldiers conveyed Meat, Bread, and runlets of Wine over the Works, in ex- change whereof they received good Cloth and rich Stuffs at an easie rate. It is be- lieved that this Indulgence made Paris subsist some weeks the longer for it.

1590.
July.

In the mean while the Politicks and Royalists were every day making Parties to deliver up the City to the King, or to make the People rise and mutiny: but they were so narrowly watch'd that all their Projects miscarried. They wanted but little of succeeding one day about the end of July, when being assembled at the Palais, they took up Arms and began to cry out Peace or Provisions. It is certain that if Nemours and Vitry had not ran presently thither, all were inclining that way. The Seize, made such grievous complaint to the Parliament, that they condemned a couple to the Gallows; it was a Father and his Son, who were both Hanged on the same Gibber, the miserable fruit of Civil Wars.

August.

The dangers of this day of Peace or Provisions, struck so great a fear into the Chiefs of the League, that they consulted about a Conference for a Peace. Whilst they were deliberating upon it, the King to spur them forwards, attack'd their Suburbs and gained them all in one night. The Cardinal de Goudy and the Archbishop of Lyons, having secur'd themselves of a Pass-port, the sixth day of August, went and waited on him at St. Antoine des Champs, where they found him surrounded by great numbers of the Nobles. They set on foot again (with many notable additional Reasons) the Proposition they had already made to him by other hands, That he would grant them a Truce, so as they might go to the Duke of Mayenne and dispose him to treat jointly with them. The King on his part propos'd to them that if they would

make

make their Capitulation to surrender within ten days and sign it immediately, he would condescend to their demand. That time seem'd too short for them, so they returned without concluding any thing.

Some Captains had been often of opinion to attempt Paris by main strength, but the King was ever averse to it: for besides that he was not certain to carry it, he feared, if his Men should force their way, the Huguenots in revenge of the St. Bar- tholomew, might put all to Fire and Sword, that such a deluge must destroy some of his best Friends there, and the greatest and richest Treasure of his Kingdom be rifled in one day, whereof none should reap any benefit but the rapacious Soldiery. For these reasons, and because he promised himself day after day to reduce it by some Confederacy from within, or at least by Famine, (for his Parasites made him believe it yet in much worse condition then in truth it was) he either durst not, or would not run so great a hazard.

He held himself so secure of gaining his ends, that without making any Efforts, or troubling his Head about the assistance they expected, he diverted himself in seeking new Mistresses, even within the Monasteries, with as great security and leasure as if he had been quietly lodged in his Louvre. By his example, most of his Officers hav- ing little or no employment, spent their time in the like Conquests, and such as could not otherwise have any, bought Parisian Ladies of Pleasure; who disabled some in the service, and corrupted the faith of many others.

1590.
August.

The same day of the Conference at St. Antoine, the Duke of Mayenne arrived at Meaux with five or six thousand Men, most of them Cavalry, drawn out of Lorraine, Champagne, Cambresis and Picardy. From thence he sent word of his arrival to the Parisians, and gave them hopes of the sudden coming of the Duke of Parma; who for two Months did not move, whether foreseeing that in his absence the Prince of Orange would over-run part of his Conquests of the Low-Countries, or feared King Philip would appoint him a new Successor, or that he doubted the success of this Expedition. However it hapned they were fain to send a very express and reiterated Order out of Spain to make him march. He took for this purpose Twelve thousand Foot, three thousand five hundred Horse, and fifteen hundred Wagons loaden with Ammunition, departed from Valenciennes the sixth day of August, and advanced to Meaux by prefix Stages, encamping after the Roman mode, in such places as he had caused to be exactly survey'd, and which he compared with his Maps at every turn.

The King who thought he never durst have stir'd out of the Low-Countries, nor engage himself so far in France, was much astonish'd when he had certain notice of his arrival there, the Two and twentieth of August, and that having repol'd his Army four or five days, he was come to lodge at Claye. After he had held several Councils, and heard their divers opinions upon so important a business, he rais'd his Siege the Nine and twentieth of the Month, with intention to challenge him to Battle, and oppose his Attempts.

There was above Cheller a place very commodious and very advantageous to En- camp, the two Armies had the same design of seizing on it: The Kings Light-Horse beat off those of Parma; and there it was that the said Duke (having from an emi- nence beheld and observed the number and disposition of the Royal Army) changed the desire he once had of fighting them, and instead of the Musquet and Pike, made his Soldiers take up the Matock and Spade, to intrench with all speed in the neighbour- ing Marish.

Now to demonstrate that he did not act at random, but that he walked by the just Rules of Military Art, he had publicly reported, and even told the Herald the same thing, who was sent from the King to desie him to Battle, that he would oblige him to raise his Siege of Paris, and would open one of the Rivers, by forcing a Town even in his sight. After therefore, the two Armies had remained six days close by each other, upon the seventh, there hapning a great Fog, and the Duke having first seized on the chief Posts near Lagny, he attack'd that place by Cannon Shot, the River betwixt. The breach made, in a short time he throws a Bridge of Boats over, gives an assault, and gained it so soon, that the Troops which the Marechal d'Amours was leading about by the Bridge at Gournay, within two little Leagues below it, could not get thither time enough.

1590.
September.

It then seem'd as if the chance were turned: the Parisians who had fasted so long, had Provisions in abundance brought them from Beauffe by Carts; and on the con- trary the Kings Army, (for the taking of Lagny deprived him of the River of Marne, and the valiant Duke of Nemours sowing the Country cut off all Convoys by Land) began to feel some want, and were three or four days without any Ammu- nition

K k k k k z

nition Bread. Then the Soldiers fell a mutinuing and were ready to mutiny, the Chiefs accuse one another for the ill management of the Siege of *Paris*, the Nobility desire to be dismiss'd since there was no likelihood of a Battle; the hatred between the Catholics and *Huguenots* grew hotter and higher; as did the jealousies between the Servants of the present King, and those belonging to the former Court, who ever kept a Cabal by themselves, and did their utmost to discredit each other upon all occasions.

Thereupon the King called a Council to know what he must do amidst these Disorders. He met with nothing but confused advice, apprehension and confusion; so that it was no time to take a resolution, but a necessity to decamp. He turned therefore towards *Senlis*, passed the *Oise* at *Creil* with more precipitation than should have been upon a good retreat, and after an endeavour to compose them again by the taking of *Clermont* in *Beauvoisis*, he puts a part of them into the Towns about *Paris*, sent the rest with the Nobility into the Provinces, and could not keep with himself above seven or eight hundred Horse.

When he had passed the *Oise*, the Dukes of *Parma* and *Mayenne* came out of their Intrenchments. It is said the former had the curiosity to visit *Paris* incognito, whither *Vitry* conducted him, and observing the *Faubourgs* quite ruined, the Shops empty and unfurnished, most of the Streets deserted, the People with dejected looks and meager Faces, a melancholy silence in all parts, in stead of the mirth and jollity he expected to find; it begot more pity in him to behold their sorrow and miseries, than joy for his having deliver'd them.

After this the two Dukes spread their Forces over the Country of *Brie*, and regained all the little places. They would willingly have open'd the *Seine* as they had unstop'd the *Marne*; the Duke of *Parma* to that effect besieged *Corbeil*. He thought it would be a work but of five or six days: but wanting Powder, and the Governors of the places for the League supplying him but unwillingly, and in small Parcels, it took him up a whole Month. In the mean time his Soldiers gorging themselves with unripe Grapes, got the Dyentery, whereof above three thousand died. In fine he took the place by Storm the Sixteenth of *October*: but that done he begins his march towards the *Low-Countries*, not to be staid by the most earnest intreaties of the Duke of *Mayenne*. He was much dissatisfied with his sloath and jealousy, however he left him Eight thousand Men, and promised to return the following year with greater Forces, advising him to hazard nothing in his absence, but to entertain the King all along with Treaties of Peace.

Before his departure he had the displeasure of seeing his Conquest of *Corbeil* lost in one night, which had cost him so many Men, and so much time. *Givry* Governor of *Brie* with his Troops which were in *Melan* took it by Escalado. The King having drawn his together, followed him in his rear to the *Arbre de Guise*. At his return, being come to refresh himself at St. *Quentin*, he there learn'd that *Charles de Humieres* his Lieutenant in *Picardy*, had gained the City of *Corbie* by the Petard and Escalado, kill'd the Governor, and put the Garrison to the edge of the Sword. The Publick suffer'd there an irreparable loss, by the destruction of the most part of the rare Manuscripts which were in the Library of St. *Peters* Abby.

In the Provinces, the Duke of *Lorraine* conquer'd *Villefranche* upon the Frontiers of *Champagne*, but rais'd his Siege most shamefully from before *Sainte Menchoud*. As to *Bretagne*, the Naval Force of *Spain* being entred into the Channel of *Blavet*, put five thousand Men ashore commanded by *Juan d'Aquila*, who after he had razed a Fort built there by the Prince of *Dombes*, and then in conjunction with the Duke of *Mercaur* forced the City of *Hennebont*, erected two great Forts at the chops of the Channel, with design to maintain so important a Post.

Lesdiguiers became absolute in *Dauphine*, by the reduction of the City of *Grenoble*. The *Isere* divides it in two parts, which are joined with a Bridge, he gained that by Escalado which lies at the Foot of the Hill, less then the other by two thirds: but *Albigny* stop'd him for three weeks at the end of the Bridge, and might have hindred him from passing further, if the People tired with the War had not forced him to Capitulate. It was express'd in the Articles, That he should have three Months time to choose his Party, and that if he took the Kings, he should hold his Government. He waved the advantage, and chose rather to keep to what his Religion and Promise engaged him to.

The King of *Spain* was satisfied, that if he could but wrest *Provence* out of the hands of the *French*, he should be Master of the *Mediterranean*, and break their Alliance with the *Turks*, their Communication with *Italy*, and their Trade into the

Levant:

Levant: he therefore gave a Fleet of forty seven Gallies to the Duke of *Savoy*, and allowed him to make Levies in *Milan* and the Kingdom of *Naples*. Whilst this Fleet was preparing the Duke rais'd a Land Army, which he intended to be of Ten thousand Foot and two thousand Horse. With these he entred into *Provence*, being invited thereto by a famous Deputation of that Country who waited upon him at *Nice*. When he arriv'd at *Marargues*, he took Horse with seven more, and rode post to *Aix* the next day. The City made him a more solemn Reception then ever they had done to any Prince; and some days after appearing in Parliament, he by a solemn Decree had the Title given him of Governor and Lieutenant General of the Province under the Crown of France.

Both the Kings Party and that of the League were equally tormented with Discords and Factions. In that of the League the Duke of *Savoy*, the Duke of *Mercur*, and the Duke of *Joyeuse*, drew to themselves, the one *Provence*, the other *Bretagne*, and the third *Languedoc*. The Duke of *Mayenne* had conceived a cruel jealousy for the Reputation of the Duke of *Nemours*, the affection the City of *Paris* bore to him, and for that their common Mother supported and seem'd willing to make this younger Brother become his equal. Wherefore he flatly denied him the Government of *Normandy*; and after this there never was any more real trust or confidence between them: on the contrary these two half Brothers watch'd each other as they had been sworn Enemies, and endeavour'd all they could to break one anothers measures.

On the other hand the Seize having it in their Heads to unite together all the great Cities of the Kingdom under a Republican form of Government, and for that purpose relying upon the power of the *Spaniards*, who notwithstanding had quite another aim then theirs, fell into a hatred of the Duke of *Mayenne*, as well because he oppos'd their design, as because he had dissolved the Council of Forty, and did not admit them in the management of Affairs.

Amongst the Royalists were more Factions yet, not all so violent, because every one had some respect for the King. Of the Catholics as well as *Huguenots* which were about him, there were two sorts, some who press'd for his change in Religion: others who hindred it. And of these likewise there were such who solicited it, and yet would not have it: others that oppos'd it, and yet would have it so. The Zealous *Huguenots*, whereof *Plessis* had greatest Authority, not having yet been able to obtain an Edict of him in favour of their Religion, and finding he inclin'd by little and little towards the Catholic, resolv'd they would strengthen themselves with Foreign Aid. And in this Prospect engaged him to demand some both in *England* and *Germany*, so to beset, and keep him closer united with the Protestant Princes.

He met likewise from abroad with another great cause of discontent. Pope *Sixtus V.* had conceived a very high esteem for him, an extreme contempt for the League, and a private hatred for the *Spanish* Government, which was much more dreadful to him then all the Hereticks. He had heap'd up five Millions of Gold in the Castle St. *Angelo*, the *Spaniards* importuned him to open his Chests for relief of the Catholic Party, but he refus'd absolutely, and that with words as sharp as their demands were arrogant. Thereupon he happen'd to die the Seven and twentieth of the Month of *August*; His Successor *Urban VII.* who proved to be of the same mind, liv'd but thirty days, and 'twas suspected the *Spaniards* shortned the lives both of the one and other. *Gregory XIV.* who was elected in the place of *Urban*, being a *Milanese* by Birth, and perhaps apprehending, as he was very timorous, that they might soon dispatch him after his Predecessors, espous'd the passions of his King, and publicly engaged himself by promising assistance of Men and Money to the League.

The beginning of the year 1591. was made memorable by two Enterprizes, one of the *Chevalier d'Amaltes* upon the City of St. *Denis*, the other the Kings upon *Paris*; they both miscarried. The *Chevalier* was by night gotten into St. *Denis*, by means of some People, who having pass'd the *Fosse* upon the Ice, screw'd open the Gate, and let down the Draw-bridge. When he was come into the middle of the Town, *Dominique de Vic*, who was newly made Governor, goes forth into the Streets with ten or twelve Horse, making a huge noise, as if great Company were with him. He puts the Assailants to a full stop, then feeling their Pulses, a little, afterwards charged them so smartly, that he beat back two hundred Men who were foremost, upon the Body that came behind; Then all betook them to flight; The *Chevalier* with fifteen or sixteen of his, lay dead in the Street, not without some suspicion of being kill'd by his own Party. This was in the night between the second and third of *January* the Eve of St. *Genevieve*, not very favourable to the *Parisians*.

As

1590.
September.

October.

March, &c.

1590.
March, &c.

October.

1590.

December.

1591.
January.

1590.
January.

As to the Enterprife upon *Paris*, the Twentieth of the same Month, sixty of the most resolute Captains, disguised like Peasants, and leading Horses laden with Meal (for the City began to grow in want) had order to seize upon the Gate St. *Honore*. The Politiques who had notice to be in a Body at the Court of Guard, would have joynted them, five hundred Cuirassiers, and two hundred Arquebusers concealed in the *Fauxbourg*, would have followed, and these again would have been back'd by twelve hundred Men, then the *Swiss* should have marched with several Waggon's laden with Pontons, Ladders and Hurdles to scale it in several parts. At the same time the King stood at the entrance of the *Fauxbourg* to give Orders; but finding the Gate St. *Honore* filled up with Earth, he judged his Design had taken wind and retired.

February.

The City of *Paris* being hourly threatned with the like dangers, the Duke of *Mayenne* was forced to bring in a Garison of *Spaniards*; However to avoid reproach, he would not order it of himself, but refer'd the business to the Parliament; who concluded after great Debate and Contentions, it should be so. By virtue of their Decree he put four thousand into *Paris*, and five hundred in *Meaux*; a sufficient number to make good his Command, but not so many as to make them Masters there.

April.

The inconvenience of the Season which was very tharp, could not hinder the King from besieging the City of *Chartres*. The Garison was but two hundred Soldiers, but there were three thousand Citizens, who believing they did maintain the Cause of God and of the Virgin, made the Siege much longer and much more difficult than was expected. He was twice or thrice of the mind to raise it: *Chiverny* who was concerned for the recovery of that place, because he had the Government of the *Chartreain*, and all his Estate lay thereabouts, was the only Man that obliged him not to give over. This obstinacy of his proved happy in the end, for the Town surrendered the Eighteenth day of *April*.

The Duke of *Mayenne* could not make a diversion by attacking *Chasteau-Thierry*; the taking whereof was very eafie: the Governor, who was the Son of *Finard* Secretary of State, defended himself fo ill, that he was accused of Treason. His Father and himself were hugely put to it, and got out of the Briars rather by the intercession of Friends than any justification of themselves.

The length of the Siege of *Chartres*, as doubtful at five weeks end, as the first day, emboldned the *Tiers Party*, to hold up their Heads. The young Cardinal de *Bourbon*, a vain and ambitious Prince, was Head and Author of it. He thought the good Catholics (tired with the tedious delays the King made for his being instructed) would confer the Crown on him as being the nearest Prince of the Blood, and in this imagination had made a Cabal, and sent to *Rome* to treat with the Pope concerning that matter.

1591.
April.

At the same time his Brother the Count de *Soiffons*, was contriving another, which would have mightily perplexed the King, and made him forfeit his Credit amongst *Huguenots*. The Countess of *Guiche* offended because the King did not now respect her as he had, to be reveng'd of him, re-kindled the love that Count once had for Madam *Catharine* his Sister, and so well managed the intrigue, that their Wedding was ready to be consummate: but the King having discover'd the designs of either; that of the Cardinal de *Bourbon* by means of the Cardinal de *Lenoncourt*, who revealed all his secrets; that of the Princess by the treachery of a disgraced Chambermaid, took such effectual order as removed all his apprehensions.

The Negotiations for Peace began anew after the taking of *Chartres*. Whilft *Villeroy* was letting them on foot, there was an Assembly of the Heads of the League, who all met either in person, or by their Deputies, in the City of *Reims*, to settle their concerns and the methods for making Peace or War. A Peace would have blasted all their ambitious pretensions; and they could no longer carry on the War without a King, nor maintain and support a King without the assistance of *Spain*. To this effect they deputed the President *Jarin* to that Prince; who gave him favourable Audience twice, and afterwards sent him to confer with one of his Ministers: By whose discourse the President discover'd the intentions of *Philip*, which were, to Assemble the Estates General that they might bestow the Crown of France upon him that should Marry his Daughter *Isabella*, as the nearest Princess of the Blood Royal; upon which condition he promised to send such numerous Forces into France, as should drive out the King of *Navarre*, and withal offer'd ten thousand Crowns per Month to maintain the Duke of *Mayenne*.

He founded his hopes upon the charms of his Gold, the affections of the Scize, and the Cabals of the Friars Mendicants, and other Religious Orders very powerful,

and

and at that time devoted to *Spain*, by whose means he hoped to gain the greater Cities. The Pope aimed at the same thing, and treated the Seize as Men of great importance. He fancied the time was now come to suppress all Heresies; and that his Popelish might not lose the glory of it, he resolv'd to joyn his Spiritual with the Temporal Power to destroy them. He put forth two Monitories, the one directed to the Prelats and Ecclesiasticks: the other to the Nobility, Magistrates and People. By the first, he Excommunicated them, if within fifteen days they did not withdraw from the Obedience, Territories and their Attendance on Henry de *Bourbon*, and within fifteen more deprived them of their Benefices. By the second, he exhort'd them to do the same, if not he would turn his Paternal goodness and love into the severity of a Judge. In both of them he declared Henry de *Bourbon* Excommunicate, Relaps'd, and as such fallen from all right to his Kingdoms and Seigneries. *Marcellin Landriano* the Popes Referendary, was the Bearer of them, and contrary to the sentiments of the Duke of *Mayenne*, published them in all the Cities of the League about the end of the Month of *April*.

March.

April.

To the same end the Pope raised Eight thousand Foot and a thousand Horse, of whom he made his Nephew *Hercules Sfondrati* General, and to make him the more worthy that Command, he invest'd him with the Dutchy of *Montemarcian** with most solemn Ceremony in the Church of *Santa Maria Major*.

1591.
May.
* In the
March of
Ancona.

About this time the Marquis de *Maignelay* who had promised the King to return to his Obedience with *La Fere* upon *Oyse*, whereof he was Governor, was assassinated in the midst of the City, by the Vice-Chancellor of *Montelimar* named *Cole*, and the Lieutenant of the Duke of *Mayenne* Guards, who left the Government of it to *Cole*. The King going to *Compiègne* to favour this Reduction, very angry it was prevented, came back to *Mantes*. From thence he put in execution an Enterprife he had upon the City of *Louviers*. It was taken at noon day by the Marshal *Biron*; *Roxley* having greatly contributed to this Exploit, had the Government of it. *Foussaine-Martel* Governor of the place, and *Claude de Saintes* Bishop of *Evreux*, were taken Prisoners. *Martel* redeem'd himself by paying a Ransom, the Bishop for being too late, was detained in Prison and there died.

The Popes Bull had scarce any other effect, but to excite the *Huguenots* to demand an Edict, give an opportunity to those of the * third Party to advance and strengthen their Cabal, and provoke the Parliaments of the one and the other Party to make bloody Decrees. The Chamber of *Châlons*, a Member of that which was sitting at *Tours*, by a Decree of the Sixth of *June*, "cancel'd and revoked them as null, abusive, scandalous, seditious, full of Impostures, contrary to the Holy Decrees, Canons, Councils, and the Rights of the *Gallican* Church, ordained they should be torn and burnt by the hands of the Hangman; that *Landriano* should be apprehended, ten thousand Livres Reward to whomsoever should deliver him to Justice, forbidding all the Kings Subjects to lodge or harbour him; as likewise to carry either Silver or Gold to *Rome*, or to solicit the Provisions or Expeditions of Benefices; And an Act to be given to the Solicitor General for the appeal he was to bring to the next Council legally Assembled.

* Tiers Party

June.

The Kings Council were divided into two parts; the one sat at *Tours*, where the Cardinal de *Vendôme* presided; the other at *Chartres* with the Chancellor de *Chiverny*; the King assembles them together at *Mantes*, to deliberate on so important an Affair. After he had heard their opinions, he puts forth a Declaration in the Month of *July*, wherein he gives notice to his Parliaments, that all other things laid aside they should proceed against *Landriano* as they should in justice fee cause, and exhorted the Prelats to meet and advise together according to Holy Decrees, that the Ecclesiastical Discipline might not be lost, nor the People destitute of their Pastors.

1591.

July.

On the other hand he thought convenient, notwithstanding the vehement oppositions of the Cardinal de *Bourbon*, to grant a Declaration in favour of the *Huguenots*, "which revoked all Edicts that had been put forth against them, with the Judgments that had ensued thereupon, and restored, revived and confirmed all the Edicts of Pacification: (but then added these words) by provision only, and until such time as he should be able to re-unite all his Subjects by a happy Peace. This clause served as a Vehicle to make it pass in the Parliament of *Tours*.

As to the business of the Bulls, this Company thundered louder yet, then the Chamber at *Châlons*, and out-vying them, "declared *Gregory* an Enemy of the Churches Peace and Union, Enemy to the King and State, adhering to the Conspiracy of *Spain*, favourer of Rebels, and guilty of the Parricide of King *Henry III*. On the contrary that of *Paris* pronounced, "That this Decree was null and of no

force,

"force, made by People without power, Schismatics and Hereticks, Enemies to
"God, and destroyers of his Church, ordered it should be torn in full Audience,
"and the Fragments burnt on the Marble Table by the Executioner, of the Haute
"Justice.

The Clergy also assembled at *Mantes*, pursuant to the Kings Declaration. They
were to examine the Popes Bulls, and to settle some Orders for the Provisions of
Benefices. As to the first point the Assembly made a Decree, "which declared the
"said Bulls to be null, unjust, suggested by the Enemies of the Kingdom, protesting
"notwithstanding that they would not depart from their obedience to the Holy See.
August. To the second, they propounded many Expedients. The Archbishop of *Bourges*;
this was *Renauld de Bealne*, made a motion of creating a Patriarch in *France*, and
he believed his Quality of Primat (in the absence of the Archbishop of *Lyon* who
was for the League) would acquire him that Dignity; others propounded to sum-
mon a National Council. The King was very glad they mentioned those two Expe-
dients which would frighten the Pope, but he indeed would allow of neither the one
nor the other; so that nothing was resolved upon.

Soon after this Assembly was transfer'd to *Chartres*, because the Duke of *Mayenne*
had made an attempt to surprize the City of *Mantes* and the Prelats that were there.
1591. During the four Months they sat, the King besieged *Noyon*: He invested it the Four
July. and twentieth of *July*. Three Reliefs that endeavour'd to get in being beaten,
and the Vicount de *Tavannes*, who commanded one, taken Prisoner: the Duke of
Mayenne resolv'd to put in some himself with all his Forces. He had Two thousand
Horse, and eight thousand Foot, who shewed the greater eagerness to fight, be-
cause the Kings Army were fewer by a third part: but the *Spaniards* refused to follow his
motions, and obliged him to pass the *Somme* for security. The Besieged finding
themselves abandoned, parlied, and made their Composition to quit the place the
Eighteenth of *August* if they were not relieved. The day being come they sur-
rendered.

There was no Province so embroiled as *Provence*. The *Marquis* had refused the
Duke of *Savoy*, and then received him by the practices of the Countess de *Sault* the
Second day of *March*. His success did not answer the reputation of his Forces. It
was but an ill preface of his Expedition, the defeating a Body of his Army com-
manded by the Count de *Martingues* at *Espartou de Palieres*. He had block'd up
Berte with several Forts; *La Valette* too weak to relieve it, called *Lesdiguières* to his
aid, these two joyned together, razed them: but *Lesdiguières* being recalled into
Dauphine for fear of the Popes Forces who were passing that way, the same *Martinen-
gues* and the Count de *Carcès* blocked it again.

The Duke of *Savoy* was then gone into *Spain*, whence he brought fifteen Gallies
laden with Ammunition, and a thousand Natural *Spaniards*. He landed them at
Cientat, and put his Gallies into the Port of *Marfille*: but found things mightily
changed there since his departure. One *Lewis de Casaux* who had raised his Credit
in that City by means of the Money the Duke had given him to distribute, and by the
practices of the Countess, found so much relish in ruling the Roast, that he became
absolute Master of *Marfille*, so that he alone made their Consuls. The following
year he put *Lewis d'Aix* into the Office of *Viguier**, and joyned him in his Govern-
ment. He made the People believe the Duke would reduce them to slavery, and
awe them with two Citadels, whereas they ought to preserve their Town for a most
Christian King who was to be chosen by honest *Frenchmen*, and that he had order
from the Duke of *Mayenne* to look after it.

The Duke spared nothing to gain him: he order'd his Gallies to retire to *Genoa*
to take away all Umbrage from the *Marfille*, threw and squander'd away a great
1591. deal of Money amongst that fickle People to no purpose; and finding all was in vain,
August. he went to *Aix* to press forward the Blockade of *Berre*. The Count de *Carcès*, by In-
telligence with the Inhabitants, got three hundred Men privately into the place,
Mesples who was Governor of it, beat them back and drove them out with incredible
valour, and surrendered not till the Twentieth of *August*: but it was after the en-
during two assaults, and giving so many proofs of his virtue, the Duke, who
had been Spectator, offer'd him the General Lieutenantcy of his Army, if he would
have entered into his Service.

There ended the Conquests of the Duke of *Savoy*: after this he met with nothing
almost but Disgraces. *Amadeus* his Bastard Brother, who had six or seven thousand
September. Men, (some being of the Popes Forces) very ill Soldiers, had besieged the Fort of
Morgel, which would have contributed much towards the regaining of *Grenoble*;
He

He there suffer'd a notable loss. *Lesdiguières* having drawn his Men together, was
not satisfied he had made him raise his Siege, but went and attacked him at *Pontchara*
where he was intrencht, broke in upon him, routed him, kill'd three thousand of his
Men upon the place, the Eighteenth of *September*, and the day following took two
thousand *Italians* at discretion who were fled into the Castle of *Avallon*. His Soldiers
maffacted three hundred, the remainder he sent packing to their own homes with
white Staves in their hands.

In the mean time a kind of feud was crept in between the Duke and the Countess
de *Sault*: he believed she obstructed his designs, and she imagined he despised her, be-
cause he had refused to give her the Government of *Berre* for her Son, *La Valette* on
the one side, and *Casaux* on the other, both for their own ends, increased that Dis-
cord, and made him be ill thought of by the People, who greatly suspected him,
especially when he had master'd the City of *Arles* by means of *Bird* Lieutenant in
the *Seneschauflée*.

Now when he perceived he could be at no certainty with the Countess, he caus'd
both her and her Son to be apprehended: but she was so fortunate as to make her
escape in the habit of a *Swiss*, and her Son like a Peasant, and took Sanctuary at
Marfille. He would needs have her again per force, and to that end surprized the
Abby St. *Victor*: but *Casaux* who desired no better opportunity to render him odious
to the People, contrain'd his People to dislodge and retire out of Cannon-reach.

To compleat his misfortune he received another shock. He besieged *Vinon* which
hindred the bringing of Corn to the City of *Aix*, the Town lay as it were open,
there being in many places nothing but a bare Wall of dry Stones laid upon one
another, but *Mesples* was in it, and that was a good Bulwark. This brave Captain
sustained his attacks for three days together, and gave *La Valette* time to come to his
relief. The Duke as much the more numerous went forth to fight him: but lost
a great many of his Men, and all his Baggage; which hapned the Fifteenth of *De-
cember*.

Afterwards, many of the places that had sided with the Duke, renounc'd him.
However he persisted in his design, and the engaging himself in greater Expences,
though he found by the loss of six or seven thousand of his Men slain in several
Encounters, and a million of Gold thrown away in Presents, that it was very diffi-
cult, though he were brave and the Prince the most discreet and most liberal in the
World, to get any advantage against so many great Warriors, with such unexpe-
rienc'd raw Soldiers as his were, or fix the inconstant humour of the *Provençaux*.

The Kings prosperity was disturbed by the unexpected accident of the Duke of
Guise evasion, who made his escape from the Castle of *Tours* where he was Prisoner.
This young Prince had for this purpose made choice of the day called the *Assumption*
of our *Lady* about noon, when the City Gates were shut as is usual all the Dinner
time; Having corrupted one part of his Guards and deluded the other, he was let
down from the top of a Tower by a Rope brought to him in the belly of a Lute,
to which a Stick was tied cross that he might sit securely thereon in his descent to the
Strand. He found Horses laid ready for him on the farther side of the River, and
spur'd away to St. *Avertin* a League off from *Tours*, where *Maison-forte* Son of *la
Chatre* attended with fifty Horses, and convoy'd him to *Selles*, and some days after-
wards to *Bourges*.

It was believed the Ladies about Queen *Louisa*, who were then at *Chenonceaux*,
had greatly contributed towards this escape, and *Rouvray* in love with one of them
was suspected to have granted her this one favour upon promise of another. The
Parliament would have put him to infinite trouble, had not *Sourray* Governor of
Tours, befriended him mightily in his justification before the King.

As the King was much alarmed, dreading the great name of *Guise*, and the grow-
ing fortune of a young Prince, who was said to resemble his Father in all things; so
the League was over-joy'd; they made Bonfires every where, and the Pope gave
publick Thanks to God for his deliverance. But the jealousy the Duke of *Mayenne*
conceived caus'd the fears of the one, and the promising hopes of the other quickly
to vanish: He apprehended his Nephew would easily acquire the same good will and
fondness of the People they had shewn to his Father, therefore did not reckon him a
new Reinforcement but a new Trouble and Competitor: nevertheless he sent *la
Feuillade* to congratulate his escape, and carry him some Money, desiring they might
meet to communicate together of their common Affairs.

The Prince of *Conty* and the Vicount de *la Guierche*, both Lieutenant Generals in
Poitou, the Prince for the King, and the other for the League, fought to extremity.

La Guierche met with divers flocks, whereof the greatest was at the taking of *Montmorillon*, where he lost his Cannon and all his Infantry, (he had left them there having shamefully raised the Siege of *Belac*) a Month after he himself unfortunately perished: for running to the rescue of his Castle of *la Guierche*, (nigh *Loches* in *Touraine*) which was surprized by a Gentleman named *Salerne*; the Lords *d'Abin*, and *de la Roche-Pefay*, who had notice of his march, got five hundred Gentlemen together, and with those charged him so briskly, that all his people fled; and as he thought to save himself in the Ferry-boat on the *Creuse*, so many men jumped in after him, that they sunk in the River and were all drowned.

Bretagne was not only vexed by the French, but by Strangers too. The Duke of *Merceur* had brought in the *Spaniards*, and given them the Port of *Blavet* for a retreat, where in a short time they so well fortified themselves, that it was very apparent they intended to settle there. The King had likewise order'd Three thousand English to go into that Country, sent over to him by Queen *Elizabeth*, besides those that were landed at *Dieppe* for the Siege of *Rouen*.

The Prince *de Dombes*, with this re-inforcement, went and besieged *Lambale*; when it was at the point of Surrendering; the Besieged re-assumed Courage, and the Besiegers lost theirs all of a sudden, upon the death of the prudent *La Noie*. He being got on the top of a Ladder to see what they were doing within the place, was wounded in the Head of which he died; Bemoaned equally, almost, by Friend and Enemy, a very great Soldier, and which was more, a very honest Gentleman. His Son inherited his good qualities. He had been Prisoner four years in the *Low-Countries*, and being upon his deliverance now come to rejoice with his Father, found the last Duty he could ever pay him, was to attend him to his Grave.

Both Parties were now expecting their Foreign Supplies: the Duke of *Mayenne* went to *Verdun* to receive some Forces from the Pope; they were in bad condition, their Foot ruined with the Dysentery, and their Horse strangely harassed and partly dismounted. Those from *Germany* who came to the King, almost at the same time, were not so; there were Eleven thousand Foot and five hundred *Cavaliers*, these Levies being made at the Expences of the Queen of *England*, and the free Towns of *Germany*, under the favour of *George Marquis of Brandenburg*, *Casimir Prince Palatine*, with some other Princes, and by the Negotiation of the *Vicount de Turenne*. The King going to meet them with Two thousand Horse, order'd them to be Muster'd in the Plain of *Vandy* on *Michaelmas-day*, and from thence went directly with the news of this conjunction to the Dukes of *Lorraine*, *Mayenne*, and *Montemarcan*, who durst not stir out of the Gates of *Verdun*. The latter being withal in great disorder upon the news he received from *Italy*, of the sickness of Pope *Gregory* his Uncle, who died the Fifteenth of *October*.

Whilst the King was in those parts, he would needs secure himself of *Sedan*. The Dukes of *Lorraine*, *Montpensier*, and *Nevers* sought to gain the Heiress for their Sons, the first by force, the other two by friendship: but besides that the difference in Religion was an obstruction to all the three, he thought it would make them too powerful on that Frontier. And therefore chose rather to bestow her on the *Vicount de Turenne*, whose Estate was far distant from thence, and to whom he should thereby acquit himself of those great obligations he owed him. He therefore honoured him with the Staff of *Marschal* of *France*, that he might not appear too unequal to match her, then went himself into *Sedan* to conclude the Marriage. The *Marschal* the night before that of his Nuptials, surprized *Stenay* by Escalado; from whence he afterwards made a brisk War against the Duke of *Lorraine*.

The Marriage Consummate, the King took his way to *Norman*, and from thence at the instance of the Queen of *England*, who apprehended lest the *Spaniards* should settle themselves upon the Coasts of *Normandy*, he sent the *Marschal de Biran* to lay Siege to *Rouen*. The Duke of *Aiguillon*, Son of the Duke of *Mayenne*, Governor of that Province for the League, was but lately gone thence, and had left the absolute Government to the *Marquis de Villars*. This Lord had about him *Philip Desportes* Abbot of *Tyon*, a no less crafty Courtier then delicious Poet, who had disposed him to admit of Propositions for an Accommodation, in hopes the King would let him enjoy the Fruits of his Benefices in that Country. Now those that had obtained the grant of them from the King, caused his demands to be rejected with disdain; In revenge whereof, he prevailed with *Villars* to break the Treaty, and possessed him with quite contrary Sentiments. Thus a private Interest often, or twelve thousand Franks between particular Men, defeated the King of an infinite advantage, the ill success whereof brought him into a most troublesome Labyrinth.

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On *St. Martins* day *Biron's* Forces, approached near *Rouen*. He had besides his French three thousand *Englishmen*, commanded by the Earl of *Essex* Favourite to Queen *Elizabeth*, whom he had been to meet by Sea as far as *Boulogne*. They would at first needs shew some little bravado, and fired their small Guns; but they were soon beaten off by a stout *Salley*; and the *Marschal* being as yet too weak, went and took *Gournay* and *Candebec*. That done he comes again before *Rouen*, and endeavoured to turn the little Rivers of *Robec* and *Aubette* another way, on which the Town Mills were placed; he succeeded as to the former, but not the latter. In the mean time the Citizens of *Rouen* intending to shew themselves more brave than those of *Paris*, made many great Salies: to let the Besiegers know, it would be no easie task to approach their Walls, and that they would rather chuse to fight * then to fast.

The Duke of *Mayenne* found himself at this time in the greatest distress that ever he was in during his whole Life; Having no Forces to oppose so powerful an Army as the Kings, he saw the loss of *Rouen* before his Eyes, afterwards that of all *Normandy*, then of *Paris*, and by consequence of all *France*. Those that were to help him, gave him most trouble; the Duke of *Nemours* diverted one part of his Forces to erect a Sovereignty about *Lyonnois*; the Duke of *Guise* labour'd to make himself Head of the Party as his Father had been, and the young Nobles did already run after him, as the Seize owned him for their Chief.

Above all this he dreaded the *Spaniards*, who told him plainly they would let him perish, if he employ'd not his Interest and Credit to make the Crown fall to the Infants. They brag'd withal they had a way to attain their ends in despite of him; which was to divide and share the Kingdom amongst the *Grandeecs*, and the most renowned Captains, and draw the chiefest Cities to them by giving them their Liberty: so that *France* had been reduced to the same condition as *Germany*; a tempting bait both for the Lords and for the People.

But nothing lay so heavy upon him as the Seize, he hated them to the utmost, and was in the same measure hated by them; Nor did they let slip any opportunity to decry his Conduct, sent frequent Complaints, Remonstrances, and Deputations to him, regarded not his Orders, no more then he did their Memorials, wrote of their own Heads to the King of *Spain*, to offer him the Crown, had engaged their Cabal to take a new Oath of Union, which did exclude all the Princes of the Blood from the Throne, and forced all those that would not take it, amongst others the Cardinal *de Gondy*, to depart the City. Nothing was left to make them Masters, but to rid their hands of a part of the Parliament, who observed them night and day, and cross'd their designs. The Duke of *Mayenne* was no less afraid then they were, foreseeing clearly enough, that sooner or later, that first Parliament of the Kingdom would return to the King, and draw the People after them: he was therefore well enough pleased the Seize diminished their Authority, and hoped that by dalling so fiercely against each other, they would both be destroy'd to his advantage.

The thing hapned as he wished, but with a Consequence quite different from his intention. The Parliament had absolv'd one named *Brigard*, whom the Seize had accused of holding intelligence with the Royalists: the most zealous of that Faction resolved upon revenge. To this end they created a secret Council of ten amongst themselves, by whose advice all things of importance was to be dispatched. This Council concluded they must make away the President *Briffon*, *Larcher* Counsellor in Parliament, and *Tardif* Counsellor at the *Chasteler*, who broke their measures, and who besides were particular Enemies to some of them. They first attempted to do it by some Assassins, but those Hirelings, as it frequently happens, having discover'd this Plot to the Parties themselves, to gain a double Reward; they resolv'd to act more openly. They drew up, therefore, a Sentence of Death against those three, and wrote it above the Names and Signatures of several eminent Citizens, which they had got upon another pretence. With and by virtue of this Warrant they seized on them in divers places, carried them to the little *Chasteler*, and Hanged them all three in that Prison; The President *Briffon* was the first. A Catastrophy unworthy so excellent and so learned a Man, yet ordinary to such as float betwixt two Parties.

All the remaining portion of that day they scatter'd divers odious Reports about the Town to blast their Memories: the following night they caused their Bodies to be carried to the *Grenade* where they hanged till the next night. But observing the People gazed on the sad Spectacle rather with the Eyes or pity then indignation, they began to consider the horror of the Fact and apprehend the Revenge. Some of them were of opinion to seize the Dutcheis of *Nemours*, that she might be security

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* It was said of the Parliament that they knew better how to fight then fight.

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curity for them against the Duke her Son; Others to compleat the Tragedy would rid themselves of him if he came towards *Paris*, and after that elect a Chief that depended wholly upon them. The *Spaniards* did believe they would have gone thorough with this last Act, and if so would have supported them: but cared not to be the first should approve an attempt, the justification whereof depended on the event.

Now as there are but few great Crimes carried on to the highest pitch, no more then Heroick Vertues, these People that had begun this first without necessity, did not know how to act a second which was necessary to cover the former. The Parliament, the Princesses, the Royalists themselves, who pretended to be zealous Leaguers, earnestly solicited the Duke, who was at *Laon*, to hasten and deliver them from that Tyranny, crying out the Knife was at their very Throats. Divers Considerations kept him a while in suspense: he feared lest despair should force the Seize to cast themselves upon the *Spaniards*, lest the Duke of *Guise* should support them, or lest their Cabal should be strong enough to shut up the Gates against him: nevertheless perceiving their courage failed, that they did not put themselves into a posture to maintain their Rogaery with vigor, but forsaking themselves, were openly protected by none, he took three hundred Horse, and fifteen hundred Foot, and marched directly to *Paris*.

One Band went out to meet him, having at their Head *Boucher* Curate of *St. Benoist* who was to deliver the Message: but the Duke passed on and would not hear them. Another being more resolute determined to kill him; and there was one that even profer'd to strike the first blow, but the rest would not promise to second him. After some days inquiry in *Paris* being well informed how matters stood, he sent to *Bussy* to deliver up the *Bastille*: This false Bravo had neither resolution enough to defend it, nor wit to declare for the King, of whom he might have had good Composition; he basely capitulated, yet would needs march forth with Drums beating and Colours flying: but had provided no place for his retreat, and therefore lodged with all his Booty in the Street *St. Antoine*.

The Duke having let some days slip without undertaking any thing, the Seize thought themselves secure, being withal informed that the Parliament durst not make Process against them: when on a sudden the Duke with his own hand draws up a Sentence of death against nine of the most guilty, and sends People on the night between the third and fourth of *December* to apprehend them in their own Houses. They could catch but only four * of them who being carried to the *Louvre*, were immediately hanged on a Gallows by the Executioner; the other five made their escape, and after they had lain concealed some time, retired to the *Low-Countries*. *Bussy*, one of the number, got off fairly: Six *Spanish* Soldiers whom he kept at home to guard him, did by the resistance they made, give him time to evade, but could not carry any of his rich Plunder with him. He withdrew to *Brussels* with his Wife, where he died very old; He was yet to be seen in the year 1634. having always a String of huge Beads about his Neck, talking little, but magnificently of the great Designs he had mislaid.

Afterwards, the Duke, whether he dreaded the despair of the remainder of the Seize, or rather would seem to despise them, sent a Pardon or Abolition to the Parliament for the rest that had any hand in the said Crime: and because the mischief had been hatch'd in their private Assemblies, he forbade the like upon pain of death and razing such Houses where they should meet. Thus this potent Faction, who had so much loved the Duke of *Guise* as they had almost raised him to the Throne, was dishonour'd and ruin'd by his Brother. One cannot deny but it was much for the advantage of the King, with whom it was impossible they should ever comply or agree: but indifferent People believed that by ruining them the Duke had, as it were, cut off his left Arm with his right.

He wrote to all the Governors of Provinces, to justify his Proceedings, and to render that Faction odious, and that he might unite them more closely to him, he did oblige them to swear they would never forsake him; That they would not favour the Election of a King without his consent; That they would approve of all the Treaties he should make with any one; and that they would hold no private intelligence with the *Spaniards*. At the same time the Parliament being wholly destitute of Presidents, he created four, most affectionate to his own Person: but thereby labour'd his own destruction, since it is contrary to the intrinsic Principles of things, to fortify ones self against a King by means of the Nobility or Officers of the Robe, who necessarily turn to him at last.

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* *Anroux*,
Emont, *Antoine*, *Louchard*.

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The City of *Rouen* was well provided, well fortified, and very well resolv'd to make a vigorous defence; The *Mareschal de Biron* had but just invest'd it upon the Kings arrival the First day of *December*. The Duke of *Parma* had sent to offer assistance to the Besieged in behalf of King *Philip*, even before the Duke of *Mayenne* had demanded it; yet was he not so forward to do it as he pretended, he was loath to leave the *Low-Countries*, remembering how during his absence the former year, Prince *Maurice* had taken five or six Towns from him: but he received such precise Orders from *Spain*, that he parted from *Brussels* towards the end of *November*, with an Army of Ten thousand Foot, three thousand Horse, forty pieces of Cannon, and two thousand Waggons of Baggage, where he had all sorts of Tools and Ammunition: for he would trust to nothing but his own prudence and foresight. The Duke of *Guise* went to meet him as far as *Landreux*, and the Duke of *Mayenne* to *Guise*, where all three had a long Conference together.

Before he proceeded any further, the Duke of *Parma* made them give him the City of *la Fere* upon *Oyse* to put in his Artillery, and there left four hundred Men in Garrison. This was not all, *Diego d'Ibarra* Ambassador of *Spain* declared the intentions of his Master, who demanded the Crown for the Infanta, whom he profer'd to Marry to some French Prince. There were several Conferences upon that Subject at *la Fere*, between the Ministers of *Spain* and those of the Duke of *Mayenne*. *Janin* who was chief of the Dukes, endeavour'd to elude the said demand, by objecting very considerable difficulties, particularly the holding of the Estates, then the immense Sums to carry on the War: but the *Spaniards* without hesitation, agreed to all his demands, and withal offer'd him great advantages for the Duke; in so much as that Prince having nothing to reply, could only dissemble and make his best of the present time; which was at last his ruine and the Kings happiness.

The Forces of these Dukes amounted together to more then Six thousand Horse, and fifteen thousand Foot. The King knowing they were upon their march, brought the first news of himself to them with Three thousand Horse, and at his first coming beat up the Duke of *Guise* s Quarters who had the Van-guard near *Abbeville*. He made Head against them three weeks together, maintaining sometimes on Foot, sometimes another; but he had like to have been caught, and was wounded with a Pistol shot, at *Aumale*, where he would needs defend a Defile, or narrow Passage. His presence of mind, his courage, and the night coming on, brought him off from the greatest danger he had ever met with in his whole Life; and if he were blamed for engaging himself as a Volunteer, he was commended for extricating himself like a Soldier.

While the Dukes were much in pain how to deliver *Rouen*, it hapned that during the Kings absence, who had taken the best of the Cavalry with him, *Villars* and the Inhabitants of the City relieved themselves. The Six and twentieth day of *February* at Eight a Clock in the Morning, they make a Salley with above Twenty thousand Men on the side of the Fort *St. Catherine*, beat back or kill all they meet with, burn the Huts and Tents, ruine their Works, fill up the Trenches, put Fire to the Powder, carry away five great Pieces of Cannon, and Nail up the rest. They remained Masters of that Quarter till the arrival of *Biron*: who hurried thither from *Dernetal* with the Nobility, followed by the *Swiss* and *Landquenets*. He charged them without taking any view: but their Horse stood firm yet a while, gave the Foot time to retreat, and afterwards made their own in good order. *Biron* was shot in the Thigh with a Musket Bullet, five hundred of the Besiegers slain in the place, and an hundred carried Prisoners into the Town, the most part Men of note.

When these tidings were brought to the Dukes, they had just been resolving in their Council to march all night, and fall the next Morning upon the Quarters of *Dernetal*. The design being much advanced by the event of this furious Salley, the Duke of *Parma* would needs have them compleat so infallible a Victory: but the Duke of *Mayenne*, whose jealousies and suspicions made him incompatible with his Friends no less then with his Enemies, and irresolute in good fortune as well as in bad, urged several Reasons against it, with so much obstinacy, that *Parma* was forced to yield to them. They therefore only put Eight hundred Men into the place, then retired, and made their Army repais the *Somme*.

For fifteen days together the City continued in great rejoicing, and *Villars* in so profound security, that he ran at the Ring without the Walls in sight of the Enemy. But when the meaner sort of People began to be in want of Money to buy them Bread, when the *Bourgeois* who had made their Vows to our Lady of *Loreta* for their deliverance, found themselves shut up closer then ever, when those which had shewed

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themselves the most zealous, began now to join in Conspiracies with some of the Kings Party : *Villars* gave notice to the Duke of *Mayenne* that he should be constrained to Capitulate, if by the Twentieth of *March* he were not relieved.

The Dukes repassed the *Somme* therefore at the Ford of *Blanquetaque*, and having marched above thirty Leagues in four days, came within three Leagues of *Rouen* at the day prefix'd. The King would needs put himself in a posture to fight them; and with that design drew all his Forces to him that were on the other side of the Water : when finding they were in a very ill condition, he was obliged to raise the Siege, sent up his Boats to *Pont de l'Arche*, and Convey'd away his Bagage, standing to his Arms for some hours together upon one side of *Detretal*, to defend the Enemy by so brave a countenance and posture.

This time also, the jealousies that were amongst the Chiefs of the *Enemies* Army, especially the Dukes of *Montemarcan* and the Duke of *Mayenne* against the Duke of *Parma*, hindered them from venturing upon so fair and promising a Game. It was *Parma's* Advice to fall on, and had he been alone, he would have done it without any great hazard, said he; but the Duke of *Mayenne* refused to second him, and the next day engaged him to besiege *Candebec*, to get the Stores of that Corn that was in it, and to open the River. Then after they had with facility taken that, he was as obstinate for the posting themselves at *Tueta*, to cover that Conquest. The place was very unlucky to them, they had not been there long when the King cut off their Provisions, and posting himself between *P'Islebonne* and their Camp, harcelled them perpetually by great Skirmishes.

The disadvantages they received in two or three several trials, making them perceive they might possibly be forced in that place, they decamped silently by night, and came to *Candebec*. There they found themselves yet more freighted than before. They wanted not only Provisions, but even Water; Distempers ruined their Men: the Duke of *Parma*, the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the famous *George Basse*, who commanded the Horse, were all three in the Straw; the first for a Mullet Shot he received on his Arm in besieging *Candebec*; the second by some Relicks of his old Adventure at the *Hofel de Carnavaler*, which broke out again by the Fatigues of War; and the third with a double Quartan. Add to this that *Biron* was every hour upon the backs of them; He surpris'd one of their Quarters of Light-Horse-Men, and all the Money they had in store for payment of their Forces. It was said, (and even his own Son reproached him with it) that if he would then have put on roundly, he might easily have defeated the whole Army, but that he waded the opportunity, as fearing to great a blow would have put an end to the War and to his Employment.

The extremity of this danger put the Duke of *Parma* upon the invention of a Master-piece to bring himself out of it. He built two Forts right against each other on the brink of the River, with Redoubts which commanded on the Water, and great Retrenchments which advanced towards the Kings Army: withall he caus'd a great many *Pontons* to be made ready at *Rouen*, and covered five and twenty or thirty Boats with strong Timbers and Planks to walt his Cavalry, which were brought thither in the night time when the weather was most dark: By this means about the same midnight he ordered the *French* Forces to pass over, first the Foot, then the Horse, after that the Cannon and Bagage, and towards break of day the *Spanish* Infantry, *Walloon* and *Italian*, whilst his Son with a thousand Foot and four hundred Horse, made good that side they were leaving, and cover'd their retreat. The greatest trouble he had was to ship the four pieces of Cannon he had planted in the Fort.

As fast as the Troops got over they put themselves upon the march. The King was much astonish'd when broad day-light shew'd him their Trenches empty; he forthwith sent two thousand Horse by *Pont de l'Arche*, believing they might overtake them at their passage of the River *Eure*. They caught only five hundred Foot, whose sloath or weariness made them lag behind the rest at *Neufbourg*, these surrendered at discretion: but *Parma* made to great speed, that he got in four days from *Candebec* to *Charenton*, where he pass'd the *Seine* upon a Bridge of Boats, and did not think himself secure till he was in *Brie*.

As for the Duke of *Mayenne*, he retired to *Rouen*, and sojourn'd there near six weeks, putting himself for the second time into the Doctors hands. The King having totally raised the Siege, and kept only Three thousand Horse, and Five thousand Foot, pursued the Duke of *Parma* to the very Frontiers, fearing lest he should seize upon some place.

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The Duke of *Mayenne* was very near dying under the Discipline of his Chyrrurgions: the *Spaniards* believing he could not recover, and thinking that from thence forward the League must depend upon them, could not forbear expressing their joy, and refused to let him have either Men or Money, but put Fifteen hundred Men more into *Paris*: which highly displeased him, and made their conceal'd intentions appear more plain to him, than any thing else had done. Now when they perceived his recovery, they repented of having too openly discover'd themselves, and endeavour'd to soothe him by new caresses, and fairer proffers then before. And he on his part knew how to dilemble as well as themselves: but intended for the future to order his Affairs by other measures then theirs. In this mind he essay'd to make a new Party with the Cardinal de *Bourbon*, upon whose Head he promised to let the Crown. I cannot tell how far this intrigue was carried on: but there is great likelihood the Dukes resolution hinder'd the prosecution of it.

During this universal disorder, the Royal Authority was very languishing: for the great Cities had their designs for liberty, the Lords and Governors for Sovereignities, and private Gentlemen and Captains thought of nothing but Plunder and Robberies; for which reason they were all of a mind to prolong the War, whence they alone reaped the profit. These Purlainers had the fifths of all Prizes, Ransoms, and Seizures, disposed of the *Tailles* and Publick Money at their own pleasure, laid new Imposts upon Passages and Rivers, devoured all the labours and subsistence of poor People; Then when they were to march, served not above three weeks, or a month, and so returned again to their own homes. But never without grumbling! The King might give them new Salaries, great Pensions, Benefices, Consecrations, grant them all Boons they demanded, and engage the clearest of his Demeasns to them; yet they were never satisfied.

It was justly to be feared by him, that if the Estates should at last elect a King, all the Princes of *Italy*, and the rest of the Catholics, might own him, (they being concerned only to have a King in *France*, not whether it were he in particular before any other) and left the Pope, who had some obligation to the *Spaniards* for his promotion, should continue to assist the League; (This was *Clement VIII.* for *Gregory XIV.* died, and *Innocent IX.* his Successor Reigned but a short time.) Besides he wanted Money, and was vexed to be no more but the Companion of his Subjects. These Considerations inclined him to find out some way for an Accommodation with the Duke of *Mayenne*; They entred upon it without much difficulty, and without taking in the King of *Spain*, or communicating it to the Lords of either Party, as knowing too well those People did not at all desire an end of the Troubles.

Villeroy and *Duplest* were made choice of for this Negotiation. They came to this Agreement, That the King should take six Months time to be instructed by such ways and means as should be no prejudice either to his Dignity, or his Conscience; That the Nobility of his Party should send a Deputation to the Pope, to desire his Authority for it; That in the mean time they should endeavour to make a Peace, and that he should be owned by those Princes that were united. They afterwards further agreed, That the Huguenots should enjoy those *Edicts* had been granted to them before the year 1585. That the Exercise of the Catholic Religion should be restored every where; That the Gentdarmes and Infantry, should be regulated; That the *Tailles* and Imposts should be moderated, and that the Privileges of Officers and of Cities should be preserved. But when it came to treat of the interests of the Duke of *Mayenne*, the Propositions seemed too excessive to *Duplest-Mornay*, that he dissuaded the King from giving ear to them.

Villeroy forbore not to enter again into Conference with the Marechal d'*Aumont*, and the Marechal de *Bouillon*, and to attend the King, who was very well satisfied with his franc and loyal proceeding. The fruit of these Conferences, which lasted two Months proved more then a little for the benefit of the Catholic Religion: for the King promised that he would forthwith send the Cardinal de *Gondy* and *Pisany*, to *Rome*; which did not overmuch please the Huguenots.

This Treaty being grown publick, because too many People would concern themselves in it, strangely alarmed the *Spaniards* and all the other Chiefs of the League. The King and the Duke of *Mayenne* had both like to be abandoned, the latter by all his Partisans, the other by his Huguenots. There were some amongst these who thinking to bind the King yet faster, lest he should forsake them, fortified themselves with the Queen of *England* and the *Hollander*, and would needs have given them footing in *France*. A proof hereof was evident by the Enterprize of *du Fay* his Chancellor in *Navarre*: who having gotten a Commission for the fortifying of *Quil-*

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lebauf, had scarce raised his Works Breast-high, when he would needs Canonize himself there, and denied entrance to *Bellegarde*, to whom the King had given the Government thereof. Two or three Envoys from the King did in vain employ both their Persuasions and Menaces to make him lay aside so desperate a design: his ambition had taken too high a stand to be brought down so easily; he expected a supply of Eight hundred English: but two days before the arrival of them, he fell sick either of melancholy or otherwise, and perished in the midst of his attempt. He was so mightily possessed with the humour, that death it self could not wean him from it, for he gave order they should bury him in one of the Bastions there, as if intending still to keep possession.

So soon as he expired, *Bellegarde* entered into it; *Villars* thought he might carry the place upon this change, and before it were defensible. The Duke of *Mayenne* and he besieged it with four thousand Men: but it was either so well defended, or so ill attack'd, that at the end of fifteen days they were constrained to decamp, for fear of being beaten by the Count de *Saint Pol* and *Fervaques*, who were coming to relieve it with Twelve hundred Horse and fifteen hundred Foot.

Villars going to this Siege, had surprized the little Town du *Pont-Audemere*. Whilst he was busy in fortifying it, *Bese-Rose*, one of his bravest Captains, offended at his arrogance, and some scurvy language he had given him, seized on the Fort of *Fescamp*, and Canonized there. This Fort was upon a Rock, near thirty-fathom high towards the Sea, which washes the foot of it twice a day, but never rises to the top but twice in the year; and it was at one of those Spring-Tides that *Bese-Rose* surprized it by Escalado. *Villars* flew thither immediately to recover it, and not able to draw him thence, he block'd it up by two Forts; wherewith at last he reduced him to extremity: but *Bese-Rose* thought it much sarter to cast himself into the Arms of the King, then to compound with one he had so much offended.

After the raising of the Siege of *Rouen*, the greater part of the Kings Army was gone into *Champagne*, he besieged *Espenay*, and out of the apprehension of a relief to come, would needs cover himself with a Circumvallation, which retarded the Siege near three weeks. The Marechal de *Biron* was slain in the approaches, by a Cannon Shot which took off his Head. He had been Chief Commander in seven Battles or great Combats, in each of which he had received some Wound. A Man very considerable in the Cabinet Council as well as the Campaign, who would be ignorant of nothing, had a hand in every thing, and fenced with the Quil as dexterously as with the Sword.

As soon as the Battery had made a breach, the Besieged Capitulated. *Provins* did the same upon the third day; *Meaux* being much stronger, the King did not attack it: but to cut off those Provisions the *Parisians* drew from thence by the *Marne*, he built a Fort in the Island * of *Gournay*, which lies upon that River within four Leagues of *Paris*, and gave the Government thereof to *Odet de la Noue*, whose incorruptible fidelity answer'd his favour with most exactly guarding the said Passage.

Upon the Frontiers of *Bretagne*, the Princes of *Conty* and of *Dombes* being joyned, received a very Signal loss: they had besieged the City of *Craon* situate upon the River of *Oudon*: the Duke of *Mercaur* came to their relief, assisted by *Bis-Danfin* who brought the Nobility of *Mayne*, and by the Marquis de *Belle-Ile* Son of the Marechal de *Rais*. Now the Princes for want of good Intelligence, had let the Duke pass the River, and get into a very advantageous place for Battle, whilst they chose a very bad one for themselves; then not able to resolve to fight, they made their retreat in the open day, and committed many other oversights which occasioned their defeat. This hapned the Five and twentieth of May. They lost twelve hundred Men, all their Cannon, which was left by the way for want of Harnels, and afterwards the Cities of *Chateau-Gontier*, *Mayenne* and *Laval*.

The Marechal de *Rais*, after the death of *Henry III.* not seeing clearly into the depth of Affairs, nor knowing which Party to side with, was retired to *Florn e*, and had advised his Son to joyn with the strongest; which made him take part with the Duke of *Mercaur* to secure the great Estate he had in *Bretagne*; though others imagined it was a fancy he had for the Dutchels, that engaged him to it.

The Fourth of June, *Henry Prince of Dombes* lost his Father *Fraucis* Duke of *Montpensier*, Aged Fifty years; he inherited his Name, his vast Estate, and the Government of *Normandy* which the King bestow'd on him, as he did that of *Bretagne* on the Marechal d'*Anmont*. This last regained the City of *Mayenne*, after a fifteen days Siege: but lay two Months before *Rochefort* with the loss of a great many Men and not able to take it, the inconveniences of the Winter, and the Duke of

Mercaur

Mercaur coming to the relief of the place. *Rochefort* was a Castle upon a Rock of Slat on the bank of the River *Loire*, five Leagues beneath *Angers*, right against the Rock de *Gaufie*, a place remarkable in former days, and ruined during the War with the English. Two Brothers Surnamed de *Hortaud* who held it for the King, put it and themselves into the Party for the League, that they might be justified for making *Sardiny*, a rich Partisan, their Prisoner, and screwing a Ransom of Ten thousand Crowns from him, though he were a Royalist.

It was about the same time that *Rene de Rieux Sourdeac* being invested in *Brest* by the Nobility and Commonalty of the Country, after a four or five Months blockade, beat them to in several Salies, partly by stratagems, partly by courage, as forced them to dislodge, and even to buy a Truce, which he sold them at the rate of Eight thousand Crowns per Annum. Within a Month after he gained a Victory at Sea over seven Ships of *Normandy*, which were come from *Fescamp* to seize upon the Harbour of *Cameret*, from whence they would have annoyed that of *Brest*; These advantages did hugely contribute to the keeping that Country under obedience of the King.

All *Guyenne* was so, excepting that *Emanuel Desprez* Marquis of *Villars*, Son of the Duke of *Mayenne's* Wife, and *Henry Lord of Montpsat* Brother of *Emmanuel*, held some small places in *Perigord*, in *Limousin*, and in *Agenois*, *Agen*, *Villeneuve*, and *Marmande*. These Brothers the foregoing year had been beaten near the Abby de *Roquemadour* in *Quercy* by *Anne de Levin Ventadour*, and *Pons de Lescor* *Tennier*, this Governor of *Quercy*, the other of *Limousin*; who slew them seven hundred of the four and twenty hundred they had got together, and took their Cannon and Baggage.

The Marechal de *Matignon* commanded in this Province, when there hapned a dangerous division by means of *Paul d'Esparbez Lussan*. This Gentleman had purchased *Blaye* of *Guy de Saint Gelais Lanfac*, a great Vassal of his Estate. The Marechal said it was with his Money, and that *Lussan* was but his Agent therein: but when he would have come in, *Lussan* flatly denied him entrance, and offer'd to repay him his Money. The Marechal not able to bring him to Reason, renders him suspect of holding Correspondence with the League, and retrenched his pay. *Lussan* did not much value that, but begins to raise Contribution upon the River with four great Vessels, which he made Men of War. Whereupon the Marechal having excited the Complaints of the whole Province against him, obtained an Order from the King to drive him thence by force, and laid Siege to *Blaye*. *Lussan* withstood it three Months, after which finding himself hard beset, he calls in the *Spaniards* to his aid, and with their help defended himself so well that he kept possession of the place.

They mistified but little of getting some footing in the Province by *Bayon* upon an Enterprize they had contrived against that City, by means of a Merchant of the *Franche-Compte* named *Chasteau-Martin*, who inhabited there, and a Physician named *Koffin*. It was very near succeeding, when *la Hilliere* who was Governor of the place, discover'd it, luckily surprizing an ill instructed Footman who brought Letters from *Fontarabia*. The Merchant and the Doctor were Hanged.

Amidst the confusion of three or four Parties in *Provence*, that for the King began to be predominant, especially when the Duke of *Savoy* was defeated at *Vinon*. After that *la Valette* pursued him roundly to the very Gates of *Aix*, and destroy'd all the Farms round about it. Then to draw him out into the Field, he laid Siege to *Roquebrune*, a filthy place, and no way considerable, unless for freighting the City of *Frejus*, which lies within a League. Now as he was ordering the repair of some Buttreis of a Battery, he was kill'd by a random Shot in his Forehead the Eleventh day of February; a great loss, both for his singular Virtues, and the Affairs of the King. That part of the Parliament who were retired to *Sisteron*, took up the Government till the King should otherwise dispose thereof.

His death dispersed the greater part of his Troops, and caused divisions between the *Provençaux* and the *Gasccons*, concerning whom should succeed him. The *Gasccons* desired the Duke of *Espenay*, and were the stronger: so the others pretended to acquiesce, and all sent to the King to demand him. The King had not love enough to bestow so considerable a gift upon him: and feared lest his haughty and ambitious Spirit might lead him to Canonize himself in that Province which was both Maritime, and Neighbour to the Duke of *Montmorency*, and the Duke of *Savoy*. Nevertheless when he perceived he was fitting himself to go and take possession of it, and

M m m m m that

1592.

May.
* It was called, *Pillebe-dand*.

May.

June.

1592.
June.

June, July, &c.

February.

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that his refusal would serve to no end, but to cast him on the Enemies side, he sent him his Commission with very obliging Letters, but took from him the Office of Admiral, which he gave the young *Biron*, and under-hand order'd *Messias* a Gentleman of *Beauv*, and also others of the most authorized amongst the *Gascons*, and Royalists of *Provence*, to cross him in his Government, till such time as he could find an opportunity to force him out.

The Affairs of the Duke of *Savoy* were but little the better for the death of *la Valette*. The Sixteenth of February, the Inhabitants of *Arles* killed their first Consul *Rhin*; while he was endeavouring to introduce some *Savoyard* Companies into the City, and certain Gentlemen Royalists went and assassinated *Biol*, Lieutenant to the Sénéchal, a great Partisan for the Duke, who was retired to a Farm of his own thereabout. Some Months after the third Consul raised the City of *Arles*, and rejoined them to the Parliament of *Aix*: but did not restore them to the interests of the Duke.

March.

This Prince having no strong Holds in the Province but *Berre*, and *Grace*, and of three great Cities none left him but that of *Aix*, which was neither a Frontier, nor a Sea-Port, nor upon any River, took his farewell of the Parliament the Thirtieth of March, and carried away all his Luggage and his Forces to *Nice*, having notwithstanding made them fair promises of a speedy return. The Parliament of *Aix* in his absence took up the Government of the Province, and got Letters Patents for it from the Duke of *Mantua*.

1592.
May, &c.

When he departed the Country, *Lesdiguières* was called in by the Parliament of *Sisteron*. Having therefore made a Truce with the Duke of *Nemours*, he came into *Provence* towards the end of May, refused that demanded by the Parliament of *Aix*, took all the little Castles about *Aix*, and towards *Antibes*, ran over all the Country, beat the Duke who had undertaken to come to the relief of *Aix*, and much strengthened both the City and Parliament. But when he was just upon the point of reducing them, *Nemours* broke the Truce, took the Fort des *Echelles*, and gained *Maugiron* who commanded for the King in *Vienne*. He would not however leave the Government to him, fearing lest he that had once changed, might have a fancy to do so a second time. The noise of this progress recalled *Lesdiguières* into *Dauphiné*: when he was there he tried all manner of ways to draw him to a Battle; he could never engage him to it: yet by hunting him from place to place, in time, dispersed his whole Army.

July.

About the end of July, the Duke of *Savoy* took *Antibes* at discretion. *La Valette* had formerly treated a League with the *Venetians*, the Duke of *Florence*, and the Duke of *Mantua*, to carry a War into the Country of *Savoy*; They obliged themselves to furnish him an Hundred thousand Livres per Month, as soon as he should have taken any considerable place. *Lesdiguières* got to be accepted in his stead, and acquitted himself as well as the former could have done. He pulled the Mountain *Génèvera* the Six and twentieth of September, divided his Army into three Bodies, the one to attack *Peyronse*, the other *Pigneral*, and the third which he commanded in Person, the *Pay of Suza*. He succeeded only in *Peyronse*, where he gained all the Passages that were convenient for Carriages, and those of the Valley of *Quierus* proper for the passage of his Foot Soldiers. Moreover he fortified *Briqueron* in light of the Duke of *Savoy*, took the City, and then the Castle of *Tavours*, and made the Duke retire who was coming on to relieve it; then having provided for the security of his Conquests, he returned to Winter in *Dauphiné*.

September.

The Duke of *Espernon* passing with Three thousand Men along the Frontier of *Languedoc*, found there the Duke of *Joyeuse* who besieged *Villeneuve on the Tarn*, (at the request of those of *Toulouse*, who by that means designed to prevent the incursions of them in *Montauban*.) The rumour of his march made the Besiegers hastily dislodge: but as soon as he was gone some distance, *Joyeuse* forced, as one may say, by his ill destiny, renewed the Siege. The Marshal de *Montmorency*, fearing his power would become too great, made up a Body of his choicest Men, giving the Command to *Leques*, *Chambaud*, and *Montison*. *Messias* heretofore named *Rostignac*, Governor of *Auvergne*, joynted them with some Horse. All these together having certain notice that the Duke had sent his Light-Horse to quarter in certain Villages, resolved to attack him the Nineteenth of October. At the same time they made the onset, *Tenines* who had thrown himself into the place with a good number of the Nobility, made also a great Sally; They forced the Dukes Retrenchments, put his Men into disorder, rout them, knock a great many on the Head, make as many more drown themselves in the *Tarn*, and even the Duke himself, the Bridge falling under him by reason of the multitude of run-aways.

This

1592.
August and
September.

This news begot an incredible consternation in *Toulouse*, and after every one had bemoaned both the general and his particular loss, they were to consider of chusing another Chief. The defunct Duke had yet two Brothers, but both of them devoted to the service of God, the one a Cardinal, the other a *Capucin*, called Father *Angel*. The first who was very well vers'd in the conduct of Affairs, would willingly have undertaken that part of the Government, but he excused himself as to the command of the Army; it was confer'd upon his Brother who had otherwise exercised that trade: yet did he not accept of it without a great deal of difficulty.

The Duke of *Espernon* arrived in *Provence* towards the end of August; his entrance was very glorious, the People receiving him every where with acclamations of joy. He employ'd the Months of *September* and *October* in settling himself in the Province, and in clearing it of several Castles, and Dens of Thieves. The Month of *November* was spent in Parlies and Negotiations of Peace, though very ineffectually; after which he went to attack *Antibes*, and took the City upon Composition, and the Castle by *Escalado*. But while thinking himself to be already absolute Master, he treated the Provincial Subjects with haughtiness, and the Conquer'd without mercy, while he built Citadels in *Brigantes*, and in *Saint Tropez*, whose Inhabitants were great Royalists; the jealous and impatient Spirits of those Countries were extremely alarmed; the Kings Agents by their secret practices put more fuel to their fire; and the Dukes revenge begot in their hearts the most cruel and furious hatred that has been heard of in these latter Ages.

The *Spaniards* incessantly demanded the Convocation of the Estates General, the Pope had delegated in *France*, by Commission in form of a Bull, *Philip de Segs* Cardinal Bishop of *Piacenza*, to be assisting at the Election of a Catholic King, and such a one as they should judge to be most capable of opposing the Undertakings of the *Navarrois*. King *Philip* had resolved to send an Army into *France* of Thirty thousand Foot, and six thousand Horse, to support him who should be elected, as designing him to be a Husband for his Daughter.

Amidst these Transactions, the Third of December died in *Arris* the Duke of *Parma*, as he was drawing his Forces together, and the King had advanced as far as *Corbie* to hinder his entrance into the Kingdom. This great Soldier had languished a whole year of Poison, (said the more suspicious) given him by the Ministers of *Spain* either by order of King *Philip*, or out of some private hatred.

1592.
December.

We do not well know whether it affected the Duke of *Mayenne* with joy, or grief: but it is certain that after the being acquainted with this news, he took as much care to assemble the Estates, as he had formerly used to retard it; and presently made four Marshals of *France*, who were *la Chastre*, *Rhosne*, *Bois-Dauphin*, and *Saint Pol*, and gave the Command of Admiral to the Marquis de *Villars*. Was it to add more Dignity to that Assembly, or to impose the necessity on them to elect him King? For these great Officers would not have suffer'd they should confer the Crown on any other but their Creator.

The Duke of *Guise* and the Duke of *Nemours* formed each their Cabal in *Paris*, and expected to have the like in the Estates. The Politicks having found their own strength, confidently held their Assemblies, where they made Propositions for an Accommodation with the King of *Navarre*; and it had passed in an Assembly of their Town-Hall, to send to him for a free Commerce, if the Duke of *Mayenne* had not hastened thither to prevent it. This was by advice of the Seize: but he shewed never the more kindness to them for it, on the contrary he rejected all the Petitions they presented to him, for which reason they spit their Venom in divers biting and horribly defaming Libels; which did in truth extremely decry him, but rendered the Authors yet more odious.

In the Kings Party, his Parliament, his Council, and even his House itself, were likewise much embroil'd. The Indifferents and the Leaguers who were returned to the Parliament, brought Sentiments very opposite to the Spirits of the former. In the Council, every one strove to be highest and possess that place the Marshal de *Biron* had held; and the King was equally afraid of disobliging all the Pretenders, for the first that had forsaken him would have dissolved the whole knot.

November and
December.

M m m m 2

1592

His Domestick inquietudes did no less discompose him. The Count de Soissons not able to suffer any longer those delays of his Marriage with the Princess Catharine, went to Paris to compleat it: but the Parliament of *Bearn* shut their Gates upon him, and placed Guards about the Princess. She took her self to be highly affronted by these proceedings, and complained bitterly to her Brother of the insolence of those Men of the Gown, (so the express'd it.) The King desiring to compose her disordered mind, wrote back to her in very affectionate terms, and order'd her to come to him at *Saumur*, where he was to be in the Month of *February*.

1593.
January.

We are now arrived at the year 1593, one of the most memorable of this Reign, in which, Affairs by being so very much confused, began to assume some order. The Fifth day of *January* was published a Declaration of the Duke of *Mayenne* verified in the Parliament of *Paris*, which after an ingenious and eloquent Apology for all he had done, invited the Princes, Peers, Prelates, Officers of the Crown, Lords and Deputies, to join with the Party for the Holy Union, and to meet in the Assembly of the Estates on the Seventeenth of *February*, there without passion or interest jointly to make choice of some good Remedy to preserve both Church and State. About ten days after appeared an Exhortation of the Legats to the same end, which spake much plainer than the Dukes, saying, *They must elect a King both by profession and in reality most Christian and most Catholic, and who had the power to maintain both Church and State.* This pointed to the King of *Spain* clearly enough.

This Paper of the Dukes having been perused by those Lords who were about the King, some (amongst others the Duke of *Nevers*) thought convenient, since he invited them to come to *Paris*, to return him some Answer which might engage him to a Conference. This Expedient was seconded by all with so much eagerness that it would not have been in the power of the King, if he had so desired, to hinder it. The Proposition was therefore drawn up the Seven and twentieth of the Month, and deliver'd to a Herald to carry it to the Duke. The Deputies went to their Devotions the One and twentieth at *Nôtre-Dame*, then heard a Sermon preached by *Gilbert Genebrand* Archbishop of *Aix*, who shewed, *That the Salique Law was either positive or changeable at the pleasure of the Legislator, which is the Body of the French People.*

The Assembly was open'd the Six and twentieth in the Hall of the *Louvre*: the Duke began it by a Harangue which the Archbishop of *Lyons* had compos'd for him; the Cardinal de *Pelleu* spake for the Clergy, *Senesay* for the Nobility, and *Honore du Laurent* the Kings Advocate in the Parliament of *Provence*, for the Third Estate. The Clergy had a pretty good number of Prelats of note with them, amongst the Nobility there were few Gentlemen considerable, and the Third Estate was a composed Rabble of all sorts of People, hired by the Duke of *Mayenne*, or by the *Spaniards*. Of these three Bodies, there being none but that of the Nobility for the Duke, he assay'd to add two new ones, contrary to the ancient Order of the Kingdom, i. e. one of Lords, and the other of Members of Parliament, and Gown Men: but the three Orders fiercely rejected this Novelty.

The second day of their sitting, a Trumpeter brought the Proposition from the Catholic Lords attending the King: which import'd; *That if those of the Party for the Union would depute honest and worthy Persons, to such place as should be agreed upon, between Paris and St. Denis, to consult of the best means to put an end to all troubles, they were on their parts ready to send likewise.* The Trumpeter desired to speak with the Duke, who was then in Bed a little incommoded, and failed not to make known the Contents to all such as were inquisitive to hear the news. The Duke therefore not being able to make it a secret; by the Advice of his Council, and notwithstanding the violent Reasonings of the Legat, he sent it to the Estates. Who having examined it, refused to enter into Conference directly or indirectly with the King of *Navarre*, or with any Heretick, but were content to do it with the Catholics of his Party, and that for the good of Religion, and the publick Peace.

1593.
January.

February.

This Answer being made, the Duke parted from *Paris* with a Guard of Four hundred Horse, and went to *Soissons* to discourse with the Duke of *Feria*, *John Baptista Tassis*, and Doctor *Inigo de Mendoza*, Ambassador from *Spain*. They proposed directly the Election of their Infanta, and spake of it as a thing both easie, just, and honourable; The Duke demanded a powerful and effective supply, and they

they fed him with Chimeras; in so much as they fell to reproaches and gross language: but the Dukes extreme necessity constrained him to suffer it, and to conceal his Repentments no less than his Designs.

At his departure from *Soissons*, he went and joyned their Army which was commanded by *Charles* Count *Mansfeld*. With those he brought, they did not make up above Ten thousand Men: these Forces being too few to free *Paris*, stuck to *Noyon* and took it at three weeks end. That done, *Mansfeld* marched his Men back to *Flanders*: where Prince *Maurice* cut him out so much work, that in all the whole year he had not so much spare time as to think once upon those of *France* again.

In the Month of *February* the King went to *Tours*. Three grand designs led him thither, the one to make up the Marriage of his Sister with the Duke of *Montpensier*, another to Treat with the Duke of *Mercoeur*, and the third to contrive it so with the Members of his Parliament that they should take off the modifications they had made in the Edict by him granted to the *Huguenots*. He found so little disposition in Peoples minds, that not one of those three things did succeed. Moreover, as misfortunes seldom come singly, it hapned that at the very same time when the Enemies were ready to take *Noyon*, the ill effect reached even to *Seller* in *Berry*, which *Biron* believ'd by his express Order, and at the request of the Parliament of *Tours*; For the King, having need of all his Forces to cover *Picardy*, sent to him to raise his Siege, and to bring his Men away with all speed.

These disgraces damp'd his best Friends and Servants, made the hearts of the Leaguers swell beyond all belief, and embolden'd the Third Catholic Party, and the *Huguenots*, to fall into Conspiracies: these only to Cantonize themselves, the others to seize upon his Person. They did now no longer scruple to make Assemblies and Cabals, and the chief Lords of his Council told him without ceremony or disguise, they would quit him if he did not quit his Religion. The Cardinal de *Bourbon* was the Bell-weather that led the Flock, and put him to most trouble: by good fortune for the King, it hapned that I know not what sharp humour made an Ulcer in his Lungs, and bred a Pissique in him, which rendred him less capable of pushing on his ambitious designs.

1593.
March.

There were two ways might draw the King out of his Troubles: the one to remain firm in his Religion, and arm himself with patience and courage; the other, without doubt the better, to embrace that of the Catholics, who were for numbers a hundred to every *Huguenot*. The first was extremely long and tedious, full of difficulties, and dangers almost insuperable: the Catholics threaten'd to go from him if he would not go to Mass; he scarce had sufficient to set an Army on foot; the Gentry grew weary of exhausting their Wealth, and shedding their Blood for an Heretick Prince; and if in this juncture, they had elected another King, certainly they would all have acknowledg'd him.

All these considerations and apprehensions, made deep impressions on his Spirit: it was believ'd the Providence of Heaven made use of these to dispose him to chuse the better way. He began therefore to give hopes of his Conversion; and so soon as he had open'd his mind on this point, there were some *Huguenots* themselves who assured him, whether they really believ'd so, or did it out of Complaisance, that one might obtain Salvation in any Religion that believ'd *Jesus Christ Crucified*, the Creed of the Apostles, and observ'd the Precepts contained in the Decalogue.

While the Duke of *Mayenne* was yet at *Rheims*, whither he was gone to hold Conference with the Princes of his Party, the Duke de *Feria* Ambassador extraordinary from *Spain* with his other two Collegues, arriv'd at *Paris*, accompanied with a great Guard of Horse and the principal Lords of the Party, whom the Duke of *Mayenne* had sent to meet him. The Estates complemented him by certain Deputies: some days after he came into the Assembly, where he Harangued in *Latine*, and presented them some Letters from King *Philip*, which were Supercribed thus, *To Our Reverend, Illustrious, Magnificent, and Well-beloved, the Deputies of the Estates General of France.* The Cardinal de *Pelleu* was ordered to Answer them.

There were three Chairs stood under the Canopy, one in the midst cover'd over with a Carpet of Violet Velvet powdered with Flowers de *Lys* of Gold, and raised higher than the rest, but empty, to shew it waited for the King; in that on the right hand sat the Cardinal de *Pelleu*, who besides his being President of the Clergy with the Archbishop of *Lyons*, did likewise preside in the General Assemblies in the

absence

absence of the Duke of Mayenne; the Duke of Feria sat upon that on the left hand.

In the mean time the Catholick Royalists pres'd the Conference so heartily, that no private obstructions of the Duke of Feria, nor of the Sixteen, could hinder but that some Deputies on either side agreed upon it. Being therefore gone to take a view of some places about Paris, they chose that of Surenne as being less ruined than the rest. They met there upon the Nine and twentieth of April, and took their Lodgings by Lot: but the Royalists in the place for Conference seized upon the right hand. They agreed together that the Pass-ports should be expedited in form of Letters Patents, and took each other reciprocally under their protection. The Deputies of the League returned every night to Paris, the Royalists remained upon the place.

1593.
April.

Those waiting the return of the Duke of Mayenne who seemed loath to enter upon this matter, let slip some Sessions without any proceedings, then adjourned the Conference for eight days; notwithstanding a Truce or Suspension was agreed for ten days. At first a difficulty arose which had like to break off all; those of the League would not suffer that Rambouillet should be present, because the Dutchess of Guise accused him of having a hand in the death of her Husband; Rambouillet on the contrary, insisted upon his staying since he was come, fearing lest his exclusion should imply a tacit owning of what they charged him with, and the Blood of that Prince be required of him and his Posterity. He therefore positively denied the Fact and offer'd to purge himself by Oath: upon which the Deputies of his Party stood up so resolutely for him that he was not excluded.

It is very remarkable, that the King having heard how some did even charge him with that death, took the pains to write a Discourse which was perused by the chiefest of that Assembly: wherein he shew'd he never was the Author of so tragical and so cruel a Council. He instanced amongst other things, that the late King telling him how a great Man who pushed him on to do that action, had in a Letter written to him on that Subject put in these four Latine words, *MORS CONRADINI, VITAE CAROLI*. He the King of Navarre replied in the presence of many Persons of Honour still living, *Tes, but, Sir, this Party has not told you all the History, for the death of Conradin*, was the ruine of Charles.*

* The death of the Duke of Guise was that of Henry III.

For the particulars of what passed in the Conference at Surenne, they are to be seen in the Records that are published. The Archbishop of Lyons, and he of Bourges, made very Eloquent Discourses on either side, to shew, the one that they could not acknowledge an Heretical Prince, the other that they ought to obey him; and this last summoned the Leagu'd Catholicks to joyn with them for instructing and converting the King: but these stood stiff not to receive, nor have any communication with him till he were truly converted, and the Pope had received him into the bosom of the Church.

This Resolution express'd with great freedom and assurance brought over that Prince who wavered before, in so much as he gave his positive word he would become a Convert, to those Princes and Lords that were about him, and demanded a Conference for his instruction: to which he invited all the most learned of his own Party, and of those for the League to meet the Fifteenth of July; Not that he pretended the performance of his promise should depend upon that, but only as a ceremony and form becoming such an Act.

1593.
June.

It was time he should speak plain: for the Estates some days before having made a solemn Procession, were preparing for the election of a King; and if the Spaniards, had then made the Proposition which they did a Month after in behalf of the Duke of Guise, it is most certain that all had gone that way, even in despite of the Duke of Mayenne, for he had not yet made his Faction strong enough, as having been too long employ'd at Rheims.

He was newly come from thence, very melancholy, and dissatisfied with the Princes of his own House, who were more vex'd with him: so that they had parted as irresolv'd and as much dis-united as ever, each of them with vast and confused thoughts, and very little abilities to put them in execution. Nevertheless there was enough to console him for his misfortunes, had he known how to improve the opportunity; for the King apprehending the Estates might nominate one before himself were Converted, offer'd to give him then, the same advantages the Spaniards promis'd him only for the future.

He

He had no other aim when he consented to the Conferences but only to amuse the Royalists: but the event was quite contrary, it gave the King great advantage. The Seize on the one hand, and the Huguenots on the other, did in vain endeavour to interrupt them, they were too much engaged: from Surenne they were transfer'd to la Raquette, then to la Villeue. They ended and broke up in this latter place; because the Leaguers would conclude on nothing more, but that they referred the judgment of the Reddition of the King to the Authority of his Holiness, who only, said they, had the power of opening the Gates of the Church to him; and the other rejected this Proposition; because that would be to submit the Crown of France to the disposal of the Pope.

During the time these Conferences held, the suspension of Arms was continued, and brought the People to an absolute longing after Peace. The King having observed this effect, would allow it no farther but for three days, but in exchange offer'd a Truce of six Months. The Legat and Spaniards expressing great aversion to it, the Duke of Mayenne durst not accept of it. The Spaniards on their side having already suffer'd the Spirits of their Party to grow cool in the Estates, disgust'd them wholly by their odious Propositions: for Mendosse labour'd to prove the right of the Infanta, and to demonstrate that the Crown appertain'd to her. His discourse was very unacceptable: Feria afterwards imagining that they had rejected it because the French abhorred the Government of a Woman; caus'd Tassis to propound, that the Catholick King would marry the Infanta to the Arch-Duke Ernest, who should Reign jointly with her, as if it would not have been more eligible to admit of one Stranger to sit in the Throne of France than to crowd two in at the same time.

The Nobility having refer'd it to the Duke of Mayenne to make him such answer as he should think fit, the Duke gave him to understand that the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom could not allow of a Stranger: That nevertheless the Estates, to testify their acknowledgments to the Catholick King, desired he would take it well they should elect some French Prince, and that he would be pleas'd to honour them with his Alliance by the Marriage of the Infanta to him. Now after the Spaniards had spent some days in deliberating on this Proposition, Feria replied by the Mouth of Tassis, that the King his Master would furnish them with all the assistance they should desire, provided the Infanta were declared Queen upon this condition he should marry one of the French Princes whom that King should chuse; the House of Lorraine therein comprehended.

1593.
June.

This Overture dazzled most of the Deputies, and if at that time the Ministers of Spain, without so many Ceremonies, had but named one, the Assembly would have agreed to it: but whilst they were standing upon their gravity, and expected to be courted to what did not in any wife belong to them, this opportunity slip thorough their Fingers. Three Princes aspired to this nomination, the Duke of Nemours; and the Duke of Guise, each for himself, the Duke of Mayenne for his eldest Son; and sometimes when he found any difficulty, he thought of proposing the Cardinal de Bourbon; then after divers agitations of mind, he found there could be no better Resolution taken than that which in effect was worst of all, and that was to take none at all.

Whilst he floated amidst these Uncertainties, the Parliament of Paris being Assembled upon the Rumour then on wing of the Election of the Infanta, made it appear they are infallible when concerned for the Fundamental Laws of the Monarchy, of which they have ever had a tender and useful care. For they made a grand Decree, Ordaining, that Remonstrances should be made to the Duke of Mayenne, that he would look to the maintaining of those Laws, and hinder the Crown from being transfer'd to Strangers, and declared null and illegal all Treaties that had already been, or might hereafter be made for that purpose, as being contrary to the Salique Law. Conformably to this Decree, John le Maître who held the place of First President, went and deliver'd the Message boldly, and shew'd him how the Government of Women in France, even that of Regents, had never produced any thing but Seditions and Civil Wars: whereof he instanced in ten or twelve examples most remarkable, amongst which he did not omit Blanche de Castille, and that of Catherine de Medicis, the principall and almost the only cause of these last Troubles.

¶

During

1593.
June and July

During these Transactions, the King causes *Dreux* to be besieged, he took the Town upon the first Assault, and the Castle afterwards upon Composition, but without much trouble and time. The *Spaniards* finding by the Decree of Parliament, and the loss of this City, that the Affairs of the League were beginning to decline, did the more press them for the Election of a King; and at last, in a Council they held with the Duke of *Mayenne*, named the Duke of *Guise*. Never was any Mans astonishment like to that of the Duke of *Mayenne*; the trouble of his Soul appeared thorough all the coverings of dissimulation. His Wives indignation was greater yet then his, she would have overruled all rather then obey that *meer Boy*, as she called the Duke of *Guise*. In this pressing occasion, when he knew not what to reply, *Bassompierre* found out an Expedient for him, which putting the business off for a while, did in the end dash it utterly in pieces; and that wasto demand eight days time to give notice of it to the Duke of *Lorraine* his Master.

During this delay, the Duke of *Mayenne* set all his Engines at work, sometimes with the Duke of *Guise*, to dissuade him from accepting this nomination, as a thing ruinous both to him and all the House of *Lorraine*, sometimes with the *Spaniards*, to let them know it was not yet the Season for it, and in fine, with the Estates to incline them to his Sentiments. His attempts proved altogether ineffectual upon the two first, especially the *Spaniards*; of whom it was reported, they had endeavour'd to persuade the Duke of *Guise* his Nephew to kill him, as being the only Remora to his Advancement. But as to the Estates, he paid his part so successfully amongst them, that they consented to the drawing up an Answer the Twentieth day of July: By which the Duke and the *Lorraine* Princes most humbly thanked the Catholick King for the honour he did their House, protesting they would ever persevere in their acknowledgments and a willingness to serve him, and declared they were ready to promise before the Legat to persuade the Estates of the Kingdom to approve the said Election, when there should be Forces sufficient to maintain it, and when they should have agreed to such Conditions as were reasonable to be secured to the Chiefs of the Party.

Hereupon great Contentments arose between the Partisans of the Duke and those of *Spain*, these requiring they should go on with the Election, the others that it should be deferred. The *Spaniards* heard all without once opening their Mouths; in the end finding their Votaries were fewer by a third part then the other, they let go their hold. And which was more, the Duke, without any regard to their Requests, concluded to Treat for a Truce with the King, and named his Deputies for that purpose.

July.

Many Prelats, some Doctors, and even three Curats of *Paris*, (of whom one was he of *St. Eustache*, named *Rene Benoist*) being sent for to *St. Denis* the Two and twentieth of July, the King came thither the next day and entred into Conference with them, to satisfie himself, as it were, of certain scruples yet remaining touching some points of Religion. He was soon convinced: but the Cardinal de *Bourbon* was not so, that any other Bishop besides the Pope, had right to give him Abolution; the contrary notwithstanding was allowed, maugre his under-hand dealings, and vehement Remonstrances. The formulary of his Confession of Faith was drawn up, and the day appointed to make it the following Sunday. Some Prelats out of an ignorant Zeal had thrust in certain trifling things which were not very necessary: the King whose judgment was solid, could not relish such trash; wherefore they pared away all that was not essential to Faith; and yet they sent it as it was first drawn up to the Pope, the better to persuade his Holiness of his entire Conversion.

The Ceremony was performed in *St. Denis* Church, by the Archbishop of *Bourges*, as may be seen in the Memoirs of those times, seven or eight Bishops being present and all the Grandees of his Court, even *Gabriela d'Estree*; who had not a little contributed to the Conversion of the King, having already conceived great hopes he would Marry her.

The same night all the Fields, from *Montmartre* (whither he went after *Vesper*) to visit the Church of the Holy Martyrs) to *Pontoise*, were enlightened by great numbers of Bon-fires: which was soon after imitated by the Cities of the Royal Party, and accompanied with Feallings, Dancings and all other Tokens and Expressions of publick Rejoycing. From that very day, the People of *Paris* shewed plainly it was purely their aversion to *Huguenotism* had engaged them to reject this Prince, for they ran forth in multitudes to this Ceremony, notwithstanding the prohibition of the Duke of *Mayenne*, and on a sudden changing that hatred they had for him into a real affection, began to call him their King, and not the *Bearnois*, as they had hitherto done, scoffing at all the declamations of their Preachers, who strove to make them persevere in their former Sentiments.

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The Duke of *Mayenne* rejoycing also, or pretending to rejoyce at his Conversion, Treated with him about a Truce for three Months; and both of them agreed to send to the Pope to get his Abolution, without which the Duke would by no means hearken to a Peace; His intentions and interells, as he protested, being no other but to preserve the Catholick Religion, and Union with the Holy See.

Immediately the King named the Duke of *Nevers* and four or five other Persons of rare Merit, as well Churchmen, as some of the Robe, for this Negotiation, and the Duke of *Mayenne* on his part chose the Cardinal de *Joyeuse*, and the Baron de *Senscay*, but he dispatched them not till three Months after; and in the mean time suffer'd himself, I know not how to be engaged with the *Spaniards* by a new Oath he took, never to depart from the Holy Union, not to Treat with the King of *Navarre*, whatever *Al* of a Catholick he should perform, and to proceed to the Election of a most Christian King; upon Condition they would furnish him with Twelve thousand Foot, six thousand Horse by them maintained, and some other Conditions.

But at the same time, fearing lest they should contrive some new Projects with the Estates, he sent part of the Deputies back into the Provinces, under colour of informing the People of the present posture of Affairs. As for the residue of this Assembly, they remained in *Paris* till the Reduction of the City, being maintained by the King of *Spain*, who allowed them Eight thousand Crowns a Month.

He could not so easily get off from the Legats instances, who demanded the Council of *Trent* might be received entire by the Gallick Church: Although the Parliament and the Chapters opposed it, he was fain to give him this satisfaction by a Declaration, which was deliver'd to the Estates: but he eluded the Execution, having first drawn this Assurance from him, That if there were anything relating to the Immunities and the Franchises of the Kingdom that ought to be maintain'd, his Holiness being required to allow the same, should make no denial or difficulty.

The Truce in the mean time put a stop to their proceedings in the Provinces; It made the Duke of *Mercœur* raise his Siege of *Montmorancy*, drew the Royalists from that of *Poitiers*, which *Brissac* most valiantly defended, and freed the Castle of *Canvours* from the Duke of *Savoy*: This Prince had been handled very ill by *Lesdiguières*, and had likewise the misfortune some Months before to lose *Koderick de Toledo* General of the *Milanese* and *Neapolitan* Forces sent him by the King of *Spain*, who was utterly defeated and slain at the descent of the Mountain which extends towards the *Douere* near the Village of *Salbeltran*.

Espernon had missed of surprizing *Marseille*, but reduced *Arles*, and from thence came the Five and twentieth of June to encamp before *Aix*: where he built on the Hill *St. Europe* which commands the Town, a great Fort, or rather a Camp; for the circumference was so vast, that his whole Army lodged in it. It seemed also as if he would make it a Counter-City, having created two Consuls who wore Hoods and managed the Government of it.

He thinking to force *Aix* by this means, did not punctually observe the Truce, but doubled the Garrison in his Fort, and continued to stop all their Provisions. The King who could ill suffer that a Man he did not love, should establish himself by force in that Province, made up a private Party to dispossess him. He chose *Lesdiguières* to be the Head, and joyned six Gentlemen of *Provence* with him, *Oraison*, *St. Carnat*, *Valavre*, *Croter*, and *Buoux*, who were Governors of the places of *Manosque*, *Pertuis*, *St. Maximin*, *Digne* and *Forcalquier*.

The absence of the Duke d'*Espernon*, who was gone to *Pezenas* in *Languedoc*, to confer with the Constable of *Montmorency*, and the hatred the *Provençaux* bare against him, did marvellously favour their Enterprize. As soon as *Lesdiguières* had sent to, or shewed the Letters of Credence the King wrote to each of these five Gentlemen, and had explained his intentions and meaning, they all made a private League with the Count de *Carces*, excepting *Buoux* who refused to open his Commission and remained in the Dukes Service. The day appointed, all by consent, drove out the *Gasccons* and the *Espernonists* from their places; and the Count de *Carces* and those of *Aix* broke the Truce.

Esparvagues and *Souliers* his Father in Law, did likewise stir up the People of *Toulon*, and besieged the Citadel, which they took by the help of two hundred Slaves, to whom they gave their liberty. *Signare* who commanded there, fell by the Sword with all his Garrison: but *Esparvagues* his Enemy, was first wounded by a Musquet Shot of which he died.

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Upon the rumour of this Rising, Tarascon, and almost all the other Towns declared against *Espernon*: nothing was wanting to compleat the Enterprize but to shut up his Passage by the *Rhone* and the *Durance*, so that he should not have been able to return into the Country: but they not minding to give Orders for it in due time, he got again into his Fort, and became strong enough to make them feel the smart of their imprudence,

When the Truce above mentioned was concluded, the greater part of the Prelats, Counsellors of State, and such as were of the Parliament, nay even some of the Deputies of the Estates, had secretly tendered their Respects to the King, either Personally or by the mediation of some Friends. While the King was hovering about *Paris*, one day the Seven and twentieth of August he being at *Melun*, they happily discover'd an *Assassin* suborned by some Leaguers, who had undertaken to kill him with a Knife. His name was *Pierre Barriere* a Native of *Orleans*; Aged Twenty seven years, a Waterman by profession first, then a Soldier. The Prevost de l'Hôtel made his Process: there was not sufficient proof against him, and the Torture of the Rack could not force him to own any thing: but the Confessor who stood by him at his death, prevailed with him to discover all. He was condemned to have his Hand cut off holding the Knife in it, his Flesh to be torn with red hot Pincers, then broken alive, and after he was dead, to be burnt, and his Ashes scatter'd in the Air.

The King had frequent notice of the like Conspiracies, most part contrived by Monks or Church-men: and therefore a Peace was the only Sovereign Remedy that could allay the madness of so many Frantick Spirits, he most earnestly desired to compass it, and offer'd the Duke of *Mayenne*, quite ruined as he was, greater advantages yet than he had done when his Affairs were most flourishing: but that Duke would not Treat till the Pope had given the King Absolution; and besides he had not Strength enough to break those Bonds the *Spaniards* had cast upon him; he Treated therefore at the same Instant both with the King and with them.

Mean while, to provide against all Events, he endeavour'd to seize upon *Lyons* and joynt it with *Burgundy*, imagining perhaps that he of the two Kings with whom he should agree, might leave him that Country in Sovereignty. His Brother the Duke of *Nemours*, was become very absolute in that Government, having begirt and over-aw'd that great City by five or six places he held about it: but by the same means, and by reason of certain new Imposts which he laid by Advice of a *Ferrarsse*, a Fellow of a feared Conscience, he became most odious to the People; In so much that the Archbishop of *Lyons* sent thither by the Duke of *Mayenne*, having under-hand heightened their Discontents, and blown the Coals, carried it on so far that the Citizens took up Arms, and seized on the Person of the Duke of *Nemours* confining him to *Pierre-Enise*; but he got nothing by it; for they afterwards flood Neuters, not submitting to any Orders but their own, till their entire Reduction, although for form sake they owned him as Lieutenant to the Duke of *Mayenne*.

People of honest Principles judged *Nemours* worthy to be so used, for his having followed the cursed Policy of *Machiavel*, which makes Princes become Tyrants, and the People Miserable: but all the Heads of the League perceiving by this President what usage they were to expect from the Duke of *Mayenne*, did now study nothing but the best methods to secure their own Places, and to surprize others to make the better Accommodation with the King.

He was then gone into *Normandy* to receive *Boss-Rose* (who commanded the Fort of *Eslecamp*) to his obedience. While he was at *Diepe*, the Wife of *John de Montluc Balagny* Governor of *Cambray*, came to him by night to demand a prolongation of the Truce, till the Agreement with her Husband should be declared. He Treated upon these Conditions, That he and his should have *Cambray*, and *Cambresis* in full Sovereignty; That the King should take him into his Protection, and should allow him certain Pensions; and for this Balagny should acknowledge him only by kissing his Hand.

The joy this brought him, was soon disturbed by those bloody Reproaches the Queen of England made him for his change of Religion. When from *Diepe* he went to *Calais*, thinking to find some Agents from that Queen to begin a Treaty, he met nothing but Letters from her full of bitterness, and found she would recal her Forces out of *Bretagne*.

He had much ado to pacifie her, but much more to endure the presence and over-free Discourses of the Deputies from the pretended Reformed Churches, whom he had

had allowed to hold a General Assembly at *Maner*, whither he returned at his departure from *Calais*. He looked kindly upon them, received their Memorial, named Commissioners to examine it, and offer'd them satisfaction upon some Articles, such or very near, as they had already had under *Henry III*. But they could not be contented with so little a Reward, for so great Services as they had rendered him, they demanded much more: so that not to exasperate them by an absolute denial, he only dismiss'd them, and permitted them to hold Provincial Assemblies, and afterwards to Convocate a National Synod and Politick Assembly.

1593.
December.

His Conversion undermined the League to the very Foundation; It was now look'd upon, if we may so express it, only as a Castle in the Air, supported but by one single Stone, viz. the Popes denial to give him Absolution. In effect, his Holiness would not suffer the Duke of *Nevers* to enter into *Rome* (which was in November) but in Quality of a Prince of *Italy*, not of Ambassador, and upon condition he should remain there but two days, that he should receive no Visits, nor make any to the Cardinals. This Prince however contrived it so that the Term was prolonged, and he had Audience twice of the Pope, the first time in December, the other in January: but brought thence no satisfaction for the King, though as to his own Person, they gave him as much and more then he desired.

November,
December and
January.

The Duke of *Mayenne* failed not to talk high upon this refusal of his Holiness: However this was not a reason strong enough to with-hold such as were already inclining towards the King, and falling off from the League. *Lewis de L'Hopital Vitry* was discontented, for that the said Duke detained four and twenty thousand Crowns due upon Musters to his Company of *Gentilsharmes*; This Man was the first who return'd to his obedience, as he had been the first that left the King after the death of *Henry III*. When he forsook that Party formerly, he was Governor of *Dourles*, which place he left to them, and made a shew as if he would have done the like by *Meaux* now to the League, telling the Inhabitants, whom he expressly called together, that he freely left them to their own liberty, only his Advice was they should follow his Example. This said, he went forth with his Troop of Horse: but had so well disposed of Affairs before-hand, that they deputed some to him the same day to desire he would come back, put on their White Scarfs, and turned away Five hundred Men (much amazed) whom the Duke of *Mayenne* had sent thither. *Vitry* had Twenty thousand Crowns Reward of the King, the Office of Bayliff, and Governor of the City, with the Reversion of both for his Son, and the *Bougeois* the confirmation of their Privileges, and an exemption from *Tailles* for nine years.

All other Governors bargain'd for more or less, according to the importance of their Places, or the quality of their Persons. Most of the Cities got likewise several Advantages, accordingly as those that directed them were Politick or Affectionate: but every one almost would have it inserted in their Treaties, That there should be no Exercise of the Pretended Reformed Religion allowed within such a certain distance of their Territories.

1593.
December.

The design was laid and a great Party made to receive the King into *Paris*, and to this purpose he came to *St. Denis*. The Duke of *Mayenne* having got some hint of it, took the Government from the Count de *Belin* and gave it to *Brillac*, whom he believed the most faithful of all his Partisans. The Parliament finding by this their Measures broken, and apprehending the Duke would make the *Spaniards* Masters of the City, spake warmly to him that they might keep *Belin*: the Duke urged some Reasons to the contrary, but those satisfied not, and they continued their Assemblies. The business grew hot to such a degree that the Duke made his Soldiers and Friends take up Arms, whence would have followed most grievous Slaughter in the Streets, and perhaps the utter loss of *Paris* to the King, had not the wisest of that great Body, temporized and persuaded the rest to give way yet for a while.

The Third day of the Month of January hapned the Reduction of the City of *Aix*. The Duke of *Mayenne* did not think there had been any place more assured to his Party than this fame, because the Count de *Carcas* had Married a Daughter of his Wives, nevertheless this Lord failed him. Being thereto disposed by the Gentlemen *Provençaux* who had declared themselves Enemies to the Duke of *Espernon*, and withal fearing the event of a Siege, he resolved to chuse a Master that should be sufficiently able to protect them; and thereupon persuaded the General Council of the Province to acknowledge the King, and to beseech him at the same time to give them another Governor then *Espernon*.

1594.
January.

The Parliament therefore Ordained the same day that all Acts of Justice should be done in the Name of the King; and by any another Decree made some days after, declared Rebels, and guilty of High-Treason whoever would not obey him. The Archbishop *Genebrard* refused to submit, and having kept himself concealed ten or twelve days, retired to *Masficles* with the Duke of *Mayenne* Agent.

1594+
January.

✦

February.

After this Example, *Lyons* which ever since the imprisonment of the Duke of *Nemours*, had kept it self as Neutral, declared also for the Kings Party. The *Eschevins* and principal Citizens having made their Treaty with *Alfonso d'Ornano*, and received an assurance of the confirmation of their Privileges, an entire Amneity, and that there should be no Exercise but of the Catholick Religion in their City and Suburbs. The Five and twentieth of *January*, *d'Ornano* being advanced with his Forces to the Suburbs of *la Guillotiere*, they set up Barricado's, and cry'd out, *Let the French Liberty live! Down with the Tyranny of the Italians.* The next day they all with one Voice shouted and cried, *Vive le Roy*; and all the Inhabitants, Men, Women, and Children, put on white Scarfs. Now having found amongst the Dukes Papers no less than seventeen new Impolls of the *Italian* invention, which he would have laid on them, had they not surprized him, as was before related, they prudently Ordained in a General Assembly of their Town-Hall, (and made every Member Swear to it) they would never admit any of them to publick Offices.

The Fifteenth of *February*, *Orleans* follow'd the same dance, *la Chastre* being brought over by a good round Sum of Money, the assurance of a Marechals Staff, the Government of the said City and the Country of *Berry*, from whence in favour to him all the Garisons were to be dismissed, excepting those in the Tower of *Bourges*, and the Castle of *Menn* upon *Tenre*. There were two Factions in the City which wholly divided it, the Fraternity of the small *Cord*, otherwise called by the name of *Jesuo*, invented by a *Cordelier*, a Zealous Leaguer: and the Politicks who inclined to the King. To execute his design he strengthened himself with the last, secured the leading Men of the other Faction, or turned those out of Town he could not gain; after these Precautions, he declared the Seventeenth of *February* in the Town-Hall the intention he had to submit to the King, and exhorted the Inhabitants to follow his Example, or suffer him to retire. So soon as he had finished his Harangue, the Bishop and principal Persons gave him most humble Thanks for procuring their Reconciliation with their Natural Sovereign, and protested they would embrace his Resolution. They then read the Articles granted by the King, which were Ratified with all the Signs and Expressions of Joy.

Bourges did the same within few days after, and upon the same Conditions. The presence of the Duke of *Mayenne* retained *Paris*: and till that vast Body were disposed for so great a Mutation, the King employ'd his time in his Coronation, as well to remove that Scruple the Ancient Customs of the *French* imprinted in the minds of many, that this being wanting he could not assume the Title of King of *France*, as to convince the People more and more that he was thoroughly perswaded of the Religion of his Ancestors.

Now because he had not yet the City of *Reims* in his possession, nor the *Sainte Ampoule*, (the Holy Oyl) which is there kept in the Abby of *St. Remy*, he made choice of *Nostre-Dame Church of Chartres*, most famous for her Devotion to the Virgin, and from the Abby of *Marmoulhier* caused a Viol to be brought, said to be that which *Severus Sulpicium* and *Fortunate Bishop of Poitiers*, in their Writings affirm to have been brought by an Angel to the great *St. Martin*, to restore his Limbs battered by a fall from top to bottom of a pair of Stairs. The Twenty seventh of *February*, *Nicholas de Thon* Bishop of *Chartres* performed the Ceremony after the same manner as it had wont to be at *Reims*.

1594+
February.

March.

The Duke of *Mayenne* saw his Party drop off hourly one after another without being able either to hinder this Revolution, or make his Treaty with the King: for he had Sworn not to obey him till he were absolved by his Holiness. Notwithstanding, because they saw all the Governors of those Places for the League (whom he had sent for to *Paris* about the end of the last year, and with whom he had held Council without calling in the *Spaniards*) did surrender this present year to the King, and that himself went out of *Paris* the Sixth of *March*, and took his Wife and Children with him, many suspected he had agreed with the King, and that he only seemed to remain in that Party to prevent those that were of the *Spanish* Faction from giving up that City to strangers in some fit of despair.

He

He could not be ignorant how *Brissac* Treated with the King, and that he proceeded cause of discontent, for that he had not given him satisfaction upon the Duke of *Elbeuf's* turning him out of *Poitiers*, after he the last year so bravely defended it against the Royalists. All was in readiness for above two Months past to receive the King at *Paris*: but the Seize (or Sixteen) seconded by the *Spanish* Garison, and four thousand of the Rabble, to whom the Ambassadors of *Spain* gave each a Rix-dollor per week, and a proportion of Wheat, did so narrowly observe him that he could not put his design in execution: It is said, likewise, that having discover'd it they were resolv'd to prevent him, and to rid themselves of those that were most active in assisting him: These were, amongst others, the President *le Maistre l'Huillier* Prevost des Marchands, du Vair a Counsellor, and *P'Anglois* an Eschevin or Sheriff.

These being Sagacious Men, and having a desire to save their Country, not to bring it under oppression, forgot not, before they proceeded farther, to have a particular and express assurance from the King, "That no manner of Violence should be done to any one Inhabitant of the City, neither in Body or Goods; That he should give a general Indemnity without any exception; That he should take them all into his Protection; And as for the Strangers, That he should let them go Scot-free with Bag and Baggage.

The Orders given for the night between the One and two and twentieth of *March*, to seize upon the Ramparts and Gates, the King who had drawn his Troops together at *St. Denis*, came to *Montmartre*. The only difficulty remaining with *Brissac*, was to shake off those *Spaniards* the Duke of *Feria* had allotted to accompany him in going the Rounds, with Order to kill him upon the first noise they should hear from without: but they were not so crafty in contriving pretences not to leave him, as he was in forging excuses to fend them off.

When he had rid himself of them, in less than half an hour the Kings Forces entered, one part by the *Porte-Neuve* and the Port *St. Denis*, another Party descended along the River, and made themselves Masters of the Ramparts on that side, as also of the Arsenal, the Grand Chasteller, the Palais, and the Avenues to the Bridges, without meeting any opposition, excepting one Court of Guard of *Languevents*, who were cut in pieces upon the School-Key for not crying *Vive le Roy*. The *Bourgeois* likewise secured their Quarters, and Pad-lock'd up the Doors of the most Zealous Leaguers, lest they should come forth to disturb them, placed Courts of Guards at the *Quarrefours*, (or Corners of meeting Streets) and marched thorough all the Town with *Vive le Roy* in their Mouths, and Bills of general Pardon in their Hands which they distributed to all they met. The Populace followed the Soldiery and mixed familiarly with them; the *Spanish* and *Wallon* Garisons did not stir out of Doors.

1594+
March.

The King being within two hundred paces of the City, *Brissac* brought and deliver'd up the Keys to him, and in Recompence received the Marechals Staff, and a promise of being made an Honorary Counsellor in Parliament, of considerable advantage in those days. About Ten in the Morning, being informed all was very quiet, and that his Forces were in Battalia in all the Markets and spacious Streets, he entered into the City by the New-Gate, accompanied by great numbers of the Nobles and his Companies *d'Ordonnance*, and went directly to *Nostre-Dame* to hear Mass, and flag the *Te Deum*, commanding Five hundred Men to march before him with their Pikes trailing, as signifying this Victory was voluntary.

Some Mutineers having made a shew of resistance, fled and hid themselves at home. Before it was Noon, all the City was in admiration to find they were in as much quiet as ever they had been in the profoundest Peace, and by that were fully confirmed in the esteem they had of the more than ordinary goodness and wise Conduct of their King. He found his Dinner completely ready at the *Louvre*, and his whole House in as good order as if he had resided there a long time. He sent to offer Safe-conduct to the Duke of *Feria* and the *Spaniards*, and Order'd a Party of Horse to Convoys them to the *Arbre de Guise*.

About three in the Afternoon they marched forth by the Gate *St. Denis*, the King looking out of a Window to see them. Their Colours were fur'd, and their Drums cover'd, carrying along with them some off-cast Prostitutes, and about thirty passionate Leaguers. The most Zealous was *Boucher* Curate of *St. Benoist*, who died

Dean

Dean of *Tournay* above Fifty years after, but much changed in humour, being as great a French Zealot amongst Strangers, as he had been furiously Spaniolized in France.

When the King entred into *Paris*, he sent St. Luc to assure the Cardinals of *Piacenza* and *de Pellevé*, and the Dutcheſſes of *Nemours* and *Montpensier*, that they should receive no injury, in testimony whereof he allowed them some of his Guards: but the Cardinal of *Pellevé* had noneed of it, for he reigned his Soul in the Hostel of *Sens* while they were singing the *Te Deum*. The King did not refuse the Cardinal of *Piacenza* a Safe-conduct, though he had acted with so much passion against him; he even suffered him to take along the Jesuit *Verade*, and Aubry Curate of St. Andre des Ars, though guilty of the detestable attempt of *Barriere*.

1594.
March.

The third day after, Captain du Bourg surrendered the *Bastille*, and *Beau-lieu* the Castle of *Bois de Vincennes*; and at the end of the eighth, the King ordered a general Procession, where he assisted in Person with his whole Court, to render Thanks to God for his having restored to him the Capital City of his Kingdom.

It was not thought necessary to wait the return of the Parliament at *Tours* to verifie the Declaration which re-establish'd those who were remaining in *Paris*, as also another granted in favour of *Brissac* and the City of *Paris*. The Direction or Address, was after an extraordinary manner, "To the Chancellor and other Officers of the Crown, Dukes, and Pairs, Counsellors of State, and Masters of Requests, to Read, Publish, and Register them in the Registry of the Parliament, and other the Sovereign Courts.

Those who had served the King in this important Reduction, were not left without Rewards. The Parliament being re-established, the King made a new Presidentship for *le Maistre*, he also created one in the *Chambre des Comptes* for *P. Huillier*, and two of Masters of Requests for *du Vair* and *P. Anglois*. Honest and disinterested People said, that if their intentions were purely to serve the King and the Publick, they had shewed themselves more generous in being contented with the glory of their Action, then by desiring a Recompence which could not but be a charge upon the Purſes both of the King and his People.

To obliterate, as much as it was possible the sorrowful remembrances of what was past, *Peter Piibou* Counsellor in Parliament, had order to raze out of the Registers in Court all such Acts as had been forged during the Troubles against the Kings Authority; *John Segnier* of Aubry Lieutenant Civil, caused all Libels to be burnt, with severe Prohibition either to Print any more, or keep any by them; And the Parliament having changed their Style, made a Decree the Thirtieth of this Month, "Which vacated and dissannul'd all Decrees, Judgments, and Oaths, made since the Ninth day of December 1588. which should be found any ways prejudicial to the Kings Authority and the Laws of the Kingdom, as having been extorted by force: Declared null all that had been done against the Honour of King Henry III. and Ordained Information should be made of the detestable Parricide committed on his Person; Abolished all Feasts and Solemnities the League had instituted upon occasion of the late Troubles; Revoked the Power and Authority given to the Duke of *Mayenne*; Enjoyed him, and all others to acknowledge the King; and commanded a yearly general Procession to be made upon the Two and twentieth of *March*, in remembrance of the Reduction of *Paris*, whereat that Court to be present in their Scarlet Robes.

Avril.

To the Authority of Parliament they joynd that of the Univerſity, thoroughly to ſatisfie the Scruples of divers Ecclesiasticks, as well Seculars as Religious, who yet doubted whether they might obey the King, before he were absolved by his Holiness. To this purpose *Renauld de Beaulieu* newly promoted to the Archbishoprick of *Sens*, called first an Assembly of the Curates of *Paris*, who unanimously acknowledge they were convinced by his Reasons; Then another Body of the Univerſity in the Royal Colledge of *Navarre* the Two and twentieth of *April*: where the Rector, all his Deputies, and a great number of Scholars and Religious Votaries of all Orders, Swore "to be faithful to the King even to the shedding of their Blood, renounced all Leagues, and renrenched the Refractory from their Bodies, as "ipurious and rotten Members.

The same week returned the Members of Parliament and other Companies who were at *Tours*. The Governor of *Paris*, (this was *Francis d'O* whom the King had restored to that Command) a great number of the Nobility, and the most noted Citizens, went to meet them as far as *Burg-la-Reyne*. Thus all were reunited without

without trouble to any Man, unless it were about some fifty Persons, to whom the King sent Tickets to quit the Town. These were most notorious People, nevertheless many others took so hot an alarm upon it, that it was like to have produced very ill effects.

Paris thus reduc'd, the other Cities came in with so much haste as if striving to precede each other. The Six and twentieth of *April*, *Villars* brought in *Rabais*, *Havre*, *Montvilliers*, and *Pont-Audemur*: but of all the Chiefs of the League he set the highest price upon what he did, and would have nothing of "twelve hundred thousand Livres in Money, forty thousand Livres Pension, the Government of all those Cities, without owning (for three years time) the Duke of *Montpensier*, "who had that of the Province, and the Office of Admiral. *Rions* having this, it could not be taken from him without wounding his very Heart; and that the more deeply, for that *Villars* was his Concurrent both in Valour and Reputation.

At the same time, or soon after, *May-David* returned to his Duty with the City of *Vernuil*. As also the Magistrates and *Bourgeois* brought in *Montreuil* and *Abbeville* in *Picardy*. *Troyes* in *Champagne* after they had forced out the Prince of *Jainville* the Governour, *Sens* in *Burgundy*, and *Rion* in *Auvergne*. *Montluc* Governour for the League in *Agenois*, brought in *Agen*, *Villeneuve*, and *Marmande*.

During this Torrent of Prosperities, the King had information that Count *Mansfeld*, after a Conference which the Duke of *Mayenne* held with him, had besieged *la Capelle*, and going to relieve it, found it at the last gasp; He had his revenge upon the City of *Laon*. The Duke had left his second Son in it with the President *Jeannin* as his chief Council and Adviser. The King besieged it about the end of *May*, the Enterprize was hazardous for him, he wanted Ammunition, and the discontent of the Marechal de *Biron*, who was the Soul of his Enterprizes, were a dangerous Remors. *Mansfeld* approached to relieve it, his Army was poſted upon a rising ground, not far from the Kings, for seven or eight days; Then wanting Provisions, and having seen two Convoys of his bravest Men, went to fetch some from *la Fere*, defeated, he retired into *Artois*, where Sickness completed the ruine of his Forces.

The Place defended it self yet a long time and very obstinately, not capitulating till the Two and twentieth of *July*, to surrender upon the First of *August*, if they were not relieved by that day. In the Attacks *Givry* was slain, the most accomplish'd Cavalier of the whole Court, both for his Heroick Valour, his skill in all Polite Learning, his ready wit and ingenious gallantry. An Amorous despair occasioned by the infidelity of a Princess, made him so often court and seek a kinder fate in death, that in the end he met his wishes.

During this Siege, the Baron de *Pesche* Treated with the King for the Town of *Chateau-Thierry*, and the Inhabitants of *Poitiers* for theirs, the Government of it and of the Provinces were left to the Duke d'Elbeuf. After the Capitulation of *Laon*, the Magistrates of *Amiens*, *Beauvais*, and *Peronne*, alarmed for that the Spanish Cabal would have engaged them to take a new Oath, returned to their Duty, those of *Amiens* having forced the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Amale* to quit their City. *Dourlens*, which in the Reign of *Henry III.* had been given as a place of security to the Duke of *Amale*, would needs be comprehended in the Edict of the Reduction of *Amiens*.

In the Month of *September* the King laid Siege to *Noyon*; *Deschamps* who commanded within, gave it up the Eighteenth of *October*. Thus he recover'd all *Picardy*, excepting three places, *Soissons*, *Ham*, and *la Fere*; which were in the power, the first of the Duke of *Mayenne*, the second the Duke of *Amale*, and the third of the *Spaniards*. For *Colas*, Vice-generall of *Montelimar* who was Master of this last, had given himself up entirely to them; and in Recompence they gave him the *Demaine* with the Title of a County.

There were yet certain Contrivances hatching in *Paris* to re-imbroil the Kingdom. The greatest part of the Royalist Lords were angry that the Leaguers carried away most of the Money and the best Rewards; they repented likewise the having dispatched and advanced the Kings Affairs so soon, that he was now almost in a Condition not to want their further help. The *Parisians* were more alarmed at the fifty Persons he had banished the City, then they could be assured by all his Declarations; The Cardinal de *Bourbon* could not put the ambitious-pleasing imagination of a

Crown

April and May

1594.
May and June

July and Aug.

September.

June and July

1594.
June and July

Baber.

* Or advised
toolate.
* Or Gluc-
tous, &c.

Jun and July

1594.
Baber.

Crown out of his thoughts. The Count de Saffon his Brother was wounded to the very Soul, because the King refused to let him have his Sister, after he had most solemnly promised it; and *Biron* afflicted and discontented they had deprived him of the Admiralty, was come to divert his melancholy thoughts at *Paris*; where he met with so kind a Reception, that the King conceived some jealousy, and ran thither from the Siege of *Lyon*, that by his presence he might dissipate those practices which possibly they would have carried on against his interest.

As for the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, death put an end to his aspiring hopes, and the Kings fears, soon after, about the end of *July*. He believed he was poisoned by a Lady whom he had tenderly loved. In the Month of *October* following *Francis d'O* *Sir-Intendant des Finances*, ended his life in his Hostel at *Paris*, his Soul and Body being equally corrupted by all sorts of villany. The King was easily consoled for his loss, because he made prodigious devastations, and yet held him as it were under Tutelage. After this he for a time ordered his revenue to be managed by four or five in Commission: but finding no satisfaction in a multitude (still disagreeing and self-interested) he restored the *Sir-Intendance*, and gave it to *Santy* and *Rosny*.

While the Chiefs and the Cities of the League were pressing their surrender to the King that they might be at ease, the Peasants and Commons of the upper *Guyenne* rose and took up Arms, to defend themselves from the plunderings of the Nobility; and the cruel vexations of Tax-gatherers. They gave them the nick-name of *Tard-Adresses*, and they again retorted the appellation of *Croquants*, because in effect they feed upon and devoured the poor Country People. Their first Rendezvous was in *Limsin*: *Chambres* who was Governor there for the King, beat and dispersed them. Those of *Angoulmois* who endeavour'd to do the same, were likewise scatter'd by *Maffez* the Kings Lieutenant in that Country. But it was not so facile to appease those of *Perigord*. A Country Notary first brought them together in the Forest of *Abzac*, within a League of *Limet*: and they afterwards had divers other Affirmities, where they increased to the number of Forty thousand. The Marechal de *Matignon* enervated their whole Strength by inveigling from amongst them all such as had born Arms, of whom he formed several Companies and sent them into *Languedoc*; the King allay'd the rest of the Storm by remitting the remainder of their *Tailles*.

Bretagne and *Burgundy* were yet standing out, not having submitted to the King. We may say one part of *Provence* also, for he thought it worse in the hands of *Espernon* than in those of the League. The Inhabitants of *Laval* introduced the Marechal d' *Aumont* into their City. *Lefonon* Governor of *Concarneaux* treated with him, *Talbot* soon after did the same for *Redon*, and made himself Master of *Morlaix* by the assistance of the *Bourgeois*, and of the Castle after a long Siege. There were five thousand *Spaniards* in the Province commanded by one *Don Juan d'Aquila*, and the Duke of *Mercur* had three thousand very good Men; so that if they could have agreed together, they would have been stronger than the Royalists: but the jealousy of those two Nations, and the peeks between the two Chiefs rendred them incompatible.

Aquila refused to joyn with the Duke to relieve the Castle; the Duke did the same when *Aumont* had besieged the Fort of *Crodon*, which the *Spaniards* had built with great expence upon the point of *la Langue*, which divides the Gulf of *Conquet*, and commands it. Before this *Quimpercorentin* (being only invested) had surrendered to the Marechal, and soon after the Town of *St. Malo* perfected their Treaty; wherein their Merchants made it appear they were neither ignorant in their Interests, nor in their Politicks.

As for *Provence*, the King durst not overtly set aside the Duke of *Espernon*, as well because of the Intelligence he might contract with *Spain* and *Savoy*, as because of his Alliances with the Marechal de *Bouillon*, the Duke de *la Trimouille* and *Ventadour*, who besides were very much discontented; and even with the Constable de *Montmorency* (I call him so, for the Sword was given him the precedent year.) He therefore only sent for him to come to Court, to do equal Justice upon his and the Countreys Complaints. But the said Duke having four thousand Men lent him by the Constable, and five and twenty hundred which himself had raised, he returns into his Fort, and held the City of *Aix* by the throat, as he did the Count de *Carcas*, and the Parliament, exercising his revenge upon all those that fell into his hands.

Lefdi-

Lefdiquieres moved by their reiterated cries; quitted the Affairs of *Savoy* to go and succour them. He passed the River of *Durance* at *Orange*, and intrenched himself at *Senas*. *Espernon* came bravely forth to meet him, and try'd him by great Skirmishes: but could not stop his march, for the Constable would not tique his Men, but even withdrew them quite.

This Lord, who after a long Series of Troubles and Croffes was become huge Circumpect, found it much safer to make himself a Mediator, than a Party in a Cause, wherein it was to be feared the King would declare. He therefore procured a Truce for three Months, during which time, the Fort was deposited in the hands of *Lafin*, a perpetual Negotiator. *Lafin* had undertaken to put three hundred Men in *Garison* there to keep it in Sequestration. *Lefdiquieres* found means to slip in a great many Soldiers that belonged to him amongst those others: so that by his invention the Fort was in his disposition. Being therefore one day, the Eleventh of *July*, gone out of *Aix*, as if to fetch a walk, he approaches insensibly to the Fort, and when he was near enough, commands the Captain in the name of the King, to give it up that it might be razed. He no sooner spake but the *Garison* set open the Gates to him in despite of the Captain; and at the same time he abandons the said Fort to the *Provençaux*, who in less than two days ruined that vast work which the *Spanish* Army had been above a year in raising.

That done he returned into *Dauphine*, apprehending the great preparations for War the Duke of *Savoy* was making. *Lefdiquieres* had taken several little places in his Country: This Prince having regained them all during his absence, did also take *Briques* even in his sight, making good use in this Enterprize of the *Milanese* Forces who were going to wage War in *Burgundy*.

The King going, after the taking of *Noyon*, to visit his Frontiers of *Champagne*, (this was in the Month of *November*) agreed to a Peace with the Duke of *Lorraine*, who had endeavour'd to make it above a twelvemonth before by *Bassompierre*. "He promised this Duke to do right to him, and his Children, as to the Succession of *Cabarine* de *Medici* their Grandmother; without prejudice to what the Duke pretended, as well in his own behalf as theirs, to the Dutches of *Bretagne* and *Anjou*, and the Counties of *Provence*, *Blois* and *Concy*. He left the propriety of *Marsal* to him, and to his Successors, the Cities of *Dun* and *Stenay* in exchange of *Janetz*, which the Duke rendred to *France*. And moreover promised him the Government of *Toul* and *Verdun* for one of his Sons, and to the Brother of that Son that should survive him. *Bassompierre* had the Lands of *Vauconleux* engaged to him for an old Debt of Sixty eight thousand Crowns, and for thirty six thousand more he lent in ready Money to the Treaty.

In the same Month of *November* was in like manner concluded the Treaty between the Duke of *Guisé* and the King: who by this means retrieved likewise the Cities in *Champagne* which were yet in the Leaguers hands. Some Months before, this young Prince having none that were considerable in his absolute disposal, had secured himself of *Rheims* after this manner. *St. Pol*, a Creature of his Fathers, and who saved his Life the day before the *Barricado's*, master'd this Town by means of a Redoubt he had built at the Gate called *Mars*, and pretended by this piece and some others which he held, to make the King confirm his Marechals Staff to him. The Duke who would needs get this prey to make his own Composition the better, quarrell'd with him one day in the Streets of *Rheims*, and ran his Sword into his Belly. By his death he became Master of *Rheims*, and having withall the Cities of *Kocry*, *St. Dizier*, and *Ginville*, he procured a very advantageous Treaty. For they gave him four hundred thousand Crowns in Silver, the Government of those Places, besides that of *Provence*; The last not so much to gratifie him as to dispose of *Espernon*, and perhaps that they might ruine one another thereby.

Burgundy, which hitherto had remained almost entirely for the Duke of *Mayenne*, began to give him the slip. *Auxerre*, *Mafcon*, and *Avalon*, broke his Bonds. *Dijon* and *Beaulne* were upon the point to do the same when he flew thither with his Light-Horle. Now perceiving he could contain them no longer by fair, he used foul means and severity, caused in *Dijon* the Heads of *James Verrier*, who was the Mayor, to be cut off, and Captain *Gau's*, razed the Suburbs of *Beaulne*, doubled the *Garison*, and fill'd up all the Gates excepting one; Moreover, to preserve the rest of the Province, he persuaded the *Spaniards* to make a sudden War on that side.

Q o o o o

Meer

Meer necessity kept him yet in Confederacy with those dangerous Friends, He knew the Duke of *Perth* and *Diego d'Albarr* imputed all this decandacy of Affairs to his treachery, which could indeed be justly imputed to nothing but his downes and irresolution; He knew they hated him so mortally, that when he went to the Arch-Duke *Ernestus*, after the Siege of *Laon*, they had deliberated to take off his Head as a Traytor, and seeing the Arch-Dukes Council would not concur in that point, they had essay'd to rid their hands of him by Poison, or by Pohiard.

And, indeed, some imagin'd it was he who first, to revenge himself for their unhandson Treatments, possess'd the Kings Council, by such Friends as he had amongst them, with the design of declaring War against them, and that he had privately made his Treaty with the King. However it were, the Party was strong enough in Council to persuade him to a Rupture: The *Huguenots* desired it out of that perfect hatred they still bear to the *Spaniards*: The Catholics to divert the *Huguenots* from their Contrivances; by giving them this satisfaction, and such Employments as would have been improper to entrust them withall upon any other Service. The honest *Frenchmen* to unite all hearts together, revive their affections for their Country, and confound all the remainders of Factions and Cavillous Religions, in the more zealous prosecution of this common Quarrel. The Politicks, likewise, to make a strong Revulsion without, of that Venom which caus'd so much mischief within, and to employ the Enemies of the Kingdom in quenching a Fire at their own homes, in stead of suffering them to blow the Coals continually in *France*.

It was therefore resolv'd in the Kings Council to carry the War into their Country; and because *Hainault* and *Artois* were known to lie the most exposed to that ruine which must follow upon a Rupture between the two Crowns, it was judg'd fit to write to the principal Cities of those Provinces, that if they could not prevail with the King of *Spain* to withdraw his Forces out of the Territories of *France*, and if they did not forbear to make War upon his Subjects and the *Cambresians*, whom he had taken into his protection, he was resolv'd quickly to make them feel the weight of his Arms.

It is held that three Persons did more especially inspire the King with this design; *Gabrielle d'Estree* his Mistress, *Balagny*, and the *Marschal de Bouillon*: *Gabrielle* that he might Conquer the *Franch-Compte* for her Son *Cesar*, *Balagny* that he might plunder *Hainault* and *Artois*, the *Marschal* for two ends, the one to maintain himself in the *Seigneurie of Sedan*, the other to give an opportunity to Prince *Maurice of Nassau* his Brother in Law, to fix his Grandeur by securing the liberty of the United-Provinces. For we must know that *Charlotte de la Mark*, the *Marschals* Wife, happening to die some Months before without Children, he retained that Principality, by virtue, said he, of a Testamentary Donation she had made to him, and the acquisition of the right of the Duke of *Montpensier*, and had very lately betrothed *Elizabeth* the Sister of Prince *Maurice*.

He vaunted of having Correspondents ready to spring their Mines in the Country of *Luxembourg*, *Balagny* promised to make a great breach in *Artois*, and *Sancy* was positively confident of prevailing with the *Swiss* to Conquer the *Franch-Compte*. The Duke of *Lorraine*, too, offer'd towards this Expedition four thousand Men commanded by *Tremblecourt* and *Aussimille*. In effect they did enter the *Comte* at the very beginning of the following year: but it was against his interest and contrary to his intention. Neither did they do any thing but make some incursions very ruinous to the poor People, except it were their taking the little Towns of *Vezon*, *Luxem*, and *Jonville*.

The King made his approaches to the Frontiers of *Artois*, imagining to have had some good success there: the severity of the Winter brought him back to *Paris*, and almost to a tragical death. For the same day he arriv'd (which was the Seven and twentieth of December) at six in the Evening, while he was in his Mistresses Chamber at the *Hôtel du Boucage*, and stepped forward to embrace *Montigny*, he received a stroke with a Knife on the lower Lip which broke one of his Teeth.

Immediately they seized upon a young Fellow who was thrashing into the Crowd, and by his scared Countenance they knew it must be he had made the attempt. His name was *John Chastel*, Son of a Woolen-Draper dwelling before the great Gate

1594.
November,

December.

of the Palais, aged about Nineteen years, a melancholy Spirit, who said in his Interrogatories; That he was prompted to commit this Crime, because finding himself laden with heinous and unpardonable Sins, and imagining he could not avoid the Torments of Hell, he had thought at least to diminish them by this attempt; which he believed to be a Meritorious Act, for that, said he, the King not being reconciled to the Church, could be nought but a Tyrant. He confest likewise that he had made his Exercises in the College of *Clermont* under the Jesuits, and that they had often led him into a Chamber of Meditations where Hell was represented with several most frightful Figures.

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This disposition added to the injurious Libels against *Henry III.* and against the King now Reigning, found in the Chamber of *John Guignard* one of the Fathers of the Society, and whereof he was the Author; (and likewise the remembrance of the zeal which some amongst them had manifested for the interests of *Spain*) and some Maxims their Preachers had published against Kings and against the ancient Laws of the Kingdom, and the opinions was held of them that by means of their Colleges and Auricular Confessions, they perverted the minds of the Youthful, and of the tender Conscience which way best pleased them gave occasion to the Parliament to involve the whole Society in the same punishment due for the Crimes of particulars.

Thus by one and the same Decree which was pronounced the Nine and twentieth of the Month, and executed by Torch-light, they condemn'd *John Chastel*, "to suffer the pains accustomed for the like Parricides, and Ordained that the Priests and Scholars of the College of *Clermont*, and others calling themselves of the Society of *Jesus*, as being Corrupters of Youth, Disturbers of the Common Peace and Enemies to the King and State, should within three days leave their House and College, and in fifteen the whole Kingdom; and that all what belonged to them should be employ'd to pious uses, accordingly as the Parliament should dispose of it.

Some other Parliaments following the same Sentiments with this of *Paris*, banish'd them by a like Decree: but that of *Bordeaux* and that of *Toulouse* refused to conform to it, so that they sheltered themselves in *Guyenne* and *Languedoc* till they were recalled. By another Decree, *John Guignard* having owned his Defamatory Writings, was condemn'd to be Hanged, not for the having made them, but for having kept them. By another also, *John Gueret*, under whom *Chastel* had gone thorough his Courses of Philosophy, and the Father of this wretched Parricide were banish'd the Kingdom, the first to perpetuity, and the second for nine years; and it was Ordained his House should be demolished, and in its place a Pyramid of Carved Stone to be erected which should contain the cause of it. Upon one of the four Faces was the Decree engraven, and on the other three, divers Latin Inscriptions in Verse and Prose, in detestation of the Memory of that horrid Attempt, and that Doctrine which was held to have been the occasion of it.

Now the term the King had prefix'd to the *Hennuyers* and *Artesians* being expir'd without their giving him any answer, he caus'd a Declaration of War to be published against King *Philip* and his Subjects, it hapned some weeks after that the Arch-Duke *Ernest* Governor of the *Low-Countries* died the One and twentieth of February, King *Philip* committing the Administration to *Peter Henriquez Guisman* Count de *Fuentes*, till he had otherwise dispos'd of it.

1594.
December.

The Duke of *Nemours* having made his escape from the Castle of *Pierre-Encise*, disguised in the habit of a Valet, and carrying the Pan of his Clofs-stool, got immediately on Horseback, and with his Friends and three thousand *Swiss* lent him by the Duke of *Savoy*, took several Forts round about *Lyon*, whereby he thought to famish that great City: but the Constable of *Montmorency* who brought a thousand *Maîtres*, and four thousand of the Kings Foot, having received Order to remain in that Country, shut up the Duke himself in *Vienne*, so close, that his *Swiss* weary of the great want they endured, retired into *Savoy* to the Marquis de *Tresfort* General of that Dukes Army, who far from being able to relieve him, was forc'd to let the Constables Soldiers winter in *Bref* where they had taken *Montluel*.

Whilst the Duke of *Nemours* was gone to the Constable of *Castille*, with design of engaging him to come into *Lyonnais*, *Disimie* his most intimate Confident, to whom

Emperor Rodolph II. and Maximilian III. Son of *Abou-rats* after he had caus'd twenty of his Brothers to be drowned, he Reigned ten years.

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January.
December in 1594. and January, 87.

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April.

he had committed the Guard of *Piper* chief Castle of *Vienne*, treated his Accommodation the Twelfth of *April*, drew his Men into the Town, and invited the Constable thither, who took the Oaths of the Inhabitants. *Nemours*, who thought this bosom Friend had been proof against all Temptations, was like to have lost his wits when he heard of this infidelity. Such as were inclined to believe the worst (and who judge of others actions by their own interpretation, which is too often true) said the motives that guided *Lisimius* had more of self-interest than duty, and chose rather to call him Traitor to his Friend, than faithful to his King. And even when *Nemours* fell sick, whether for grief or some other cause, they reported he had given him a Fig to prevent his Repentment.

January.

Really this Prince was invaded by a strange malady, and almost like that of *Charles IX.* Blood flowed in great quantities from his Mouth. His more than ordinary courage did for some time resist the violence of this Distemper: but when he was so much attenuated that he could no longer stand upon his Feet, he desired to be carried to his Castle of *Ancy* in *Savoy*; and there having languished for some Months in such a dismal condition, as drew tears from the Eyes of every one that beheld him, he resigned up his Soul about mid-*July*, aged twenty eight years. The Marquis de *Saint Sorlin* his Brother succeeded him in the Duchy of *Nemours* and other Territories, and soon after came to an agreement with the King.

February.

The Duke of *Mayenne* had not so much love for him as to be grieved, but the perception of his Affairs brought grief upon him from elsewhere. In the Month of *February* the Inhabitants of *Beaulne*, to whom the King the preceding year had granted a four Months Truce, fell upon that Garrison the Duke had re-inforced, and called the *Maréchal de Biron* to their aid, who then besieged the Castle of *Montier-Saint Jean* hard by. This *Maréchal* having forced three hundred Soldiers who yet defended themselves in the City, to capitulate, laid Siege to the Castle; which surrendered within a Month, having in vain expected the Duke of *Mayenne* would have joyned his Forces with the Duke of *Nemours* to deliver them.

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February.

April.

The Cities of *Autun* and *Auxonne* finding his declining condition, did also quit his Party; the first by the advice and management of their *Maire*, the second by a Treaty *Senecay* made with the King who left him the Government of it.

By the example of *Beaulne*, the Inhabitants of *Dijon* took Arms in the beginning of *May*, and finding themselves too weak to drive out the Garrison, had recourse to *Biron*, who gained all the Quarters of the Town, and at the same time besieged the Castle, and that of *Talon* which was within a quarter of a League, whither the Count de *Tavannes* had retired.

May.

The Constable of *Castile* (named *Ferdinand de Velasco*) was defended into the *Franche-Comte* in the Month of *April* with an Army of Fifteen thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse. This *Maréchal* apprehended lest he should fall upon his back with all his Forces: the Constable de *Montmorency* had the same fear upon him, and both these press'd the King extremely to advance that way. His Mistress by her Careless made him resolve it; She desired he might conquer the *Franche-Comte* for her Son, to whom he promised to give the Revenue in propriety, but the Honorary Sovereignty to the *Swiss*, thereby to oblige them to his protection.

June.

He took but few Men along with him, believing that of those under the two fore-named Generals, and the *Lorrainers* commanded by *d'Aussonneville*, he might make up a very considerable Army; and as for his Frontier of *Picardy*, he relied upon the Forces of the *Maréchal de Bouillon*, the Count de *Saint Pol*, and the Admiral de *Villars*, recommending above all things to them a good Correspondence, and a readiness when necessary to joyn their whole Strength together; To whom when in one entire Body, he gave the general Command to the Duke of *Nevers*. And for the Affairs of the Kingdom in gross, he establish'd a Council at *Paris*, of whom he made the Prince of *Conty* Chief. The event shew'd the method he had taken both for the one and other was not good; For the Count de *Saiffons* jealous they had prefer'd the Prince of *Conty* before him, fomented the Leaven of those Factionous remains in *Paris*, and so much did those of the said Council, as also the Chief Commanders in the Armies, countermined each other, that they did his work but negligently.

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It is fit we know that in the Month of *March*, the Duke of *Longueville* was kill'd by a strange accident; Taking a review of his Army at *Dowrens*, a Piece discharged by accident shot him in the Head, whereof he died in a few days at *Amiens*. The day before he expir'd his Wife was deliver'd of a Son, whom *France* may justly account for one of the most generous and most accomplished Princes of his Age. The King was God-father, and gave him his name and the Government of the Province: and till he were of Age, gave the Commission of it to the Count de *Saint Pol* his Paternal Uncle.

1595.
March.

The Constable of *Castile* having forced the *Lorrainers* to abandon all they had taken in the *Franche-Comte*, and *Tremblecourt* who had put himself into *Vesoul* to capitulate, prepared to enter into the Duchy of *Burgundy*, and had made a Bridge at *Gray* upon the River *Soane*, besides one belonging to the Town. The King having notice of it, resolved with the *Maréchal Biron* to go and meet him only with two hundred *Maitres*, and five hundred *Arquebusers* on Horseback, to retard his March a day or two, and during that time make a Retrenchment to part the Castle of *Dijon* from the City, and then leaving therein a thousand *Bourgeois*, go forth and fight the Enemy with his whole Army within a League or two of *Dijon*. This undertaking would have been judged rashness, had the event not justified it.

June.

The last day of *June*, being at *Fontaine Francoise*, the mid-way between *Dijon* and *Gray*, he discover'd the Enemies whole Army descending from *Saint Simey*, and at the same time found himself charged by the Duke of *Mayenne*, French Troops, commanded by that Duke and by *Villars Hondan*. He there stood in need of all his Virtues: *Biron* being rudely repulsed, the King maintain'd the shock with a hundred Horse only, made several stout charges, and drove back four or five Squadrons almost to the groles of the Duke of *Mayenne* Army. But certainly had he advanced further, he must have lost many of his Men, his Honour, and perhaps his Person.

The Duke of *Mayenne* sent three times, and the fourth went himself to intreat the Constable to march on to certain Victory: but he being as cold to action as hot in words, and imagining the Duke pretended to teach him his trade: he stirred not, but replied, with pride and senseless gravity, he knew well enough what he had to do. The same day he retired to *Saint Simey*, and the next day to *Gray*, where he denied entrance to the *French*, nay even to the wounded; The King on the contrary took care they should be dress'd, and sent a safe-conduct to *Villars* to carry him to *Chalons*.

This day was much more famous for the Kings wonderful Exploits, then either for the number of the Combatants, or of the slain, (for there were not sixscore kill'd upon the place) and acquired him greater advantage yet then honour; for as much as the *Castilians* coldness, his suspicions and inhumanity towards the *French*, broke them quite off from the *Spaniard*; whereas the King open'd his Arms so kindly and favourably to them, that he drew a great part to his service.

The Duke of *Mayenne* not knowing how to extricate himself from the Artifices of the *Spaniards*, thought of returning to *Sommerie* in *Savoy*, and from thence send to demand security that he might go to *Spain* and give an account to King *Philip* of his Conduct, and complain of the ill proceedings of his Agents. The King perceiving him at the very brink of the Precipice, gave him assurance he was ready to receive him into favour, and to treat him much nobler then he could ever justly hope for from those Renegado's; To which he added that till they had agreed upon the Conditions between them, he might remain at *Chalons*, where he should neither be besieged nor invell'd.

1594.
July.

Before he accepted of these Offers, the Duke made another great and last effort to persuade the Constable to relieve the Castle of *Dijon*. The Constable having absolutely refused it, he took leave of him as if he would have undertaken it himself with what Forces he had, and retired to *Chalon*. From thence he gave order for the surrender of the Castles of *Dijon* and *Talon* to the King, in retribution of his kindness.

Whilst the King was yet at *Dijon*, he advis'd the kindred of *Charlotte de la Trimouille*, Widow of *Henry* Prince of *Conde*, to present him a Petition, desiring the Process against that Prince's might be removed to the Parliament of *Paris*; That all proceedings made by the Judges of *St. John d'Angely* might be set aside, That new information might be taken; and that in the mean time he might be set at liberty upon their

their

July and Aug.

their Bail, upon condition to appear for her within four Months. The King having allowed it, sent *John de Vivonne* Marquis of *Pisani*, to *Saintonge*, to be Governor to the young Prince, and to bring both him and his Mother to Court; He had a double end herein, one to secure himself of the person of the Prince, whom the *Huguenots* might possibly have made their Head, the other to plant him betwixt himself and the Count de *Soffons*; who seeing him without Children, accounted himself presumptive Heir, and trod upon his Heels.

After he had spent some weeks in quieting *Burgundy*, restoring their Parliament which had been interdicted, and calling back the Counsellors who had remov'd themselves to *Semur*, he entred with his Army upon the *Franche-Comte*, with design to fight the *Castilian*, and if he obtain'd a Victory, to conquer that Province. He staid there near upon three weeks, during which he oft-times harcelled the *Spaniard* to draw him out of his Intrenchments, beat his straggling Troops, in two or three Rencontres, ransacked the whole Country, and brought so panick a fear upon *Besancon*, and all the other Cities, that he had surely made them stoop to his power, had not the intercession of the *Swiss*, and a contagion that got amongst his Men, wrested that Conquest out of his hands.

1595.
August.

September.

The *Swiss* moved in fine by the lowd cries of the *Comtois* who claimed their protection by virtue of some ancient Treaties they had made with the *Cantons*, and withall maturely considering, maugre the practises of those the King had gained in their Assemblies, what a bridle it would be to their liberty to have so potent a Neighbour upon their Frontiers, intreated him to withdraw his Forces, and to leave the Country in that neutrality they had hitherto enjoy'd. To their intercession the *Comtois* added certain Sums of Money to defray the Charges of his Army; which beides was so affaulted by Sicknefs, as they were glad to retire with the rich Booty they had made.

From *Burgundy* the King made a Journey to *Lyon* with his Court. Divers reasons led him thither; Two amongst others, the desire to Treat with the Duke of *Savoy*, and the necessity there was to give Orders for the Affairs of *Dauphine* and *Provence*, where there were some bickerings between the Governors and the Captains.

As to the first point he offer'd the *Savoyard* a Truce, and afterwards even to give him up the Marquisate of *Saluzzes* for his eldest Son. There were several Conferences concerning this at *Pont de Beauvaisis* between the Agents for the two Sovereigns, and the Duke seemed not to be averie to a Peace: but the condition of Homage the King propos'd for the Marquisate distast'd him.

For the second point, he sent the Duke of *Guise* to the Government of *Provence*, gave the Lieutenantcy to *Lesdiguières*, and that of *Dauphine*, whereof he had made the Prince of *Conty* Governor, to *Alonso d'Ornano*. Thus opposing *Espernon* with a potent Enemy, letting a careful watch over the Duke of *Guise*, and taking away the too great power *Lesdiguières* had in *Dauphine*, he thought he had sufficiently provided for the security of those Countries.

In the same place was the Treaty concluded for the reduction of *Bois-Dauphin*, also a particular Truce was granted the Duke of *Mercur* for *Bretagne*, and a general one to the Duke of *Mayenne* for all the remaining Parties of the League. *Bois-Dauphin* held yet the Cities of *Chasteau-Gontier* in *Anjou*, and of *Sable* in *Mayne*, with some others which served as out-works for the Duke of *Mercur*; and therefore the King consider'd him so as to allow him very advantageous Conditions, and over and above the *Basson de Marechal*.

September and
October.1595.
September.

The Voisinage of the King hastned likewise the more courageous of the Parliament men of *Thoulouze* to declare to the Duke of *Joyeuse*, that the King being now a Catholic they were in Conscience and Duty obliged to acknowledge him. And because he forcibly hindred them from taking any publick Resolution on this point, they retired to *Castel Sarrazin*; whence the King joyned them with those who in the beginning of the Troubles had transfer'd themselves to *Besiers*, that so being altogether they might act the more effectually for his Service.

The Cities of *Carcassonne* and *Narbonne*, prompted with the same Spirit as those Officers, gave the same notice to the Duke, and turned out his Garisons; as on the
other

other hand the approaches of the *Mareschal de Muiron* and *Anne de Lévis* regained the City of *Rodez*; so that the Duke of *Joyeuse* had no other Places of importance left him but *Thoulouze* and *Alby*.

But whilst the King was thus employ'd at one extrem part of his Kingdom, the *Spaniards* made him bloody work towards *Picardy* by the death of *Humieres*, the loss of *Dourlens*, and that of *Cambrai*. The Duke of *Anmale*, and *Rosne* were cause of it. Both taking it in scorn the King should slight them, by denying the Government of *Picardy* to the first, and to the second the Title of *Mareschal of France*, which he had granted to other Leaguers. The City of *Ham* was the Duke of *Anmale's*, and he had placed a Governor there named *N. de Mont Gomoron*, who being dead, his three Sons went to *Bruxels* to demand what was due to him. The *Spaniards* detained them all Prisoners to force them to deliver up the Castle of *Ham*. *Dorvilliers* their half-Brother who had the command of it in their absence, would give no ear to it, but called in *Humieres* and the Nobles of *Picardy*, and gave them passage by the Fosse of the Castle to attack the *Spaniards* that were in the Town. *Humieres* charging them bravely was slain, his Men cut at his death redoubtable their Assaults, and at two days end force them, and cut them all in pieces, not allowing quarter to one of them. The Count de *Fuentes* who at that time besieged the *Castelet*, came running to relieve this Garison, but could not do it early enough. For spite whereof, he before the Town of *Ham* caused the Head of *Gomoron* eldest Son to be cut off, the Arch-Duke *Albert* did afterwards release the other two. This done he again returns before the *Castelet*, which he gained upon Composition the Four and twentieth day of *June*.

June.

The regret of the Nobility for the loss of the brave *Humieres*, who alone was worth an Army, and the cries of the *Picards* whose Frontiers were open, gave an opportunity to the hottest Heads in Parliament, who remembered the injuries they had received by the Duke of *Anmale*, to make a thundring Decree against that Prince. "By which they declared him *Criminel de lèse Majesté* in the highest degree, and "of the Parricide of *Henry III.* and for these Crimes condemned him to be drawn "alive by four wild Horses, his Quarters to be set up on the four chief Gates of the "City, if he could be apprehended, if not in Effigie, his House of *Anet* to be razed, "and his Woods cut down Breast-high, his Goods Confiscate, and his Children declared of their Nobility.

1595.
June.

The Sentence given, *Achilles de Harlay* first President, caused the Execution to be suspended for some days, during which they waited for Orders from the King: but Counsellor *Angenou* made so much noise they were fain to go thorough with it. They dragg'd his Phantom to the *Greve*, and quartered it the Four and twentieth of *July*. The King was very sorry they had robb'd his Clemency of this Pardon, and thereby engaged the said Prince and all those *French* that were yet obstinate and resolute to an irreconcilable hatred against *France*: whom they afterwards most desperately wounded, and perhaps might have utterly ruin'd, had they found a King of *Spain* less aged and infirm then *Philip* hapned to be.

The Citizens of *Cambrai* could no longer endure the proud and violent behaviour of *Balaigny*, and had no less contempt then hatred for him after the check he received before *Senlis*. *Rosne* well acquainted with their discontent, and having great intelligence in the City, advis'd *Fuentes* to besiege it, and that the *French* might not be able to bring relief in a Body, to take in *Dourlens* first. There were but few within the place: notwithstanding Fifteen hundred Horse and Foot did make a shift to get in; and at the same time the Count de *Saint Pol*, the *Mareschal de Bouillon*, and the Admiral de *Villars* joyned together to succour it.

They had above four thousand Men, and the Duke of *Nevers* was not above a days march distant with twelve hundred more: but as there was no unity amongst those Chiefs, and they disdain'd to obey that Duke, they hastned to relieve the place before he joyned with them.

Fuentes encouraged by *Rosne* went to meet them; at first the *Mareschal* made a very stout Charge, but having the worst he falls to a retreat, and the Admiral who staid behind to make another Charge, engag'd so far amongst the Enemies, that they surrounded and took him Prisoner with fifteen or twenty Gentlemen of note, and all his Foot were cut in pieces. The *Spaniards* killed him and *Sessval* in cold Blood, for they are not wont to pardon any who having once been under their Pay shall take up Arms against them. The King gave the Office of Admiral to *Danville*
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the Constables Brother, and the Government of *Hayre* to the *Cherabier d'Oyse* Brother of the deceased: but restored the City of *Rouen* to perfect liberty, having ordered the Fort St. *Catherine* to be demolished.

1595.
July.

As the jealousy between *Bouillon* and *Villars* occasioned this loss, that between the Duke of *Nevers* and *Bouillon* caused a more bloody one. While *Nevers* excused himself from undertaking the Command, because they had reduced things into so ill-favoured a condition, that he could reap no honour by medling with it, and on the contrary *Bouillon* did all he could to thrust it upon him, thinking thereby to helter his Reputation under anothers name, and amidst his fears and suspicions marched giddily about the place without attempting anything: it hapned eight days after the Battle, that the Besieged who fought very well, yet defended themselves but ill for want of Ingeniery, unfortunately suffer'd the Enemies to force in upon them.

The *Spaniards* gained the Castle by a general assault upon a Bastion, and made great slaughter of the Garison that was within it. From thence they descended into the Town, where finding no resistance, they massacred all, as well the defenceless Women, and the Children, as the Armed Men, the raging Soldiers running thorough every Street and crying, *This is the Revenge for Ham*. They gave no quarter but to seven or eight, whereof *Haraucourt* Governor of the City was one. The Pavement was strewd with the Bodies of above three hundred Gentlemen who were gotten in, and two thousand Persons more.

It is incredible how great the *Spaniards* joy was, to find by this experiment it was possible for them to beat the *French* by fine force, who till now were ever wont to beat them so: but that which raised their hearts and spirits more yet, was that at the very same time, they had news from the *Low-Countries*, that *Mondragon*, who commanded their Army there in the absence of *Fuenter*, had forced Prince *Matrice* to raise his Siege from before *Gyoll* in the Country of *Ouvrisset*, and having afterwards encamped near him, boasted that he would hinder him from undertaking any thing all the rest of the Campaigne. So after they had letted *Hernand Teillo* Protocarrero Governor in *Dourlens*, hover'd some days upon the Frontiers of *Picardy*, and put a fresh Convoy into *la Fere*, they marched towards *Cambray* full of the confidence of their taking it.

1595.
July.

For consolation of these losses, the King was informed his Affairs advanced very successfully at *Rome*. After the Duke of *Nevers* was gone thence dissatisfied, Pope *Clement* having notice that in *France* they had renewed the Proposition for making a Patriarch there, relaxed somewhat of his severity, and finding of late the King did not much sollicite him, he began to apply himself to the King. He wrote to the Cardinal de *Gandy* to renew that Negotiation, sent the Jesuit *Possvinnu* to *Lyons* to confer about it with the Constable and with *Bellicure*, and order'd the Cardinals, Prefectors of the *Chartreux*, *Capucins* and *Minimes*, to command those Orders to mention and name the King in their Prayers, which they had not hitherto done. The *Huguenots* and even the Politicks, were of opinion they ought to make him postulant in his turn, and run after what he had rejected, nevertheless considering the great Consequences, the King resolv'd to send some Deputies to *Rome*, and give them an express Procuracion to Treat about the Conditions of his Absolution, and to receive it in his name.

For this purpose he made choice of *James David Du Perron*, and joyned *Arnold d'Offar* with him, as then but a simple Priest, yet a Man of rare prudence and great merit, who had before Negotiated a long time in that Court. It was said of the latter he had the talent to insinuate into the most Refractory, and charm them to listen to him, of the other, that he left no room for reply if they would but hear him with attention, so great was the rapidity and force of his Reason, that he did not only persuade, but he compell'd.

The multiplicity of Affairs that interven'd in the Kings Council, having obstructed *Du Perrons* dispatch four Months together, the *Spanish* Faction had a fair opportunity to make the Pope believe they scoffed at him; and when this Agent did come, contrary to their hopes, they practis'd all their subtilties, and laid what stress they could upon the ill success at *Dourlens*, to hinder both him and *d'Offar*, from being admitted

admitted to Audience. Then when they had been received (which was about mid-July) and the Pope (having taken advice of the Cardinals in private) had declared in Consistory that two thirds of the Votes were for allowing Absolution to the King, they were reduced to the starting of new difficulties about the manner, endeavouring sometime to persuade it ought to be given at the Tribunal of the Inquisition, then to crowd in some Exprellions that wounded the King, and at another time to propound some Formalities, which should submit both him and his Kingdom to the Sovereignty of the Pope.

The Court of *Rome* was easily induced to lay hold of this last, the bare prospect did so please them, as they employ'd all their Arts and Engines to persuade the Kings Agents to depostite his Crown in the hands of his Holiness, who after the Absolution pronounced, would have placed it upon one of their Heads again. They got over this difficulty happily enough, but three more rubs were thrown in their way; the one, that the Pope was earnest for annulling the Absolution given by the Archbishop of *Bourges*; the other, that he would have the Ceremony performed in presence of all the Cardinals, and make use of the *Baguette*; the third, that giving Absolution he should use these words: *That he rehabilited, or restored the King to his Royalty*, as if he had been suspended by the Excommunications of the Popes his Predecessors.

1595.
July and Aug.

They received every day Orders from the King expressly charging them, not to consent to any thing to the prejudice of his Dignity and Reputation; notwithstanding they agreed to the two first points thereby to gain, said they, the last, which was the most important. *Du Perron* was greatly blamed for it in *France*, perhaps unjustly: the Politicks reproached him that to merit the Popes favour, he had submitted his King to be cudgel'd by Proxy with the Popes white Wand.

As to the remainder, the intercessions of the Seignery of *Venice*, of the Duke of *Lorraine*, and the Duke of *Florence*, the sollicitations of the Cardinals de *Joyeuse*, and *Tolet*, and the good offices of *Baronius*, then Consistor to the Pope, did much forward the business. *Tolet* was a *Spaniard* by birth, nevertheless he acted herein against the interest of *Spain*, that he might deserve and obtain of the King by his Services, the recalling and restoration of the Jesuits, of whose Society he had formerly been.

When they had agreed upon all the Articles, his Holiness appointed the Sixteenth day of *September* to give this publick Absolution: which he did upon a Scaffold at the Porch of St. *Peters* Church, with the Ceremonies to be seen at length in the general History, or in the more particular Relations of those times.

September.

After this, above a Month ran out before the expedition of the Bulls, whether he would by this delay make them more esteem and desire the favour he granted, or that he were willing to give the Duke of *Mayenne* and other Heads of the League a competent time, to finish their Agreements.

But the King, as soon as he had received the news of it, ordered they should give thanks to God for it over all the Kingdom, sent to the Parliament to take off the prohibition he had made against sending to *Rome*, appointed that the Concordats with the Holy See should be exactly observed, and fought all occasions to testify his obedience to the See of *Rome*, and acknowledgments to the Pope.

Fuenter was before *Cambray*, the Marechal de *Balagny* had made no great preparations to receive him, having but seven hundred Men in Garison. The Duke of *Nevers* informed of their want in that place, sent the Duke de *Retelais* his eldest Son thither with four hundred Horse, who happily pierced into the Town: but the People of *Artois* and *Hainault* desiring to deliver themselves from the oppression of *Balagny*, and the Archbishop of *Cambray* being pusht on with the zeal, not so much of being restored to his Pastoral See, as to the Goods and Revenues of the Church which *Balagny* had denied him the enjoyment of, strengthened the Besiegers Army with above eight thousand Men, contributed great Sums of Money, and sent Guns, Ammunitions, and Provisions to them.

For all this they did not much advance their Attaques, and as the Autumnal Rains troubled them sorely, and *Nevers* at *Peronne* was forming a considerable Body to harra'ss them, they would no doubt have raised the Siege, if *Rosne* who knew the Discords amongst the *French* Officers, and the ill disposition of the *Bourgeois* towards *Balagny*, had not assured the Chiefs, there would quickly be something disclosed very favourable to them. In effect, the *Cambresians* in despair for that the King would not admit them into the number of his Subjects, they having at the beginning of the

1595.
August.

the Siege sent Deputies to request it of him, and thereby considering they must ever lie groaning under the burthen of some such severe Malice as *Balagny*, resolved to shake it off at the first opportunity.

September.

As soon therefore as they had made a breach, though but a small one, the Inhabitants having drawn two hundred *Swiss*, that were in *Garison*, to sile with them, did barricado themselves in all the Streets, seized on the great Market place, and ran to parley with the Besiegers. *Balagny* durst not appear; his Wife, true Sister of the brave *Buffy d'Amboise*, marches into the Market place with Pike in hand, and used Exhortations, Intreaties, Promises, and Oaths, to stop this Resolution. *Vic* shewed them that at least they ought to provide for their own security by some regular Treaty, and take time to consult therein; neither the one, nor other prevailed in the last, the Authors of this Revolution pressed things on so fast, that the Inhabitants upon the bare word of the *Spaniards*, went and open'd them their Gates, and even offer'd *Painnes* to charge the *French* who then stood at the breach; but he could not consent to so much baseness, so that they had time to retire into the Citadel.

The Citadel was very weak, the courage of those that defended it extremely depressed, and that of the Citizens and *Spaniards* mightily raised by their good success; Besides there were Provisions but for ten or twelve days, for the *Spaniards* knowing the covetous humour of the Dame de *Balagny*, Wheat being somewhat dear in *June* and *July*, had contrived to drain the Granaries of all the Store was in them, by giving her what price soever she asked for it, and the Town was invested before the next Harvest could supply them. So that it seems in selling her Corn, the likewise sold her little Coronet, or Sovereignty.

October.

When *Vic* had searched and discover'd the small quantities were in the Magazines, he was of opinion they should demand a Truce, which was allowed them for four and twenty hours. The Duke of *Nevers* in the mean while not able to agree with *Bouillon*, and concerned for the danger his Son was in, sent word to the Besieged they should make the best composition they could. They did so the Seventh day of *October*, to quit the place within two days after, and made it indeed very advantageous.

1595.
October.

The Dame de *Balagny* believing that it was a more gentle fate to fall into the arms of death, then into want and nothingness: when she observed they began to Treat, withdrew and shut her self up in a Chamber, where sorrow and deep despair seizing her heart and spirits, she expir'd some hours before her Sovereignty: but her Husband suffer'd this fall with an extrem insensibility, and having now nothing else to do, took a fair Maiden with him from *Cambray* to console and to divert himself from all melancholy thoughts.

A resistance of seven or eight days longer might have saved this place. The King informed of the dangerous condition it was in, came post from *Lyon* to take some order for it, but he had news of its surrender at *Beauvais*: and there together with the trouble for this loss, he was forced to suffer the murmurings of his Soldiers, who openly affirm'd it was occasioned by his neglect and delay, whilst his Mistress, for her private interest, withheld him at *Lyon*. His choler discharge'd it self upon the Duke of *Nevers*: in a Council held to consider of what was to be done after this loss, he said some very piquant things to him; wherewith that Duke was so sensibly galled, that this Disgrace together with the smart of his Wounds, which burst open afresh by the fatigues of the Campaign, cast him upon his Bed in the Castle of *Nesle*, and deprived him of life about the midst of *October*.

November.

To repair this loss of *Cambray*, the King employ'd the Forces he had got together to regain *la Fere*, the only place remaining in the *Spaniards* hands on this side the River *Somme*, and which they could not relieve but with great difficulty. He believed it so little stored with Provisions, that he reckoned to reduce it to famine before the *Spaniards* could recruit it, or draw their Men together: and therefore at first he only thought fit to block it up by two great Forts he built at the end of the Marsh. Whilst these were raising he took a Journey to *Monceaux* to visit his Mistress; and from thence returned to the Siege, bringing with him the Duke of *Mayenne* and some Companies he had there.

1596.
January.

This Duke having held constant to the protestation so often reiterated by him, not to make any Accommodation till the King were converted and reconciled to the Church by Authority of the Pope, seemed very ready to acknowledge him, upon the first

first certain news of his Absolution. In the Kings Council, many were of opinion, since he had stood it out so very late, not to admit him to any Treaty: but the King desired, at what price soever, to put out the remainders of that dreadful Fire of Civil War, which did yet smoke and smother in divers places of his Kingdom, particularly in *Provence* and *Bretagne*, and to repair those sad breaches the *Spaniards* had newly made in *Picardy*; Besides there had otherwise been some kindnes and amity between him and the Duke, and he consider'd that Personally he had never offended him; That he had given up no one place to the *Spaniards*: That if he should run him into despair, he would unite inferperately with them; and what mischief would he not do to *France* with so many Braves as would follow him? since *Rosne* almost singly, had been the cause of such great losses.

1596.
January.

These reflections obliged him not to reject the Duke; and besides his Mistress by her intrigues had been above a year endeavouring by degrees to dispose the King to grant him good Conditions. This Lady, besides her generous inclination which prompted her to do kind offices, sought every where to make Friends, as well because aspiring to become the Kings lawful Spouse, she stood in need of such to bring about the dissolution of Queen *Margaret*'s Marriage, as because she desired to secure her self of some support in case the King should happen to fail her. Now having no reason to hope for any favour from the Princes of the Blood, the *Huguenots*, nor the Politicks, she endeavour'd to gain this Duke, that he might devote himself entirely to her Service.

By this means he obtained the most honourable Conditions that ever Subject had of his Sovereign, but which notwithstanding were very mean to those that had been offer'd him before his Party was scatter'd, and when Treating for all those Members jointly he might still have remained Head of them.

In his Edict, dated at *Felembrey*, of the Month of *January*, the King spake of him in very favourable terms; Acknowledged a Zeal for Religion had been the motive of his Actions; Applauded and esteemed the affection he had manifested in preserving the Kingdom entire; and amongst other Articles, "Granted him an Oblivion of all things past; Acquitted and discharged him of all Moneys received and disposed of; Restored him and his to all their Goods and Estates: Declared there lay no accusation or charge against the Princes and Princesses of his House touching the death of the deceased King. Promised willingly to hear the demands of the Dukes of *Mercaur* and *Amale*, and suspended the execution of the Judgment given against the last; Left him *Chalon* upon the *Soane*, *Seurre*, and *Soissons* for Cities of security, and the Government of *Chalon* separately (for six years) from that of *Burgundy*, to his eldest Son; undertook to acquit him of three hundred and fifty thousand Crowns, for which he and his Friends were engaged, as likewise all other the Debts he had contracted, as well in his own name as by being Head of the Party, with the *Swiss*, *Reiters*, *Lorrainers*, and other Strangers, and obliged himself to put them amongst those of the Crown, and to annul all such Obligations as he had entred into for the said purposes.

1596.
January.

Together with this Edict were likewise dispatched those for the Dukes of *Joyeuse*, and the new Duke of *Nemours*. The King granted them some particular Conditions, and to the former also the Staff of *Marechal* of *France*. Some time after, the Duke of *Mayenne* going to attend the King at *Monceaux*, was by him received in so obliging a manner, as he protested that was the only time the King made an absolute conquest over him, and vow'd his Soul should sooner betray his Body then he would forfeit his Faith or his Obedience to so good and so generous a Prince.

1596.
January.

There now remained no more of the Heads of the Shipwreck Faction but the Duke of *Mercaur*, the *Duumsirs* of *Marfelles* with some small Cities in *Provence*, and the Duke of *Epernon*; who being still obstinate to hold the Government of those Countries, seemed, as one ready to enter into the League, when all the rest were going out of it. I will not speak of the divers Exploits that had been done in *Bretagne* the foregoing year, but only how the Royalists besieging the Castle of *Comper* near *Rennes*, the *Marechal d'Amont* their General was kill'd there. He was a Person whose Valour had proved stanch in all trials, and one of the most zealous and most faithful of the Kings Servants: *John de Beaumont Lavardin* was honoured with his Office of *Marechal*. The dissipation of the whole Army follow'd the death of their General: but the Duke of *Mercaur* made no advantage of it, because of those suspitions which held him perpetually embroiled with the *Spaniards*.

March and
April.

The Province afterwards received some comfort by the three Months Truces, which were often prolonged: but by the Estates, whom St. Luc gave order to be held at *Roses*, they were again loaden with a most heavy burthen. Which was an Imposit of Six Crowns per Tun upon all Wines brought thither from abroad.

During the Truces, the Marquis de *Belle-Isle* being gotten into Mount St. Michel intending to surprize it, was kill'd by a Captain of his own Party, whose name was *Ker-Martin*. He thought that by carrying the Keys of that place to the King, he should in recompence have at the least a Marechals Staff.

1596.
January.

After the Kings intentions were made so manifest to the *Provençauxs*, that they had no room left for doubt, the Provisions for the Duke of *Guise* being registred in Parliament, and fortified by a thundring Decree against *Espernon* and all his Adherents: those that had follow'd him only as their Governor forsook him, and such others as were closest riveted to his interest much shaken. Being diffident of every one, he changed some Governors, amongst others *Anchet de Mesples* whom he put out of St. Tropes, one of his best places.

In effect *Mesples* was the Man for the King, who had Orders not only to dispose of the Province, but also underhand to hinder *Lesdiguieres* from taking root there. Which he shewed plainly enough when *Lesdiguieres* having besieged *Cisteron*, and being on the point of forcing it, he treated with the Governor *Ramefort* and got into the place with three hundred Men to defend it against him. Now although *Lesdiguieres* did very well know this cross Game was dealt him by a higher hand, he omitted not to continue his Services, (which every where succeeded prosperously) and took five or six places more from the *Espernonnists*: but when he observed his progress redoubled the jealousies of the Duke of *Guise* and the *Provençauxs*, and that he could now make no further advantage, either as to his own Affairs, nor the Kings, he returned into *Danfine*, upon some pretence the juncture of those times offer'd him.

January and
February.

When the Duke of *Guise* was become Master of all the Forces of the Province, he did alone what he would not have done with a Companion, and soon quieted the Province, labouring at the same time to drive out the *Savoyards* and the Duke of *Espernon*, and to reduce the City of *Marseilles*. The *Savoyards* held yet two places there, *Grace*, and *Berre*: he recover'd the first by means of two Captains who kill'd the Commander of it, and block'd up the other with two Forts. However a while after, one Captain *Alexander* Governor of the last, making a great Sally, slew all the Men that were in those Redoubts and razed them; so that he preferred the place for the Duke till the Treaty of *Vienne*.

The Reduction of *Marseilles* was the more important work: several designs which they made trial of for this purpose had all miscarried, Famine and Misery had mightily wrought upon and disposed the meaner People to a change, but the *Dumouris* (*Lewis d'Aix*, and *Charles de Casaux*) stood but the more upon their guard; and having offended so many People by their violence and severity, that they could hope for no security amongst a generation so inclined to Resentment, they rather chose to treat with the King of *Spain* (who promised to give them two Dutchies in the Kingdom of *Naples*) then with their natural King. They had therefore to this end dispatched three of their Confidants to *Madrid*; and in the mean time had obtained of *John Andrea Doria* Prince of *Malfy*, a succour of twelve hundred Men, brought to them in four Gallies by his Son, with hopes of a much greater number in a few days.

1596.
February.

This Re-inforcement could not prevent their ruine: which proceeded from that cause whence they could least expect it, that is to say from a *Bourgeois* named *Peter Libertat*, who was one of the most intimate Friends to *Casaux*, in so much as he had intrusted him with the Guard of the Port Royal. This Man originally a *Corficain*, Valiant, daring, and one that desired to raise himself by some brave Action, having long before prepared his Party, treated with the Duke of *Guise* to receive him into the City, provided they would give him the Office of *Viguier*, a Patent of Nobility for him and his, the Government of *Nostre-Dame de la Garde*, and fifty thousand Crowns in Silver.

When

When he had gotten his Securities, they appointed the Seventeenth of February for execution. That day the Duke of *Guise* approached the City within half a League, and much nearer yet placed in Ambuscado some Troops commanded by *Alamanon*. In the Morning *Lewis d'Aix* going out of the Royal Gate as his custom was, with some *Arquebusers* to search round the Walls, *Libertat* who was there upon the Guard with his People, pulls up the Draw-bridge and shuts him out. *Casaux* was within the Town, and not knowing they had put this trick upon *Lewis d'Aix*, came with some belonging to him towards the same Gate as usually: *Libertat* goes to meet him, charges him and kills him. *Lewis d'Aix* in the interim gets over the Walls, being Craned up by a Rope and a Basket, draws together a good number of his Friends, amongst others the two Sons of *Casaux*, and with these he comes and attacks *Libertat* and regains the Port. But the Advocate *Bernard*, whom the Duke of *Mayenne* after his Treaty had sent to the Street with his Pike in Hand and a white Handkerchief in his Hat, followed by five or six noted Citizens, crying out, *Vive le Roy!* In a quarter of an hour he got near a Thousand Men together, and at the same time *Alamanon* advances from without with three hundred Soldiers, upon whose appearance *Lewis d'Aix* loses courage, falls back, and gets into the Fort St. Victor, the two Sons of *Casaux* threw themselves into the Fort de la Garde; the *Spaniards* leap into the Water to recover their Gallies, and stand off to Sea. In fine, the Duke of *Guise* is received into the City, and his presence so astonished those that had Canonized themselves in their Towers and Forts, that they immediately surrendered at discretion.

Thus this great City was brought to its Obedience in less then two hours time, without effusion of any other Blood but that of *Casaux*, and three more. As to *Lewis d'Aix* and the Sons of *Casaux*, the first escaping by night from his Fort, fearing to be deliver'd up by his Soldiers, and the others having been turned out of theirs by one of their best Friends who desired to deserve his pardon to their cost: they all retired to *Genoa*, where they ended their miserable lives in want and contempt.

1596.
February.

Marseilles reduced, the Duke of *Guise* bent all his Strength against the Duke of *Espernon*. As he was coming to the relief of the Citadel of St. Tropes, which *Mesples* had besieged, *de Guise* charged him so impetuously that he forced him to repals the River of *Argence*; which he did with so much precipitation, that the greater part of his Troops were drowned or knock'd at Head.

As vain were those two Efforts he made afterwards to succour that Citadel by Sea, one time with a Galiot which he procured, and another with four Gallies, who entering by the Gulf of *Grimaud*, landed three hundred Men: *Mesples* in fine, forced the Belieged to come to a Capitulation.

Amidst these Transactions *Espernon* was like to have been blown into the Air by the malicious invention of a Peasant who had resolutely vow'd his death. This Fellow knowing the Inn he lodged in at *Brignolers*, got an opportunity to put into a Room under his Chamber, three Sacks of Powder, which he said was Wheat that he must sell. There were Pistol Locks placed within them, to whose Triggers he had fastened a small Spring, and tied the other end to that Cord which bound his Sacks. When he was certain the Duke was sat down to Dinner, he goes forth and brings in a Baker to buy this Wheat, and when he had directed him to the Sacks, steals off and runs away. In the mean time the Baker untying one of the Sacks, makes the Powder take Fire, and was burnt with those that were below; and yet this Fougade did no mischief either to the Duke or any of his People, its greatest violence taking vent by the Window and Doors of that first Floor.

He then perceived his great Heart did in vain persuade him to struggle against Fortune in a Country where they practised such horrid inventions to destroy him, so that he relolved to leave it, but with Honour; and for this end he had recourse to the intercession of the Constable his Wives Uncle. The progress of the *Spaniards* in *Picardy*, obliged the King to condescend more easily then he would have done in any other season, and to send *Roqueflamme* into *Provence* to treat about his Accommodation. *Espernon* having confer'd with him, accepted first of a Truce the Fourteenth of March, then of these Conditions, That he should be confirm'd in all his Offices and Governments, That he should moreover have that of *Limosin* to be joynt with those of *Saintonge* and *Perigord*, and the Survivance of them for his Son; also a Sum of Money, and an assurance that those on whom he had bestowed the Government of Places in *Provence* should be continued in them. The Treaty Signed he went out of the Province

March and
April.

1596.
May.

Province the Tenth day of May: but the remembrance of those injuries he received there never went from his heart.

March and
April.

The Siege of *la Fere* was in the beginning but a Blockade, as well because of the inconvenience of the Season and the want of Canon, as those hopes the King had conceived of reducing it by Famine. When he found it was much better stored than he had guess'd, he began to strengthen it more.

April.

The Cardinal Archduke *Albert of Austria*, newly provided of the Government of the *Low-Countries*, desired to equal the glory of Count *Fuenter*, who in one Campaign had taken four places upon those Frontiers: he therefore Armed powerfully, and gave out he was resolv'd to relieve that place. But when he found it could not be done without the hazard of a Battle, which would have been too great for him, because he wanted Horse, and besides he must have born the shock of four or five Garisons, thorough which he must have pass'd: he contented himself with throwing in five hundred Horse, each carrying a Sack of Corn on his Crupper and a bundle of Match about his Neck. This done he turns towards the Sea-coast, and having made a shew of besieging *Montreuil*, falls down of a sudden upon *Calais*, pursuant to the design *Rosne* had contriv'd for him. This Captain had already invest'd it, and seiz'd upon the Forts of *Nieulay* and the *Risban*.

The Terror which was within the place, and the Wind which seem'd to conspire with the Besiegers without, made it be lost in little time. *Francis de Saint Pol-Ridolfus* a Gentleman of *Gascogne* who was Governor, had but ill provided for his defence, and had but little Credit and Authority with the Bourgeois and the Garison. So that when the Archduke upon his arrival had forced the Suburb *du Courguet*, which lies along the Harbour, fear so possess'd the Inhabitants; that they immediately talk'd of surrendering: but they press'd it much more when they beheld a breach made in their Ramparts; Then nothing could restrain them, but a Capitulation must be made the Twelfth day of the Siege, to give up the Town within eight days, and the Citadel in six more, if they were not relieved.

The first eight days being expired, they surrender the City, with so much amazement, they had not the fore-sight to transport any of their Cannon into the Castle, where there were but three mounted; and the Bourgeois flock'd thither in multitudes, instead of tarrying in their own Houses to preserve their Goods which were left a prey.

1596.
April.

In the mean time the Wind hurried away the Count *de Saint Pol*, and the Count *de Belin* his Lieutenant, who had taken Shipping at *St. Vallery's* with three thousand Men. The same storms drove off the King no less rudely, who coming from the Siege of *la Fere* with the Regiment of Guards, and five hundred Horse, was put to Sea from *Bullogne*. As likewise they were cross'd the *Hollanders*; who having wrestled with all their art and skill against these Tempests, and remained some days expos'd to the Canon of the *Risban*, were at last constrain'd to retire.

The King had plac'd his only hopes in the Queen of *England*, having dispatch'd *Sancy* to her, and some days after the *Mareschal de Bouillon*, to desire her speedy assistance: but his change of Religion having almost totally extinguish'd the affection of that Prince, and much diminish'd her esteem, she would allow him no more help gratis, but demand'd *Calais* for her self, since as well he was going to lose it. This disobliging procedure was an addition of grief and trouble to the King, he chose rather to let his Enemies tear the place by force from him, than yield it tamely to his Friend. *Sancy* acquainted the Queen with this Resolution, and used so many Arguments, that he dispos'd her to send a Relief, which consist'd in Eight thousand Men, and all in readiness; In so much as the Earl of *Essex*, who commanded them, put to Sea with a fair Wind: but whilst they were amus'd in resolving some difficulties as to place and conditions for their landing, the Citadel was gone.

The Archduke had granted the Besieged a Truce during the six days, *Bertrand de Pavia* *Campagnoles* Brother to the Governor of *Boulogne*, being enter'd into the Citadel by the Canal at low Water with two hundred and fifty Men, caus'd them to break it. The Archduke irritat'd at this infraction, immediately attacks the Citadel, and by the advice of *Rosne* who knew the defects of the place, beat the Curtain between the two Basons which face the Port, to dust; then Afternoon on the same day the Three and twentieth of April, gives three Assaults. The Besieged

sustained two, not without great loss. *Bidassan* was kill'd in the second. After this it was time to yield: but *Campagnoles* by an excess of bravour, would needs stand a third. His Soldiers did not second his Resolution, they gave ground, and threw away their Arms to save themselves, some here, some there. Such as could get into the Sanctuary of the Churches, or avoid the first fury saved their Lives: all the rest to the number of above seven hundred were put to the Sword.

It had been no great difficulty for the King to have made the *Spaniards* perish for want in *Calais*, had he been assur'd the *English* would have serv'd him faithfully: but as he had not too much reason to confide in them, he return'd to the Siege of *la Fere*, having first re-inforc'd the Garisons of *Ardres*, *Montreuil*, and *Boulogne*. *La Fere* might have held out much longer by the ordinary rules, had it not been for the Consideration of *Calais*: the King of *Spain* had given Order to *Osiria* not to stay till the utmost extremity, for fear he should be oblig'd to deliver that Man up to the King; so that although he had nothing to fear for at least a Months time, he made his Capitulation the Fifteenth of May, to which *Calais* Signed, Count *de la Fere*.

But in the interim the Archduke marching out of *Calais* the Third day of May to compleat his Exploits, attack'd *Ardres*, a little place, but very strong, and very considerable for that it covers *Calais*. The Count *de Belin* and *Montluc* had shut themselves in to defend it, and there were Fifteen hundred fighting Men, nevertheless the horrible Slaughters of *Dowlens* and *Calais*, had so much terrified those Soldiers, that they trembled even while they defended themselves. It hapn'd likewise by misfortune that *Montluc*, in whom they had some confidence was slain by a Cannon-ball, and afterwards the *Basse-Ville* was gain'd, and most of those in it knock'd on the Head in heaps just at the entrance into the Upper-Town, by reason those that stood there to guard it being more affrighted than the others, had let down the Port-cullice, and expos'd them to the fury of the Besiegers. Afterwards *Rosne* begins to thunder upon the Bation with his great Artillery; which begot so horrible and universal a dread amongst the Soldiers, that they even leaped over the Walls, or ran and hid their Heads in Cellars. *Belin* himself most extremely affrighted, demand'd Composition and surrendred the place the One and twentieth of May. Which having done mauge the Governor (named *Jambert du Bois-Annebon*) and without taking advice of the other Captains, he ran great hazard of his Life at Court.

This was the sixth* place the *Spaniards* conquer'd in one year from the *French*, not so much by their own, as the Valour of *Rosne* and about a hundred desperate *Frenchmen* more, who knowing themselves utterly excluded from all pardon and favour, endeavour'd to make the King regret them, and the *Spaniard* consider them. Now it fortun'd happily for France that the Archduke at his return to *Flanders*, besieging *Hulst* in the Country of *Waer*, *Rosne* was there kill'd in an Assault; which hapn'd in the Month of August.

So many losses on the neck of one another, the Frontier laid open in four or five places, the Sea shut up, the robberies of the Soldiers, the surcharge of Taxes and Imposts, caus'd an incredible consternation in the minds of the People, awaken'd the Factions of the League, and favour'd the Contrivances of the *Grandeas*. These well foreseeing that the too sudden establishment of the Regal Power would be the ruine of their own, surnam'd the Duke of *Montpensier* a young and easie Prince, to propound to the King, That it would do well to give the Governments in propriety to those that held them, thereby to engage them to contribute with all their might to the defence of a State, in which they really had a share. One may well imagine that this Expedient did not over-much please the King: nevertheless he treated this Prince in such a manner, as seeming angry rather with those who had engag'd him to deliver this Message, than with him, he put him first into a confusion, and then furnish'd him with Reasons enough even to confound them likewise, if ever they made mention again of the like to him.

The *Huguenots* gave him no less disquiet than did the *Grandeas* of his Kingdom; he could not grant them the Edict they crav'd without offending the Pope; and they to secure themselves deliberat'd to chuse them a Protector, and establish an Order amongst them, which really would have form'd, as it were another State in the heart of the Kingdom. After his Conversion they look'd upon him as a Prince whose

* *Catelet*, *La Capelle*, *Dowlens*, *Cambray*, *Calais* and *Ardres*.

August.

June.

1596.
June.

July and Aug.

interc.

interest was to destroy them: they interpreted all the Excuses he made for not yet being able to satisfy them, as studied Artifice, and the remembrance of things past, gave them just apprehensions for the time to come. And, indeed, they forsook him in the midst of the Storm; and held more Synods and Assemblies in these three last years, then in the thirty five precedent.

The King was labouring at that time to re-unite all the Protestants his Allies in one League against the House of Austria: these discontents of the Huguenots cast great coldness and suspicion upon their Spirits; so that the German Princes did all excuse themselves, excepting the Count Palatine, and the Duke of Wirtemberg, who notwithstanding gave him only good words. Bonillon and Sancy had much ado to engage the Queen of England, who at length made it Offensive and Defensive; The King and she obliging themselves reciprocally to send four thousand Men into either Country, if they were assaulted, and to make no Peace or Truce with the Spaniard; but by mutual consent. The Hollanders entered into it likewise, with great willingness and alacrity, by a Treaty made the last day of October, and promised to march into the Field upon the Frontiers of Artois or Picardy, with Ten thousand Foot, and fifteen hundred Horse.

The Kings Army was so tired with the Siege of la Fere, that he was fain to send them to refresh themselves in the Provinces, reserving only some Troops with which the Marechal de Biron made three several irruptions into Artois. He made horrible devastation in that Country by Fire and Sword, as well in revenge of the cruel spoil the Archduke had made in Boulonois, after the taking of Arras, as to teach him hereafter to make a fairer War.

In the Month of July a Comet was discover'd in the Heavens, whose light appeared sometimes pale and faint, observable more clear and lively: it had a long Train that did extend towards the East and South.

Another Prodigy appeared in France at the beginning of the year; Francis de la Ramée, a young Man so called (being the name of a Gentleman with whom he had been bred in Poitou) pretended to be lawful Heir to the Crown. He said he was Son of Charles IX. and Elizabeth of Austria, and fancied that Catharine de Medicis stole him in his Cradle, sent him out of his Country, pretending he was dead, that so her dear Son Henry III. might succeed. Now being come, I know not how, out of Poitou into Vermandois, he lodg'd himself in a Peasants House who assisted him in acting this Comedy, and bare Witnesses of many Apparitions which this young Man pretended to have frequently seen. There was great probability this Farce was contrived and countenanced by some Grandees of the Kingdom, and perhaps they would have carried it on a great way, and perplexed the King a long time with it, had not the thrif of it been cut in time. A Counsellor of Parliament who hapned to be upon the place, having caused this pretended Prince and his Paranymp to be apprehended, they were both carried to Reims, where they were condemned, the first to the Gallows, the other to be present at the Execution. The Parliament of Paris upon his appeal confirmed the Sentence, and added that the Body of la Ramée should be burnt and the Ashes cast into the Air. This was executed in the Greve the Eighth day of March; The Parties condemned having been first obliged to own the Imposture openly.

Those things which pained the King most were how to content the Zealous Catholics, and the Court of Rome, who were concerned how he would behave himself after his Abolition: to find wherewith to defray the Expences of his Armies amidst the present distractions and miseries of his People: and to redress and remedy the inconveniencies we have mentioned. For satisfaction touching the first point, he received the Popes Legat with all Affection and Reverence, and took care the Prince of Conde might be instructed in the Catholick Religion. The Mother of this Prince having been justified by the Parliament of Paris, followed her Son in his Religion, as the followed him in his Fortune, and made her abjuration at Rouen, at the feet of the Legat. This was Alexander de Medicis, Cardinal and Archbishop of Florence, a Prelat who coming into France with a Pacifique Spirit, appeared as much an Enemy to all hot-headed Zealots, as a true lover of Peace and the good of this Kingdom.

For the other two points, the King could find no way more ready or effectual then to call a great Assembly of all the Kingdom: but it was only of Notables chosen out of the Grandees, Prelats, and Officers of Justice and of the Finances, or Treasury:

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for that of the General Estates would have been too delatory and tedious, and then as much as the wisest Politicians have otherwhile loved them, so much the Princes of these latter times did dread them.

This meeting was held in the great Hall of the Abby St. Ovin at Rouen; The King began the first Session on the Fourth of November with a Speech that was Paethetic, Concise, and Sententious: in which they were over-joy'd to hear these Expressions truly worthy and becoming a good King, whatever motive put them into his Mouth; That he had not called them thither to follow him blindfold in what he should desire, but to take their Councils, to believe them, to pursue them, in short to put himself under their Tutelage. The Chancellor set forth the urgent necessity of Affairs, and demanded speedy assistance. The Deputies made ready their Papers for the Reformation of the State; and upon this occasion the Officers of the Robe and Finances, made it appear by their demeanour, that their power and interest was going to exceed all other Ranks and Orders, as they have done, even to these very times.

Many excellent Reiglements were made, and they named Commissioners to see them executed, who were to undertake it till the meeting of another the like Assembly, which was to be held at the end of three years. All Orders made, in such Assemblies, for the publick good, turn quickly into Air and nothingness, while the Impositions, and those Taxes as oppress the Subjects, are sure to become permanent; and therefore such as were of the Kings Council believing these Commissioners were but so many Spies and Controllers of their Actions, did soon elude all their care and diligence herein: but did not in the least forget most punctually to put those Orders in execution that were made for the raising of Money, to wit, the Postponing, or to say better, retrenching all Officers Wages for a year, and the Imposition of a Sol per Liver upon all Merchandize entering into any enclosed Town, excepting Wheat. The first brought in a present Supply, but the second produced much more trouble and difficulty, then Money.

Neither King Philips Body or his Mind, had vigour enough to follow his swift-footed Fortune, or carry the prosperity of his Arms so far as possibly they might have been in the present conjunctures. As he began to languish and decay, he desired the short remainder of his days might be free from all ponderous Cares and Troubles; and besides he much longed to leave the Low-Countries, at least, to his dear Daughter Isabella Eugenia, since not able after the expence of so many Millions to obtain the Crown of France for her. He gave therefore greedy Ear to the Propositions of Accommodation made to him by his Holiness, and had given long and favourable Audience to the General of the Cordeliers, named Bonaventure de Calatagiron, who was come to wait on him on behalf of the Pope. He afterwards sent him to the Archduke Albert, who made him go into France, and from thence he returned again to Flanders. So that the Treaty was much advanced, when an accident, of the greatest affrontment to France, interrupted it, and brought this Kingdom again into extremity of danger.

Hernand * Zeilo Governor of Douliens; (who in the Body of a Dwarf, had a more then Gigantick courage) being well informed of the ill order observed by the Inhabitants of Amiens in the guarding of their Gates, (for they would admit of no Garison) formed an Enterprize upon the Town, and having communicated it to the Arch-Dukes Council, obtained four thousand Men to put it in execution. The Tenth of March a little before Nine in the Morning while all the People were at Church, sixteen Soldiers disguised like Peasants, and commanded by a Captain named d'Ogane, enter the Gate de Montreuil, some carrying Nuts, others Apples, and the rest driving a Cart loaden with Straw. One of the first lets fall a Bag of Nuts purposely untied to amuse the Guard, and at the same time the Cart advances upon the Bridge of the second Gate, and there hops to hinder the Port-cullis from barring up their way. Upon the Signal given, which was agreed to be the firing off a Pistol, these Soldiers fall upon the Court of Guard, and charge them nimble. A troop of Two hundred Foot conceal'd within a Chappell about two hundred paces off, then another of a thousand more, and after these another Body of Horse who waited a quarter of a League from thence, ran with all speed to second them. There were not above seven or eight of the Guard that made resistance, the rest betaking themselves to flight, put all the City into fear and confusion; well might

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the

the Alarm-Bell rung out, few People put themselves into a posture of defence. The *Spaniards* in the mean time seized upon the Church Gates, the Markets and Ramparts. The Count de *Saint Pol* as much affrighted as the People, instead of intrenching himself at some Gate, mounted on Horseback and escaped to *Corbie*, crying out he was going to fetch some Troops quartered within half a League of that place. *Hernaud* Master of the Town, gave it over to the Spoil, the Inhabitants were stript to their very Shirts, and let at Ransom, excepting some that were of the Confederacy, or such as had been of the most Zealous Leaguers.

The King was in his Bed when he received this so surprizing news: he rose immediately and sent for several Friends that they might comfort him. The most undaunted took *France* to be now in great danger when they saw *Paris* was become a Frontier, at one end the Duke of *Mercœur*, at the other the Duke of *Savoy*, in the midst the Reliques of the old Factions endeavouring to join again in a Body, and the new Cabals shewing their Heads. There was but one Remedy, and that was to regain *Amiens* with expedition, but the Enterprize appeared very difficult; and this was certain, that if it failed, the affront would more than double the present disaster. So that the most part of the chief Officers dissuaded it, and there were even some would needs have their Protestations registered in Parliament. The Duke of *Mayenne* was almost the only Man of a contrary opinion, who so encouraged the King, that he gave a small Body of four thousand Men to the *Marschal de Biron* to invest it towards *Artois*, and to hold the Enemies still in play, and then resolved to go himself and secure the Cities on the Frontier, and give Order for all things to be prepared for the Siege.

The troublesome reliques of a Distemper which his Divertisements had brought upon him the precedent year, sent him back from the Frontiers to *Paris*, and kept him there almost three weeks in his Chamber. We cannot forbear to mention that during this time, the anguish of his Malady joining with the misfortune of his Affairs, did almost stagger and overcome his constancy, and forced from his heart such Sighs and such Complaints as were rather conformable to the ill state of his Condition, than any way becoming the grandeur of his Courage; he went to his Parliament likewise, and demanded Assistance in terms which were, it seems, beneath his Dignity.

However, his Presence was not useless at *Paris* to hasten the Levies of Men and Money. The Provinces on this side the *Loire* undertook to maintain six Regiments of Foot for him; great numbers of the Nobility flocked thither after him; and because there were some yet very loath to leave their own homes, and many Malecontent, the Parliament to oblige them to come forth, made a Decree which set a Mark of Infamy upon all those that did not get on Horseback upon this urgent occasion.

For the Money, *Maximilian de Betune Rosny* provided it: he was become sole Sur-Intendant des Finances, *Sancy* and *Schomberg* not being able to comply with him, had quitted that and taken up the employment of the Sword again. They raised a considerable Fund by voluntary Loans, and the creation of divers Offices; those in best condition at *Paris* Taxed themselves very liberally, as well out of fear of falling into the miseries of War again, as because the Re-imbursments were assigned upon the melioration of the Gabels, which was a good Security. There were four Counsellors created, in each Parliament, as many *Maîtres des Comptes* in the Chamber of *Paris*, two Treasurers of *France* in every Court of Audit, two Elus in all the Elections, a *Triennial aux Trésoriers de L'Esperance*, one at the Parties *Casselles*, and so of all the Accomptables.

This latter way being extremely chargeable to the Kings Finances, by consequent to the People, there were some Counsellors of Parliament, more worthy of ancient *Rome* than of a Country where the love to publick good does ordinarily pass but for a Whimsey, who propounded that all the Officers of the Kingdom should contribute, generously offering to Tax themselves, that so the Country might be deliver'd at their Expences: but the greater number were not the most generous, and Interest had the Ascendant over Honour.

From the end of *March* *Biron* was frowning about the Country towards *Duclens* with some Horse, to prevent the *Spaniards* from conveying Ammunitions into *Artois*; And though he were fewer in numbers than those of *Amiens*, he notwithstanding began the

the Circumvallation beyond the *Somme*. It was forty thousand fathom in circumference, flanked with seven strong Pentagones, and with a Bridge upon the River above the Village called *Longpre*. All the Month of *April* was spent in marching of Men thither, that of *May* in making their Lodgments in their Quarters; so that the approaches began not till about the beginning of *June*.

It was near this time the King arrived there with his whole Court, and even his Mistres. He had lodged her near himself, but was quickly forced to remove that scandal from the sight of his Soldiers, not only by their mutterings which came even to his Ears, but likewise upon the reproaches of the *Marschal de Biron*; who considered not that there is nothing more dangerous than to shock the Pleasures of ones Sovereign, or to take any advantage to make him know his own weakness.

Upon the first rumour of the loss of *Amiens*, the remainders of the *Spanish* Faction would have made some stir in *Paris*, where King *Philip* still maintain'd a little private Council to encourage his Partisans. The most Zealous therefore held some meetings, to consider whether they might do him any Service in this juncture of Affairs: but one of them having discover'd a Consult of theirs in a Cabaret, there were some of them trus'd up in the *Greve*; and the ignominious death of those quite broke off that dangerous Correspondence, and untied the whole knot of them.

In this juncture, the greatest part of the Lords despairing of the settlement of *France*, or glad of an opportunity to pretend so, an Assembly was held in *Bretagne* of the Nobility, in presence even of *Brissac*, Lieutenant for the King in those Countries, and with the knowledge, as they said, of the Dukes of *Montpensier*, *de la Trimoille*, and *de Bonillon*: where they propounded to make a *Tiers* (or third) *Parly*, under the name of *Bons François*, and under the Protection of the Queen of *England*, as if the King had not had Strength enough to defend them, or had been wanting in Care or Courage. But the news they received that the Siege of *Amiens* went on more successfully than they had guessed, stifled this Proposition, and dissolved the Assembly.

Nothing less was expected from the Duke of *Mercœur*, but that the Truce which was to hold but till the end of *March*, being expired, he would make a great Effort to Master the whole Province: nevertheless the Kings Agents had so much influence upon him, that he prolonged it to the latter end of *July*. Wherein he seemed not well to understand his interest, and gave others a just occasion to reproach him with what he had often told the Duke of *Mayenne*, That opportunities had never failed him, but he had often missed his opportunities.

As for the Duke of *Savoy*, *Lesdiguieres* not only made Head against him, but carried the War even into his own Country. He entred *Morienne* with Six thousand Men, gave chase to *Don Salines* General of the Dukes Horse, took *St. John de Morienne*, *St. Michael*, *Aiguebelle*, and divers Castles. The Duke on his part Armed powerfully to drive him from his Territories; and there hapned many Rencontres between them, where the Valour of that Prince, and the Experience of *Lesdiguieres*, turned the balance of success sometimes one way, sometimes the other, till Winter came and parted the two Armies.

The Princes of *Italy* took *France* to be so much lost by the loss of *Amiens*, that the Duke of *Florence* had the confidence to think of seizing some small fragment for his share. During the greatest heat of the League, *Bausset* fearing lest the *Spaniards*, who had an Eye upon *Marseilles*, should seize upon the Island and Castle of *If*, whereof he was Governor, had intreated that Duke to send some Forces to assist him in the keeping them. The Duke slyly not the opportunity, he sends him Five hundred Men, however *Bausset* still kept the Castle of *If*, and quarter'd them without, upon the Island. Now, one day when his Son whom he had left in his place, was gone to *Marseilles*, they seized upon this Castle, partly by craft, partly by force, and drove out all the *French*.

They pretended in the beginning (to amuse the *Marseillois*) that they would only hold it for the King, and defend it against all his Enemies; but when the Duke of *Guise* had built a Fort in the Island of *Ratonneau*, which lies near that of *If*, thereby to cover *Marseilles* and counter-mine them, they openly declared their intention.

ention. *Jabu de Medicis* Brother of the Duke of Florence, coming thither with five Gallies, built another Fort in the Island of *Pomaneque*, distant about a Mile from the other two, took the Frigats the *Marcellus* had freighted with Provisions, to Victual the Fort of *Ratonneau*, and even told *du Vair* who was sent to him, that those Islands belonged to his Brother the Duke. In effect, had not the face of the Kings Affairs been changed, he would have explained his Pretensions, and have urged that the Dutchess his Wife had a right to this Island, as being of the House of *Lorraine*, who believed they had so to all *Provence*.

1597.
July.

The *Huguenots* after the Kings Conversion, made as it were a Band apart, and minded their own Interest singly, as being now disjoyned from his. They had employ'd themselves in no other thing for two years past but holding of Assemblies Politique composed of three Deputies of each Province, i. e. a Gentleman, a Minister and an Elder. They met first at *Saumur*, then at *Loudun*, afterwards at *Vendosme*, then again at *Saumur*, and lastly at *Chastelleraud*. From all these Places they sent Deputies to the King to beseech him he would convert the Truce which *Henry III.* had granted them, into an irrevocable Peace; and he amused them still with fair words, delays, and many difficulties of his own creating.

Now when they plainly perceived that the more he settled his own Affairs the less he granted to them, that besides he was perfectly well with his *Holinés*, and heaped his favours and caresses on the Leaguers: they imagined the coming of the Legat into France was upon some design to prejudice them, and that he was just upon making his Agreement with Spain to destroy them utterly. These apprehensions and the suggestions of *la Trimoille* and the *Mareschal de Bouillon*, had made them like to have run to their Arms three or four times: nevertheless the more moderate, and the more faint-hearted amongst them, who conjectured that when *Amiens* was taken, they must lie at the Kings Mercy, could not be persuaded to it; on the contrary joining to their Arguments some other means they used at the same time to gain the Deputies in those Assemblies, they prevailed so far, as to possess the others with Patience, and to make them wait for the Edict he promised them.

* Or a Camp
Massacre.

Few of them however came to him at the Siege of *Amiens*, the apprehensions some malicious People buzz'd in their Pates, * *Of a Saint Bartholomew in the Field*, and the little esteem they guess'd the Court had for them, kept them at home. As to the rest, all that seemed to be most contrary to the Kings Service did on this occasion most promote it: for *Biron* surpassed himself, although he had no real affection for him, his own Honour call'd him to Action; The Leaguers were desirous now to become the Sword and Restorers of the State, as they had been the Bucklers of Religion; and the Queen of England, though much dissatisfied, sent him four thousand Men.

June, July,
and August.

In the Town were Five hundred Garison Soldiers, and above threecore Cannon mounted on the Ramparts: by this means the Besieged were daily at handy blows with the French, destroy'd their Works and their Batteries, stop't them upon every turn, and sometimes made them even give ground, so that it was three Months ere they got to the *Fosse*. Amongst a many *Sallies*, they made three very great ones, in the last of which were slain Five hundred French and thirty of their Officers. The use of Mines, which had been but little practis'd in France during the Civil War, was reviv'd in this Siege: each did instantly attack the other by these Subterraneous Fires: and oft-times such were going to spring one Mine, who found another burfing out under his Feet, which blew him into the Air, or buried him quick in the Earth.

1597.
July and Aug.

The perpetual Combats by night and day, much diminished the Besieged, sickness had cast a greater number yet upon their Beds, and their Medicaments which were stale and spoiled, in stead of healing, hastned the death of the Wounded. Besides they were to defend themselves within against the Inhabitants, amongst whom was discover'd a great Conspiracy to have open'd one of the Gates to the Besiegers; in so much that *Hernand Teillo* durst make no *Sallies* without keeping great Guards of Horsemen in the Streets. Having therefore no more Soldiers then what was necessary to withstand the Assaults, he sent the Arch-Duke word of the Condition he was in, conjuring him to make an Effort to save that place which cover'd his *Low-Courrier*, and gave him so fair a passage into France.

The Arch-Duke was ill seconded in this design by the King of Spain, but being enough excited by his own Honour, and not caring if he did hazard some Towns in his own Country to preserve so important a Foreign Conquest, drew together, with all diligence, an Army of Eighteen thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse, and taking his march, accompanied with the Duke of *Amale* and the old Count *Mansfield* who was carried in a Sedan, sent *Contreras* before with Nine hundred Horse to observe the Enemy. It was very dangerous to expose such a Party of Cavalry in the Field against an Army that had almost seven thousand Horse at their Command, and indeed *Contreras* after his departure from *Dourlens*, being advanced as far as *Querieu* within three Leagues of *Amiens*, was smartly repulsed: He thought in case of necessity to make his escape to *Bapaume*, but was overtaken by the Light-Horse near the Rivulet of *Encre*, then by the King himself, who took three Cornets from him, and put the rest to the rout amongst the Woods, where they were left to the mercy of the merciless Peasants.

September.

This Essay was but an ill preface for the Arch-Dukes Enterprize, and a worse yet was the death of *Hernand Teillo*, who no doubt would have bravely seconded him. The Third of September, as he was standing upon a Ravelin ready to make a *Sally*, he was slain by a Musquet Shot which hit him in the Side. The Besieged by unanimous consent, elected in his stead *Hierome Caraffa* Marquis of *Montenegro*, and owned him for their Governor.

Two days after *Francis de PEspinay Saint Luc* Governor of *Bromage*, and Great Master of the Ordinance, had the like fate. He was a Lord that for his real worth had few his equals at Court, not any for his Generosity and Wit, and the soft charms of Conversation. His Government pass'd to his Son; but his Office of *Grand Maitre* to *Anthony d'Eltree* by the favour of *Gabriella* his Daughter, upon condition however that he should take some other Reward for it, and exchange it again at the Kings pleasure.

1597.
September.

The Fifteenth of the Month the Arch-Duke parted from *Dourlens* with his Army in a Body: but he advancing not above two Leagues the three first days, because the Duke of *Montpensier* was hovering about him with the Light-Horse: the King imagined he had no design to attempt any thing by open force, but only lie hovering about his Camp to convey some Relief into the place by surprize; so that upon the third day he went early in the Morning to a Hunting Match he had appointed. Now the Arch-Duke, whether he had notice of it, or had before so resolv'd, march'd more Leagues in that one night and the next Morning then in the other two days, so that towards Noon he appeared upon the side of a Hill about five hundred paces beyond *Longpre*. His intention was to gain that Post, and afterwards make himself Master of the Bridge upon the *Somme*, to pass Two thousand five hundred Men into the City, whom he had expressly call'd out, and put under the Conduct of *Charles de Longueval* Count de *Buquoy*.

At sight of this great Army, the Cutlers and Camp-Boys belonging to the Kings ran away in a fright, the out-Guards were abandoned, the Foot fell first into confusion and then to a rout, neither the Constable nor other chief Commanders could re-assure them, the Dukes of *Montpensier* and *Nevers* appeared in vain on the out-lines, to cover this disorder in the Camp, the terror spread it self still more and more thorough all the Army. The Spanish Horse already cry'd out *Victory*, and the Soldiers said, *Come we must fall on*: but the Arch-Duke knew not how to improve so fair an opportunity, he lost above three hours time in holding Council. In the mean while the Duke of *Mayenne* who guess'd his design, sent some old Soldiers and six Field-pieces towards *Longpre*, and the King returning from his Sport put his Men into order, and restored their courage again, though not without much difficulty.

At last, the Arch-Duke having deliberated a long time, moved towards *Longpre*. When his Men were about mid-way, the six Guns began to play upon them, and rak'd quite cross so effectually, that they took off whole Ranks together: nevertheless they had not above five hundred paces more to get quit of this Storm, and be out of danger, and then might easily have gained *Longpre* and the Bridge. But this unexpected Slaughter discomposing him the more, because his Spies had assur'd him there were no Cannon near that place, he commanded them to gain the Hill that they might

might be secure; which exposed them in truth much longer to the fury of the Cannon, and cost them two hundred Men in stead of fifty. His Council thought convenient that from thence he should go and Post himself at St. Sauveur, which is a quarter of a League more to the left hand on the Rivers side.

The night was spent in perpetual alarms, mean time the Duke of Mayenne for fear of falling the next day into the same peril as before, caused the Avenues to Longpre speedily to be fortified. This proved a necessary work, for on the Morrow the Arch-Duke laid a Bridge over against St. Sauveur, and immediately endeavour'd to pass his Forces to assault Longpre; but found the French so well prepared to receive them in every part, that he durst engage no farther. From that very time he began to consider of his retreat, and at night went to lodge at Vignancour. Neither did he remain there above four or five hours; For finding the King follow'd him with all his Army, excepting four thousand Men, whom he left in the Trenches, and that his Post was not tenable, he dislodg'd a little after midnight. If the King had been believed, he could not have got off without a Battle; There is some probability he might have gained it against an Army disordered by their hasty retreat, and then no doubt but the Conquest of the Low-Countries would have been the consequence of that Victory. However his Captains considering the chance of War is ever uncertain, and that the Kingdom of France would have run too great a hazard in his person, because in the present Condition of things, his Succession must have been very Disputable and Contentious, they restrained his forward heat and brought him back to the Siege.

The Arch-Duke being returned into Atois employ'd his Forces for the taking Monthulieu which incommoded Arras, then dismissed them, and retired to Arras. He there fell sick, of Grief, as it was said, for having no better succeeded in his Enterprize of Amiens; and for the loss, during his absence, of seven or eight places taken by Prince Maurice along the River Rhine, and in the Country of Over-Iffel.

The same day he went off, the Besieged being Summoned, which was upon the Nineteenth of September, did not think convenient to stand so obstinately on a defence which might have held long indeed, but had been to no purpose, and only dangerous to themselves. They Capitulated therefore upon the best Conditions usually granted on the like occasions, and promised to surrender in six days, unless they were relieved within that time; They were allowed to send notice of it to the Arch-Duke, and gave Hostages for performance of the Agreement. The said Term expired, they rendered the Town in the Morning of the Five and twentieth of the Month: The Constable received it in the Name of the King, they going forth about Ten of the Clock the same day, carrying off together with their Baggage three hundred wounded Men, and a thousand Women, whereof four hundred belonged to that City.

The King being on Horseback at the Head of his Army, with great kindness permitted Montenegro and the other Captains to salute him by embracing his Knees. At Evening he made his entrance into the City, and gave the Government to Dominiak de Vie, who finding but Eight hundred Inhabitants there in all, re-peopled it with four thousand within two years after, and obtain'd the re-establishment of all their Privileges, but could not prevent the raising a Citadel over their Heads, which makes their Posterity sigh to this very day, for the neglect of their great Grand-fathers.

The King himself carried the news of the surrender of Amiens to the Arch-Duke who was in Arras, went to visit him there with his whole Army, and to salute him with some Voices of Cannon; Then finding no body mov'd, he returned to Dourlens and invested it. But the Rains, the Myre, the scarcity of Provisions, the too great Fatigues, and the Maladies proceeding from all those inconveniences, constrained them to decamp before the end of the Month of October with great damage and some shame.

"Towards the end of this year the Dutchy of Ferrara, for want of Heirs Males, reverted to the Holy See by the Death of Duke Alphonso II. the last Legitimate Prince of the House of Est, and Son of Hercules II. and of Madam Renée of France.

"France. Ferrara was of the number of those Territories which the Countess Matilda Daughter and Heiress to the eldest of the House of Est, gave to the Holy See for the sake of Pope Gregory VII. about the year 1077. Since that time the Male-offspring of the other Brothers, bearing the Title of Marquis d'Est, had ever enjoy'd it, not as Proprietors, but only Vicars of the Holy See, till the year 1471. that Pope Paul erected it to a Duchy and invited Bonifacio therewith; to whom the Emperor had also given Modena and Regio with the like Titles.

"Now the Duke Alphonso II. seeing himself without Male Children, had made divers Applications to the Pope and the Emperor, to obtain the transport of his Dutches to Cesar d'Est who was his Kinsman. The Court of Rome did not think him fit to succeed, because his Father, who was an Alphonso, was reputed but the Natural Son of Duke Alphonso I. of that name. Thus on that side he could get no ground, but he gave such vast Sums to the Emperor Rodolphus, that he granted him the transport of the Dutchy Modena and Regio, of the Principality of Carpi, and some other Territories holding of the Empire. He made account that with all these, together with the great Wealth, and the good Friends he should leave him, he might be able to maintain himself by force in the Dutchy of Ferrara. In effect, when he died, which hapned the Twenty seventh of October, Cesar believing he should be supported by the Venetians, and even the Spaniards too, got into possession, and at first stood firm against the Excommunications of Pope Clement, and against his Army which was commanded by the Cardinal Aldobrandini Legat and Nephew of his Holiness; but when he understood that the King of France, which he never did imagine, took the affirmative for the Pope, and found the dread of this great Power had cooled his Allies, and affrighted the Ferrareses, he threw down his Sword, and made his Accommodation about the end of December. By the Treaty, he restored the Dutchy of Ferrara, to the Pope: Who left him all the free Lands, or Estate, which the House of Est had possessed there, and granted that he and the Dukes his Descendants, should have in Rome the same Rank, and the same Prerogatives as the Dukes of Ferrara had there enjoy'd.

The City of Paris honour'd the Kings Victory with a Triumphant Entrance they made for him. He pass'd the whole Winter in his Louvre hearkning to Propositions of Peace, but making, however, preparations for War, employing his Intelligences to disunite the Huguenots, and above all to regulate and meliorate his Finances. As to the Peace, while he was yet before Dourlens, Villeroi on his behalf, and John Richardot on the Arch-Dukes, conferr'd together upon the Frontiers of Picardy and Atois, and had agreed together that both Kings should send their Deputies to Veruins, where the Popes Legat was to be present in quality of Mediator.

Both were equally inclined to it upon different Considerations, Henry IV. after so many fatigues and pains, earnestly desired to enjoy his repose, and apprehended left by the continuation of a War Fortune should shew him such another slippery trick as the surprisal of Amiens, that some new Faction should start up within his Kingdom amongst the Grantees, or the Huguenots, or even in his own House, because he had no Children. As for King Philip, he found himself even dying, and saw his Son both weak and unexperient'd; so that they were both relolved to proceed with more sincerity than is wont to be practised on such occasions.

The King for this purpose named Pomponne de Believre, and Brissard de Sillery, both Counsellors of State, and the latter also a President in Parliament. The Arch-Duke having powers from the King of Spain (who had contrived it thus, that so if his Deputies must give place, the shame would be the less to him) made choice of John Richardot President of the Catholick Kings Council in the Low-Countries, John Baptist Taffir Knight of the Order of St. James, and Louis Verreiken Audienier, Prime Secretary and Treasurer of the Council of State.

Those of France arrived at Veruins the Seventh of February, those of Spain a few days after. The French, as being at home, went to visit them first, yet would not extend their civility so far as to give them the upper-hand at their meeting. This was a great stumbling Block at their very entrance: the Legat found an Expedient to remove it. He took the higher end, as it belonged to him, placed his Nuncio at his right hand, and gave the French their choice either to sit beneath the Nuncio, or right over against him. They chose the latter; and left the other to the Spaniard.

1597.
September.

1597.
September.

October
November.

October, &c.

1597.

November and
December.

1598.
January.

1598.
February.

This

This method satisfied them all, these vaunting they had the right hand, and the other that they were seated nearest to the Legat, besides that he to whom we allow the choice hath the advantage.

They first agreed to a Cessation of Arms for four Leagues round *Vervins*, and safe-Conducts for their Carriers that should travel to *Paris* and *Brussels*. The King had explained himself that he could not Treat, unless they would put things into the same condition as they were stated by the Treaty of *Cateau in Cambrézy*, Anno 1559. and that they would comprehend his Allies: the Deputies for the Arch-Duke agreed to the first: but having no express Commission for the second, they were forced to send into *Spain* about it. A general one was sent them, but with private Orders, enjoying them not to comprehend the Rebels of the United Provinces, whom they pretended to be still their Subjects, or else in exchange to comprehend on their side the Duke of *Mercur*, who was no more Rebel, said they, then those Provinces, as also the Duke of *Savoy*, who should not be obliged to restore the Marquise of *Saluzzo*.

These were two great difficulties: there were also two others, the one concerning the manner and time for restoring of places, and the other the business of *Cambray*: for the *French* demanded it should be left to its Neutrality, and that the Citadel should be razed, and the *Spaniards* were obstinate for holding it, because, as they pleaded, they had conquer'd it from an Usurper.

But for the two first, the Kings indulgent Fortune and the faithful Care of his Officers surmounted them. The Duke of *Savoy* in the beginning of *February*, had again taken the Field with a considerable Army, having *Albigny* for Lieutenant, lately entr'd into his Service. With these Forces he regained *Aignobelle*, and then beleagued *Charbonnières*, a place standing upon a high Rock at the entrance into the passage of *Chambéry* near *St. Jean de Maurienne*. *Lefdiguières* sent *Cresqui* with Twelve hundred Men to its relief; the Duke suffering him to approach, hemm'd him so dexterously in amongst the streights of those Mountains, with all his Men, that he defeated one Party of them, and compell'd the rest with their Commander, to lay down their Arms and surrender themselves, after they had lain one night in the Snow.

This defeat had carried such a dread into *Dauphine* and *Lyonnois*, where there were at that time no Forces, as it put the Duke upon a new attempt against those Provinces. *Lefdiguières* himself pretended to be amazed at the blow, and perhaps might be so: but the old Fox * having recover'd his senses, contriv'd a design which put a stop to all the Dukes further Conquests. This was the taking the *Fort de Barraux*: He attacked it the night of the Thirtieth of *March* by Moon-shine, and gained it by meer strength in less then two hours time, although the Garrison had notice of the Enterprize, and waited him with their Marches ready lighted and cock'd.

The reputation of this Action was very great, though the importance of the place was not so, the *Savoy* Ambassador did not talk now so loud at *Vervins*. However he stood stiff for the Marquisate: but the *Spaniards* did not so back him as they ought to have done their Masters Son in Law, but obliged him to relinquish. So that as to what concerned him, they came to an Agreement, "That the Pope should be sole Judge of the Differences between him and the King; That his Holiness should decide them within one years time; That if he should happen to die before that time, there should be a three Months Truce between the Parties, during which they should make choice of some other Arbitrators: That in the interim the Duke should surrender the City of *Berre* in *Provence*, which he yet held, and that he should disown Captain *la Fortune*, who had seized upon *Seure* * in *Burgundy* in his name; That the Duke should stand Neuter between the two Crowns.

As to the Duke of *Mercur*, he seeking every day new pretences and shifts to delay his Agreement, hoping the *Spaniards* would comprehend him amongst their Allies: the King was advis'd by *Schomberg* to draw towards *Bretagne*, that so his presence might wholly quell the Duke, and likewise determine the business of the *Huguenots*: He follow'd this good Advice, and sent Order to *Brissac* to begin the War, whilst he prepared for that Expedition, and appointed a Council at *Paris* to govern there during his absence, and Forces to guard the Frontiers against any invasion of the Arch-Dukes.

So soon as *Brissac* had drawn the Sword, he executed an Enterprize projected upon *Dinan*. The Inhabitants having barricado'd themselves against the Castle; he besieged it, and took it upon Composition. The King departed from *Paris* in the Month

February.

1598.
February.

* The Duke of Savoy called him so.

March.

March and April.

* It is now called Belle-Garde.

Month of *February*: The rumour of his March so terrified those Captains that held the little places upon the Frontiers of *Bretagne*, as *Craon* and *Rebsefort* in *Anjou*, *Montjan* in the Country of *Maine*, *Mirabeau* in *Touraine*, *Tiffauger* in *Poitou*, and *Ancenis* even in *Bretagne*, that they brought the Keyes to him on his way.

February.

1598.
February.

The Dukes astonishment was great, when he heard those places he expected should serve him as Out-works to retard the Kings Progress, were fallen in a moment, and so had left all those he held in *Bretagne* wholly naked, and besides much startled by their example. There being now no other Refuge for him but the Kings Clemency, he had recourse to it by the intercession of the Kings Mistress, newly made Dutcheis of *Beaufort*, who offer'd to obtain honourable Conditions for him, provided he would bestow his only Daughter in Marriage upon her eldest Son, who by the Courtiers was called *Cesar-Monsieur*. He did not reject this Proposition; but his Wife (*Mary de Luxembourg-Marignier*) a proud and haughty Princess, could not condescend. Her Husband notwithstanding knowing what power the Ladies had with the King, sent her before-hand, and charged her to offer the said Daughter to him, to be disposed of in favour of that Prince as best pleased him.

April.

Both of them hoped this Lure would dispose the Dame to render them the good Offices they stood in need of, and that afterwards they should find means to delay the accomplishment of their Promise, during which, time might bring forth some favourable occasion to change the Scene, or turn the Tide another way. But this Dame, as crafty as themselves, made no great haste to serve them, but on the contrary would let them know her intercession only could save them. When therefore the Dutcheis of *Mercur* presented her self one Morning at the Gates of *Angers*, she was rudely turned back, and forced to retire to *Pont de Ce*: but when her Pride thus humbled, had taught her to refer her self wholly to the will of the fair Dame, she was the very same day sent for, and the King soon moved with the Tears of that obliging Sex, and very ready to grant what his Mistress requested, allowed the Duke an Edict almost as honourable as he could have expected when his power was greatest.

For having taken care in the Preface of it to excuse him, though after his Reconciliation with the Pope, nay, even after the coming of the Legat into *France*, he had not submitted to him, supposing he acted in that manner for some reasons that respected the preservation of *Bretagne*, which must have run the hazard of being invaded by Strangers, whilst the Forces of *France* were employ'd upon the Frontiers of *Picardy*: He declared, "That he held him, and all those that had follow'd his Party, for good and faithful Subjects, restored them to their Estates and Commands; Revoked all Judgments given against them; Confirmed all such as had been made by the Members of Parliament and Prebendal Courts of that Party. Moreover he gave the Duke Two hundred thirty six thousand Crowns Reparations for his Warlike Expences, and Seventeen thousand Crowns Pension; Besides this a permission to sell of the Corn that was in store to the value of Fifty thousand Crowns; The keeping of the Castles of *Guingamp*, *Montenort*, and *Lamballe*; Pass-ports for the *Spaniards* who lay in the River of *Nautes* to retire; and power to keep the Places and Forces he then had, till a Month after the Verification of this Edict; Not to mention several other the like Conditions as those granted in the Edict for the Duke of *Mayenne*.

1598.
April.

The Price of so honourable a Treaty was his Daughter, whom the King in few days betrothed to his Son *Cesar*. He had legitimated and enriched him with the Dutchy of *Vendosme*, to be by him held with the same Rights and Advantages as the preceding Dukes had enjoy'd, and with a promise to give him within four years wherewith to redeem all its Lands that had been alienated. Which the Parliament verified, without drawing any consequence for such other Lands as were of the Kings Patrimony, which by the Laws of the Kingdom were re-united to the Crown from the moment he attained it. The Treaty made, the Duke of *Mercur* came to *Angers* to salute the King, who received him as his Sons Father in Law. The Contract for this future Marriage was sealed in the Castle belonging to the said Town, and the *Fiancailles*, or Betrothings were celebrated in the same place, with as much Pomp as if he had been a Son of *France*. The Cardinal de *Joyeuse* not disdaining to perform the Ceremony.

From *Angers* the King descended to *Nantes*, and from thence went to *Renee*, where the Estates of *Bretagne* were held. He sojourned about two Months in those two Cities, employing that time in putting every thing in good order for the quiet and se-

curity of the Province, and collecting Twelve hundred thousand Crowns; the greatest part whereof was given him by the Estates of that Country.

Whilst he was at *Nantes* he finished the business of the *Huguenots*. Their Deputies being come to him at *Bleis*, he made them follow him thither, and had put them off till after his Treaty with the Duke of *Mercour*. That Treaty being perfected, he would yet have made some further delay, but they press'd it so home that he could scarce find any reasonable Excuse. And besides he apprehended lest their despair should in the end put them upon some undertaking that might retard the Peace with *Spain*, and give the Leaguers a plausible pretence to re-unite and take up Arms again. This Consideration, above any thing else, oblig'd him to grant them the Edict, which from the name of that Town, is called the *Edict of Nantes*.

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April.

It contains Ninety two Articles, which are almost the same as those in the foregoing Edicts granted to them: but it is more advantageous, in that it opens them a Door to Offices of Judicature and Finance. There were added fifty six other Articles which are called *Secret*, the most important being that which left them several Places of Security, besides all those they already held. This Edict is that Safe-guard under which they have lived to this very hour in security and quiet, and freely enjoy'd the Exercise of their Religion. The King durst not send it to the Parliament to be verified, till the Legat were out of the Kingdom, so that it came not thither till the following year.

They labour'd incessantly at *Vervins* about the Peace, the *French* did not insist so much now on *Cambrai*, although they had not yet pass'd by that Article. The Arch-Duke impatient to consummate his Marriage with the Infanta *Clara-Eugenia*, hasten'd as much as possible he could the grave peace of the *Spaniards*, and oblig'd his Deputies to step over many trivial things. Had it not been for the Allies of *France*, the Treaty had been finish'd in less than three weeks. The King demand'd a two Months Cessation of Arms for them, that they might send their Ambassadors, the *Spaniards* refused it absolutely; and upon this Contest, the violent Spirits belonging to either Court, the chief Commanders of their Armies, and those that desired troubled Waters, did not fail to press for a Rupture with all their might and interest, but it availed nothing, the two Princes were of a contrary disposition.

In the mean time the *English* Ambassadors arriv'd at Court, which as then was at *Nantes*: they did not shew themselves much averse to the Peace, for the difficulties did not concern them, but the States, from whom they had Orders not to separate. Now those would have none at all: knowing too well the Peace could not be made without some prejudice to their liberty, for which they had fought almost thirty years, and without which they neither valued their Estates nor Lives, chusing rather, therefore, to hazard all then to lose the Recompence of so much Labour, Blood, and Treasure. One thing besides confirm'd them yet more in this generous Resolution, which was a Dispatch they intercepted coming from the King of *Spain*, which gave his Deputies Order not to compromise them, unless upon Condition to restore the Roman Religion over all their Country, to reduce it to an absolute Obedience, and fill up all Offices with Catholic Magistrates.

1598.
April.

Whereupon there were no Efforts, no Offers but they made to the King to persuade him to continue the War: he was gone on too far not to finish the Treaty, and sent to his Deputies to conclude it, provided they could first obtain the Cessation of Arms for his Allies, which had been so earnestly demand'd; and promised the *English* that he would not Ratify it till forty days after his Deputies had Signed it.

May.

Now they did Sign it the Second day of *May*, and on the Twelfth they put it into the hands of the Legat, praying him to keep it secret till the two Months of the Cessation were expired. And yet the King made no scruple of publishing it to the Estates of *Bretagne*, telling them he was going into *Picardy* to carry the Ratification himself. In effect he went away with that design, having first given the Government of *Bretagne* to the little Duke of *Vendosme*, upon the surrender of the Duke of *Mercour* his Father in Law: but an indisposition befall him on his way which constrain'd him to return to *Paris*.

The Queen of *England* unable to prevail with him to allow one Month beyond the forty days, wrote to him of it with Reproaches, and in terms which accus'd him of unthankfulness. The *English* declaim'd most outrageously in the Court of *France* against his proceeding, and made their Complaints come to the Ears of all the Protestant Princes, the *Hollanders* behaved themselves more modestly. It was endeavour'd

endeavour'd to satisfy both the one and the others with weighty Reason of State, and with many examples of the like, and they were often-times exhorted to enter into the same Treaty by that Door which was left open for them.

This seems to have been done only out of good manners, for they knew well enough it was not their interest to come in; and perhaps some would have been much puzzled if they had been persuaded to it. However it were, the Deputies of the latter sent the King word the term of two Months was too short to Affemble the Estates of all their Provinces, and the Queen of *England* made him understand she would not be divided from them.

Having, as he believed, therefore satisfied in every point of that devoir he owed to his Alliance, and his Reputation, he sent his Ratification to his Deputies about the end of *May*, the date in Blank, with order not to fill it up till the Twelfth of *June*, at which time expired the forty days granted to Queen *Elizabeth*. That day the Peace was proclaimed at *Vervins*, and afterwards in all the Cities both of *France* and the *Low-Countries*, with such lowd Expressions of Mirth and Joy as resounded thorough all the Kingdoms of *Europe*, and gave no less terror to the *Turks*, than content to the greater part of Christians.

May.

1598.
June.

The same four Lords whom the Arch-Duke gave as Hostages for the restitution of Places, viz. *Charles de Crouy* Duke of *Arfchot*, *Francis de Mendoza* Admiral of *Aragon*, *Charles de Ligne* Earl of *Arenberg* Knight of the Golden Fleece, and *Lewis de Velasco* Grand Master of the Ordinance, serving as Ambassadors with *Richardot* and *Verreiken*, brought the Ratification to the King, and Witnessed his Swearing to the Treaty in *Notre-Dame* the One and twentieth of *June*, there being present on behalf of the Duke of *Savoy* *Gaspard de Geneva* Marquis of *Eulins*, and *Renard Rencor* his Secretary of State. Reciprocally the *Marechal de Biron*, *Billieure* and *Sillery*, did the same for the Arch-Duke at *Brussels* the Six and twentieth of the same Month; and *William de Gadagne Boteau* at the Duke of *Savoy's*, who did not Swear it till the Second day of *August* at *Chambery*. King *Philip* the Second Signed the Articles indeed, but being prevented by Death could not Swear to them with the same Ceremonies as the rest of the Princes had done.

This is the Substance of the most Essential Articles. "The Treaty was concluded conformably and in approbation of that of *Cateau-Cambrésis*; of which "and the precedent ones nothing was to be innovated, but such things as should "appear to derogate from this same." If any Subject of either of these two Kings "should go to serve their Enemies by Sea or Land, they should be punished as Infra- "ctors and Disturbers of the Publick Peace. Such as had been forced out of their "Lands, Offices and Benefices, accompting from the year 1588. should be restored, "however they should not enter upon any Lands of the Kings without Letters Patents "under the Great Seal. In case the King of *Spain* should give the *Low-Countries*, "and the Counties of *Burgundy* and *Charolois* to the Infanta his Daughter, she and "her Territories should be comprised in this Treaty, without making any new one "for that purpose. The two Kings should mutually surrender what they had taken "the one from the other since the year 1559. viz. the Most Christian King the "County of *Charolois*, and the Catholic King the Cities of *Calais*, *Ardes*, *Mont- "thulin*, *Doirent*, *la Capelle*, and *le Catlet* in *Picardy*, as also *Blavet* in *Bretagne*, "For security whereof he should give up four Hostages (these were the above- "named.) Both the one and the other reserving all his Rights, Pretensions and "Actions, to what he had not renounced, but should not pursue, or prosecute the "same but only by way of amity and Justice. (This had regard to *Navarre* and "the Dutchy of *Burgundy*.) It was likewise said; "That this Treaty should be Ve- "rified, Published, and Registr'd in the Court of Parliament of *Paris*, Chamber "of Accompts, and other Parliaments; and on the same day in the Grand Council, "other Councils, and *Chambre des Comptes* of the *Low-Countries*.

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June.

The Interests of the Duke of *Savoy* were therein treated in such manner as we have related: There was nothing mentioned of the Duke of *Florence*, because he pretended not to be in War, and said he had seiz'd on the Islands of *Marfelles* only for satisfaction of certain Sums of Money owing by the King to him, and whereof they had stopp'd or diverted the Assignments; Add that *d'Offus* was gone to *Florence* to determine the said difference. In effect he did decide it the Ninth day of *May*, upon these Conditions; "That the Duke should render the Islands of *If* and *Pommequer*, "and might carry thence his Cannon, Equipage, and Ammunition. For which the "King should own himself his Debtor for Two hundred thousand Crowns: That

May.

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"good

"good Assignments should be given him for it, and for Security of the said Payment
"twelve Notables of the *French* whom himself should nominate.

End of the
League and
the War.

This were extinguished to the very last Spark, not only that Civil War the League had kindled in the Bowels of *France*, but likewise those Firebrands which that Faction had fetched in from other Countries; And this Kingdom being now in perfect quiet, had no more to do but by gentle degrees endeavour to repair the infinite damage they had suffer'd, and to recruit their Strength and Forces, half consumed by so many ghastly Wounds, and so great an effusion of their best Blood,

The first discharge for the People and for the Kings Coffers, was to disband all they well could of those Armies then on foot. This Cashiering having filled the Woods and High-ways with a world of Robbers, the Prevosts had Order to fowre about the Countries to suppress them; And because many of them were brave Fellows whose desperate condition put them upon this last shift, and made them bloody in their own defence, the King to take away this mischief, made a Declaration the Fourth of *August*, "Which did forbid the use of Fire-Arms to all sorts of People, "excepting his Gentildames, Light-Horsemen of his Guards, his Companies d'*Ordinance*, and all Prevosts and their Archers, enjoying every one to run upon and apprehend all that should therein transgress; allowing notwithstanding the use of Fowling-pieces to Gentlemen for their Sports upon their own Grounds.

1598.
August.

The same Month the King being at *Monceaux*, the Treaty of Marriage was concluded between Madam *Catharine* the Kings Sister, (aged near Forty years) and *Henry* Duke of *Bar*, Son of *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine*. Several difficulties in matters of Religion had held it in debate for above two years together. The Nuptials were defer'd till the beginning of the year following, the two Parties having but little satisfaction in being made a Sacrifice by their parents to interest of State, against the sentiments of their Consciences.

The Ecclesiastical Discipline being much neglected during the time of War, the King allowed of an Assembly of the Clergy at *Paris*, the Deputies having confer'd together touching their Interests, *Francis* de *Guefle* Archbishop of *Tours*, was enjoyned to make him some Remonstrances. He demanded the Publication of the Council of *Trent*, (excepting only such Heads as might infringe the liberties of the *Gallican* Church, and the privileges of Sovereign Courts;) There-establishment of Canonical Elections, for Benefices having Cure of Souls; The revocation of Briefs of Nomination to such as were not vacant; as also those for Pensions granted to Laicks on those Fonds; Full liberty for the Clergy to enjoy their Revenue without any other obligation but that of doing their Functions; The Reparation of Churches and other Sacred Places; and the due observation of those Contracts the Clergy had made with the King.

His Answer was concise, grave, and full of excellent things: he told them he took their Exhortations in good part, but he exhorted them likewise to well doing, and to concur with him towards the Reformation of Abuses; That he had not occasioned them, but that he had found them, and that they must proceed gradually, as in all things of such great importance; That hitherto they had met with nothing but fair words, but he would give them good effects, and that they should find under his grey and dusty Coat, he was all Gold within; (By this he reflected on the breach of Faith, and Luxury of his Predecessors) That to each of their demands, he would return his Answers, as speedily as he could deliberate with his Council.

"King *Philip* II. had not the pleasure of enjoying his Peace long, nor to see the so much desired Marriage of his Daughter, he dying at the *Escurial* the Thirtieth of *September*. He was Aged Seventy and two years, whereof he had Reigned two and forty and nine Months since the abdication of his Father. *Philip* III. his only Son, was then but in his Twentieth year, he left him all his vast Estates, excepting the *Low-Countries*, and the *Franche-Comte*, which he gave in Dowry to his dear Daughter *Isabella*.

It was upon Condition, "That those Provinces should return to the Crown of *Spain* upon default of Heirs Male or Female; That if they fell to a Daughter, he should not Marry without the consent of the Catholic King; That upon every Mutation, the new Succellor should take a new Oath to preserve the Catholic Religion, and if he departed from it he should forfeit all his right to those Pro-

1598.
September.

"vinces; That they should have no Commerce to the *East* and *West Indies*; That the King reserv'd to himself to be the Chief, of the Order of the Fleece, and to place Governors and Garisons in the Citadels of *Antwerp*, *Ghent*, and *Cambrai*; "who should Swear to him and to the Princes of the *Low-Countries*.

"A Hectique Fever had wasted this King for above fifteen Months, when the Gout seiz'd him most cruelly upon the Eve of *St. John*: these Acid Humours bred Swellings and Impothumes which broke out first on his Knee, then in divers parts of his Body, whence issued perpetual swarms of Lice, which could be no way prevented. To this was joyned a perpetual *Satyriasm* * which drained all his Strength and Blood with a most dreadful Prurience. The horrible stench proceeding from his Ulcers, and those loathsome Insects which eat him to the Bones, made the very Hearts of all that did but approach him ready to faint, but yet his own did not: he endured all these Torments with so marvellous a patience, and kept his Mind and Spirit in so steady and firm a posture to his last gasp, that they could hardly judge whether they beheld in him the greater Example of Humane Misery, or of Heroick Constancy.

"In this ruinous Body crimpling away thus by piecemeal, his Judgment sou'd and entire, dispos'd yet of his greatest Affairs: and at the moment of being no more, endeavour'd to extend his Dominion to the future, labouring to draw up Councils, Advice, and Memoirs to direct the Government of his Son. Many were found after his death, of which some stole into the publick Light; vain and ambitious Care! Princes will Reign according to their own fancies, they seldom or never will believe their Predecessors; Therefore well may they imagine their Successors will as little believe them, or follow their Instructions.

"He made his Will two years before his death: by a Codicil he enjoynd his Son to have the business of *Nanarre* well examined, and to do right to the Heirs of *John d'Albret* if it were theirs. He said, his Father *Charles* V. had Ordained him to do the same by his Will: but his vast Employments had not allowed him time to think of it. At the end of this Codicil he added a Clause which destroy'd his former Order: It was, That they should not make the said Restitution or Reward, but in case it would be no way a prejudice to the Catholic Religion, or to the Tranquillity of his Estates: Wherefore this Clog? Did he think to bargain with God Almighty? At the same instant that this remorse of Conscience press'd him to restore his Neighbours Goods, his wicked Politiques interven'd and suggested these Subterfuges to detain them; Thus he became doubly guilty, first for not doing Justice himself, and then for recommending it to his Successors upon such terms as would be sure to hinder them from doing it likewise.

"Before the news of his death arriv'd in *Flanders*, the Archduke was gone thence, having deposited the Sacred Purple in the Church of *Notre-Dame de Haux* within two Leagues of *Brussels*, and left the Government of the *Low-Countries* to the Cardinal *Andrea* of *Austria*, in the name of the Infanta *Isabella* who had there been owned for Princess. He pass'd by *Tirol*, whence he carried *Margaret* Daughter of the Archduke *Charles* (who was dead) and the Widow, his Mother, to *Ferrara*. They were received very solemnly, and Pope *Clement*, who had been in that City from the Eighteenth of *May*, celebrated the Marriage of King *Philip* III. with *Margaret*, and of the Archduke with the Infanta *Isabella*, *Albert* being Proxy for the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Sesse* for *Isabella*. The new Queen and the Archduke did afterwards stay two Months in *Milan*, then in the Month of *February* of the following year, they embarked at *Genoa* for *Spain*, where this double Marriage was Celebrated between the said Parties in the City of *Valencia* in the Month of *April*.

A little before Mid-*October*, the King being at *Monceaux*, (an Estate which he had given to his Mistress) as he was beginning to enter upon a Diet, he fell ill of a retention of Urine attended with a higher Fever and frequent fits of fainting, which gave some apprehension that he was near his end: but the cause being remov'd, he was immediately relieved, and left his Bed within two days.

His Mistress having thus seen her self so near the Precipice, did sollicite him eternally to Marry her, and press'd him with the more confidence, as her tender care and watchfulness express'd in this occasion, seem'd to oblig'd him to make good his Promise; and really she was not unworthy of that Honour, setting aside some inconveniencies

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September.

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January, &c.

conveniencies might have ensued. Soon after the Cardinal *de Medicis*, being come to take leave for his return to *Rome*, the King discover'd to him the design he had to justify her, and intreated he would do him the good office to persuade the Pope to dissolve his Marriage with Queen *Margaret*. The Legat answer'd, very coldly, that his Holiness had sent him into *France* for no other business but what concerned the Peace, which having successfully mediated, he was now going to give an account to the Pope. The King repented he had discover'd his Heart so openly to one whom he perceived was no favourer of his design : and therefore the year after when he sent *Sillery* to *Rome*, he enjoyned him expressly to assure that Cardinal all those fancies were dispell'd.

In the beginning of the year 1599. three or four illustrious Marriages filled the Court with Divertilements; First that of Madam *Catherine* the Kings Sister with the Duke of *Bar*, which was Celebrated on the last day of *January*, some while after, that of *Charles* Duke of *Nevers* with *Catherine* Daughter of the Duke of *Mayenne*, and that of *Henry* Son of that Duke with *Henrietta* Sister of *Charles*, and then that of *Henry* Duke of *Montpesier* and *Henrietta Catherine*, only Daughter of *Henry* Duke of *Joyeuse*, and Heiress of that rich House. The King the same year erected *Aiguillon* to a Duchy and Pairie in favour of the Duke of *Mayenne* Son.

The Duke of *Bar* had great repugnance for his Marriage to a *Huguenot* Princess, who, besides was of Kindred in the third and fourth degree, and therefore stood in need of a double dispensation, the one for diversity of Religion, the other for Parentage; but the Duke his Father thinking to find great advantage in this Match, passed over all those Scruples of Conscience. The difficulty was to find a Prelat that would adventure to Celebrate this discordant Marriage: many whom they solicited did flatly refuse it; the Archbishop of *Rome*, Balfard Brother to the King, after a little intreaty, lent a helping hand, and tied the Nuptial Knot in the Kings Closet, and in his presence, thinking it unbecomming to deny so small a piece of Service to him who had so lately promoted him to so fair an Archbishoprick.

After the Solemnities of those Weddings were past, two unexpected changes gave the Court just cause of admiration; the one was of that same *Henry* Duke of *Joyeuse* who had newly Married his Daughter, the other of *Antoinette* Sister to the defunct Duke of *Longueville*, and Widow of the Marquis de *Belle-Ile*. The first, as we have formerly related, came out of the *Capucins* Covent, Anno 1592. Now being moved with his Mothers Tears, a Lady very devout, and very scrupulous, pressed by the summons of his own Conscience, peequ'd at some words utter'd by the King, and solicited by the Popes secret Admonitions, (for he had given him dispensation to marry abroad in the World but while the Catholick Religion should need his assistance) he resolv'd to make good his Vow, and having sent his Marshalls Staff and blew Ribbon to the King, retired to the *Capucins* Covent in *Paris*. They were much amazed, three or four days afterwards, to see him in a Pulpit, where that Penitential Habit, and his Sermons much fuller of Zeal, then Learning, gave him more lustre in the opinions of the People, then either his Birth or Dignity had given him at Court.

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May.

For the Marchioness of *Belle-Ile*, one of the handfomest and tidiest Ladies of her time, having left *Bretagne* without communicating the design to any of her Relations, she went and cast her self into a Covent of *Excilantines* newly instituted at *Toulouze*. It was said, that a secret displeasure for that a Soldier whom she had employ'd to revenge the death of her Husband upon *Kermartin*, was Hanged, the not being able to obtain his Pardon, gave her so much distaste that she would never converse more with the World by whom she had been so slighted.

In the beginning of the year, *Sillery* being sent to *Rome* about the business of the Marquise of *Salusser*, had Orders likewise to solicit the dissolution of the Kings Marriage. The hopes of having the Seals upon his return, was a powerful motive to make him act with all his might, for the Dutchess of *Beaufort* had promised he would get them for him, without any regard to the Interest of the Chancellor *de de Chiverny*, a good Friend to her Sister *de Sourdis*; believing she had done sufficiently for her by obtaining a Cardinals Hat for her eldest Son.

The first point of *Sillery's* Commission had not proved difficult but only for that Queen *Margaret* knowing very well, the King after he had repudiated her, would Marry

Marry the Dutchess, gave notice to the Pope how for that very reason, the would never consent; And the Pope for the same cause had repugnance enough to it; For he did not see very well how he could Legitimate Children that were born in Adultery, and forelaw great troubles for the Succession of the Kingdom, for as much as the Princes of the Blood would never have agreed to it, and besides the Children that should have come afterwards, being born in lawful Wedlock, would have disputed it with the former. However the King importun'd him extremely by his Agents, and it was to be doubted left to go a shorter way he should make Process against Queen *Margaret* for Adultery, and do by her as *Philip* the Fair had done by his eldest Sons Wife.

Thereupon, I cannot say what hand, (but certainly a very wicked one, although the Consequence were beneficial to the whole Nation) did not untie but cut the knot of all these difficulties. The Dutchess of *Beaufort* did never leave the King, and was gone with him to *Fontainebleau*, being big with Child: The Easter Holidays approaching, he desired she would, to avoid scandal, go and pass them at *Paris*, and lodge at *Sebastian Zamet*, that rich Partisan who owned himself Master of Seventeen hundred thousand Crowns. Now one *Mandy-Thurday*, this Fellow having taken a most particular care to treat her with such Viands as he knew were most agreeable to her Palate, it hapned that going to the *Tenebrae** at the Little *Saint Antoinne*, she fell into a Swoon; Immediately they bring her back to *Zamet*: but her illness increasing, she had no patience till they had removed her out of that cursed House. They convey'd her therefore to her Sister *Sourdis*; and there was she taken with such violent and strange Convulsions, that she died the next day. The King who was coming from *Fontainebleau*, upon the news of this accident, being informed of her death at *Ville-Juif*, turned short back again with what grief we may imagine, but which was soon dilogged by a fresh Engagement.

April.

* Matins in Lent in the R. C. Churches.

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After her death she appeared so hideous, and her Visage so disfigur'd, none could behold her without horror. Her Enemies from thence took an occasion to make the People believe it was the Devil had put her into that sad and dismal plight, affirming she had sold her self to him upon condition she should alone engross all the Kings favour. They made the like Story of *Louisa de Bador*, Wife of the Constable de *Montmorency*, who died this year with the same Symptoms; and true it is, there was in either of their deaths, not really the operation, but the instigation of him who hath been a Murderer from the beginning.

The Pope believed it was a favour granted by Heaven in answer to his Prayers: so soon as he heard the news, he became very inclinable to dissolve the Marriage of Queen *Margaret*. This Princess keeping her self still shut up in the Castle of *Esson* in *Auvergne*, having been parted from her Husband almost fourteen years, had hitherto denied to give her consent: but after she was acquainted with the news of this Ladies death, she sent her Petition to the King, desiring the might be permitted to Address her self to the Pope, to demand, He would pronounce the Nullity of her Marriage, since there having never been any mutual consent, but a manifest compulsion, besides the diversity in Religion, and Parentage in the third degree, and for that the dispensation which was necessary upon those two Heads, having never been demanded by the two Parties, nor notified in due time and form as they ought to have been, it was Null.

The King allowed her Applications to the Pope; who having read her Petition which contained these Reasons, and likewise one from the King which tended to the same purpose, named the Cardinal of *Joyeuse*, *Horace de Monte* a Neapolitan Archbishop of *Arles*, and *Gaspard* Bishop of *Modena* Nuncio for his Holiness, to Judge of this Affair upon the place, telling them that if the Allegations were true they were to part the Married couple. These Judges having therefore examined the proofs which were produced on either side, Declared the Marriage null and not valuably contracted, and permitted the Parties to re-Marry elsewhere. The Proceedings carried to *Rome*, the Pope confirmed the Sentence the more willingly as having been put in hopes the King would chuse a Wife amongst his Relations.

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As soon as the Legat was gone forth of the Kingdom, the Assembly of the *Huguenots* which still held good at *Chastelleraud*, pressed more instantly the verification

Of the Edict of *Nantes*. Besides that the thing in it self had many difficulties, the Clergy made their opposition in Parliament; and in that numerous Company there were many more for rejecting, than for receiving it. It was observed that such who had been formerly most zealous for the League, pleaded now most earnestly for the Verification; which was because they had found by experience, that in matters of Religion, any violent methods destroy much more than it can edifie. A long time were they Haranguing *pro* and *con*, upon this so important a Subject: but the King having sent for them, did in his turn Harangue them so effectually, adding the force of Authority to the power of Persuasion, that they in fine obey'd and Verified the Edict.

Many being herewith discontented, a favourable opportunity presented to stir up the People. One named *James Brosier* who was a Weaver of *Romorantin*, had a Daughter named *Martha*, aged Twenty years, who tormented with Vapours from the Spleen, was put into most extraordinary Motions and Postures, as Saltations, Contortions of all sorts, Cries that imitated the Voices of several Animals, foaming, and lolling out her Tongue, and sometimes speaking inwardly like the *Engelstromer*, or *Ventriloquist*, in so much as it was very easie for him to make the Populace believe she was possessed. With this Get-penny, leaving his own home, he strowed about the Country under pretence of carrying her on Pilgrimage, or to find out some Exorcists that might deliver her. The Bishop of *Orleans* and the Canons of Clergy had hunted her out of their Territories, and *Miron* Bishop of *Angers* had sent her packing from his Diocese, guessing by many particulars he had observed, that it was only some Natural Distemper, with an addition of Studied and long practised Impostures: the Father however must needs bring her to *Paris*, where there are always so many various minded People, that nothing can be so extravagant but some will be infatuated, or for their profit will endeavour to infatuate others.

The honest *Capucins* seized first on this possession, and began to Exorcise her in the Church called *Sainte Genevieve*. The Cardinal de *Gondy* Bishop of *Paris* was not light of belief, but by Advice of a great Assembly of Ecclesiastics whom he called together in that Abby, chose five famous Physicians to examine what it might be. After several Scrutinies three of the five made their Report to him, that there was very little of the Devil in the Wench, but a great deal of Artifice, and indeed somewhat of a Distemper: for her Tongue was mighty red and swollen, and they did hear some kind of a rattling noise in her left *Hypocondrium*. A fourth, by name *Hautin*, would declare nothing positively, but said, according to the Sentiment of *Fernelius*, they must wait the trial at least three Months; *Duret* was the only Man who maintain'd she was posses'd. His great Reputation gave them the confidence to call in other Physicians; These were of his opinion, and thereupon they once more open the Scene. The People ran thither in Multitudes and with Emotion, great heats there were for and against it; and it was to be feared lest this Oracle should give some Seditious Answers, unless they made good haste to stop her Mouth. The Parliament therefore put the Possessed into the hands and guard of *Lugoli* Lieutenant Criminell, and the Kings Attorney in the *Chasseles* for twenty days together, and in the mean time appointed eleven Physicians of the most famous of that Faculty to visit her. These made their Report they could discover nothing which was above the power of Nature. The Preachers notwithstanding cry'd aloud they undertook upon the Jurisdiction of the Church, and stifled a miraculous Voice, which God had sent amongst them to convince the Hereticks. The Parliament was fain to use their Authority and impose Silence upon them; and as for *Martha* they gave Order to *Rapin* Prevost de *Robe Courte*, to convey her back to *Romorantin*, and there leave her in the custody of her Father, with command she should not stir out of that Town without expresse leave from the Judge of the place, upon pain of Corporal Punishment to either of them.

The Comedy did not end for all this: *Alexander de la Rochefoucauld* Abbot de *Saint Martin*, and Brother of that Count de *Randan* who was slain at the Battle of *Allore* and of *Francis* Bishop of *Clermont* afterward a Cardinal, stole away this wretched Creature, by advice of the Bishop, as was guessed, and carried her to *Avignon*, then to *Rome*, fancying she would act better on that grand Theatre, and that he should find more credulity in that place which is the Spring head of Belief. But the Agents of *France* having already pre-possessed the Pope and all that Court with

with the fear of offending the King, those Friends by whom he thought to be there supported, failed him, and he could meet with none that would believe a thing so contrary to their interest. Therefore finding himself mistaken, he was forced by Letters humbly to beg pardon of the King; and soon after fell sick and died of Grief, as it was said, for having gone so far to be despised. *Martha* and her Father forsaken of all the World, had now no other refuge but an Hospital.

"The Reader will not be displeased if I mention three very great Rarities which were observed in three several Persons this year. The one was in *Gaspard de Schomberg*, who had served the King very successfully in his Armies and in some Negotiations. He was from time to time troubled with sudden and great difficulty of breathing: coming one day from *Conflans* to *Paris*, being near *St. Anthonies* Gate, he was in a moment seized with this difficulty, and lost both his Respiration and Life. The Chyrurgeon that open'd him to search the Cause, found the left side of that Membrane called the *Pericardium*, which encompasseth the Heart, and serves as a Bellows to refresh it, was turned into a Bony Substance, so that it hindered Respiration.

"The second was, that in the Country of *Mayne* was seen a Peasant named *Francis Tronille* aged Thirty five years, who had a Horn growing upon his Head, which began to appear when he was but Seven years old. It was shaped almost like that of a Ram, only the Wreathings were not spiral, but straight, and the end bowed inwards toward the *Cranium*. The fore-part of his Head was bald, his Beard red, and in Tufts, such as Painters bestow upon Satyrs. He retired to the Woods to hide this monstrous deformity, and wrought in the Cole-pits; The *Marechal de Laverdin* going one day a Hunting, his Servants spying this Fellow who fled, ran after him, and he not uncovering himself to salute their Master, they tore off his Cap, and so discover'd his Horn. The *Marechal* sent him to the King, who bestow'd him upon some body that made Money by fawning him to the People. This poor Fellow took it so much to Heart to be thus Bear-led about, and his shame expos'd to the Laughter and Censures of all the World, that he soon after died.

"The third Curiosity is the Daughter of a Country Smith of *Conflans*, a Burrough upon the limits of *Poitou* and *Limousin*, who was three whole years without eating or drinking; which proceeded from a Relaxation of the *Æsophagus*, after a great fit of Sickness, in so much as this Maid could not swallow any thing, but had a horrible aversion for all sorts of Meats and Drinks. Neither did she void any Excrements, her Belly was quite flat, there was nothing but a kind of Parchment Skin covering her Sides, she was very cold to the touch in every part of her Body, excepting near her Heart: but otherwise her Arms and Legs were pretty fleshy, her Breasts plumpish, her Visage passable, Hair long and thick, walked to and fro without trouble, and did all manner of work in the Family as well as any other. Now after she had remained three years in this condition, some Physicians going thither with Orders from the King to bring her to *Paris*, and her Friends advising her that she might thereby avoid such trouble, to endeavour to swallow something, she forced down some Broath; which having with difficulty for the two or three first times assayed, she found good in it, and by this means open'd the Conduits of Nourishment, and by little and little brought her self to the eating of solid Viands. The like had formerly hapned *Anno* 825, to a Girl under the Empire of *Lotaire*, after she had been three years without swallowing any Food.

"In these years a new and very odd kind of Distemper over-spread *Potukia*, a Province of *Poland*, bordering upon *Hungary*, whence it extended thorough all those Countries. It hath its seat in the Hair, which it twists together in one, or two Locks, and at first causes no inconvenience, but in some space suppurates and breeds an infinite of Vermine, and if they cut them off, that acid and fuliginous humour which so entangleth them, flows back upon all the parts of the Body, and begets cruel Pains, Contortions, Dislocations, Ulcers, Exostoses, and all the strangest Accidents imaginable. Physicians have given it the name of *Plica*, because it hath such effect upon the Hair, and that of *Cirragra*, as being a kind of Gout, which begins by that odd kind of weaving.

A Peace being made, the Grandees of the Kingdom were but little consider'd in the Administration of Affairs: the Council compos'd all of Men of the Quil, desir'd to bring them lower that they might stand on equal ground. Those that had been of the League were so well treated as to have no just cause of complaint, but rather gave a jealousy to the others. As for the Duke of Mayenne, otherwise their Head, being ruin'd both in his Estate and Credit, he lived meanly, and affected to appear yet poorer then he was, knowing his want of Power and Riches was now his only security.

But divers of those that had served the King, taking themselves to be ill used, absented yet more from him; then he was alienated from them. The most discontented were the *Maréchal de Biron*, the Duke of *la Trimoille*, the Constable de *Montmorency*, the Duke of *Montpensier*; More then these yet, the Duke d'*Espernon* and the *Maréchal de Biron*. This last more bold and confident then the rest exhal'd his discontents by odious complaints, and vauntings not to be endured. He could speak well of no body but himself, which was his Eternal Theme and Entertainment: He exalted himself above the greatest Captains, it was he alone that had done all; there was no Place or Dignity he did not think beneath his Merit; Nought but the Sovereignty could satisfy him, and he would Crown himself with his own hands.

Too great applause had corrupted this brave Courage, the King himself had praised him too much, had raised him too high. After the loss of *Dourlens* and *Cambray*, the Nobles and the Soldiers all cast their Eyes upon him only, as both the Sword and Buckler of the State; At his return from the Siege of *Amiens* he was intoxicated by the fondness of the *Parisians*; and when he went into *Flanders* to Witness the Archdukes swearing to the Peace, the *Spaniards* knowing his Vanity and ill disposition, gave him such lofty Elogies, as filled his Head with Air and Vanity, and his Heart with wicked Thoughts and Sentiments.

From that time, nay even before, he sought and courted the favour of the Populace, affected for the Catholic Religion a Zeal that proceeded even to Beads and Confratries, as if he would again set up that League his Sword had beaten down. This year in the Month of May, having made a Journey into *Guyenne*, he there regaled the Nobility with Feasts, Presents, and Careless, held private Conference with such as had most Credit in the Province, and behaved himself after such a manner, that the King apprehending some Disturbance there, descended to *Blois*, and set a Report on Wing that he would pass on to *Poitiers*, thereby to prevent many who might have engaged themselves in his Contrivances. He was yet there when the news of the Duke of *Savoy's* Voyage obliged him to return to *Fontainebleau*.

During his abode in that Country, *Philip Hurat Chiverny* Chancellor of France, who had desired leave to go and see his House of *Chiverny*, did there fall sick and died the Nine and twentieth day of June. He stood much upon his Nobility, and did as much affect the Quality of Earl and of Governor of *Orleannois* and *Bleis*, as that of Chancellor, which he had held twenty years. His Posterity, as almost all those that attain great Fortunes at Court, sunk in a short time.

Pompe de Belieure succeeded him in that great Office, and at first began with two things which were most necessary, viz. a severe Edict against Duels, and a Rule that none should be admitted to the Office of Master of Requests till he had been ten years in the Sovereign Courts, or twenty in some Court Subordinate.

This new Chancellor, *Villeroy* Secretary of State, *Sillery* President in the Parliament of *Paris*, *Jamain* in that of *Burgundy*, and the *Marquis de Rosny* Sur-Intendant of the Finances, had the greatest share in the Administration of Affairs. The last governing the Purse, had great advantage over the others; besides the King made himself more familiar with him, and consider'd him as a Creature he had raised, and one that had never held any Party but his own. And indeed, he was shaped every way to his humour, and very fit to manage that Office as he intended it should be. For besides that he was indefatigable, thrifty, and a Man of great order, he was rough in denial, impenetrable to Prayers and importunities, and with both hands greedily scraping Money into the Kings Coffers. To this purpose he received all manner of Proposals, the easiest he made benefit of in his time, and the refuse was left to glut the following Reign. He made thorough inquisition after such Money as had been mis-employ'd, and wherever that lighted he fell upon the great as boldly as

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the little ones, took the hatred and blame of all denials or disappointments upon himself, stop'd his Ears at their Complaints or Reproaches, not minding any other thing, but where to raise new Fonds from day to day.

Hereby did he become most necessary to the King, and got into his favour more and more. He often shewed him a just state of Receipts and Payments in every Concern distinctly; as likewise the Projects of such Expences as were to be made; and the Inventories of all the Arms, Ammunition, and Cannon in his several Places; all by Summary Abridgments, to give the more gusto in perusal and inform him without tiring him. For he knew very well that the King being of a ready and quick apprehension, could not dwell long upon any one particular, neither in Reading or Writing, nor endure any tedious Discourse or Reasoning.

Those that had managed the Revenues, or Finances, had put things in a most horrible disorder and confusion, and the Expences in the Civil War had drained them so low, that it was almost impossible to remedy them by the ordinary ways. The King was charged with Six Millions of yearly Rents and Pensions, above five Millions Salary for his Officers of Justice and the Treasury, with Petitions of an infinite number of brave Soldiers, Officers, Gentlemen, and Lords, who prayed some for Rewards, others for some Benevolence and Charity, that they might at least subsist. It would therefore have been but reasonable if for a time they had exceeded the bounds of the common methods, to repair these Disorders, were it not that such Examples remain even after the necessity is over, and that a Tax or Charge once imposed turns to a common Right or Claim.

That they might bring the Revenues into the grand Channel of the Exchequer, or *Epargne*, he studied in the first place to open all the Springs from whence they were to flow, and stop up all by-leaks which made them drop aside and lose themselves. Most enormous abuses were committed upon the levying of such Moneys as were raised by extraordinary Commissions; and it was the custom of some of the Council to procure very easie Adjudications that they might share in the profit: As to the former, he order'd the Receivers to make Receipts for these as for the other; and as to the second, having found out that the Sub-farms, amounted to twice as much, as the general Adjudication, he tied up the hands of the Principal Farmers, and caus'd the whole to be brought into the Treasury. As to the remainder heison made himself so much Master of the Council for the Finances, that he retrench'd the little Tricks and Projects, and made it apparent to those grand Statefemen, that to discharge his Office there was no need of so great Politiques and Craft, but only to be diligent and laborious, and both know how to add and to subtract.

The Kings clearest Revenues were alienated or engaged to the greatest Lords, he assigned their payments on the *Epargne* or Exchequer, and restored all these Alienations to the Kings, who made them treble the value. He likewise abolish'd all those Levies they had setled for their own profit, without any other Authority but the Licence of a Civil War. He also caus'd all such Privileges to be revoked as had been granted for above thirty years; together with all Patents of Nobility from the said term. King Henry III. had sold a thousand in *Normandy* alone: and it was said, that under colour of that profusion, others had traded for above double that number. Those Gentlemen of Parchment were allowed the Exemption they had enjoy'd during all that time, for their re-imbursement. Then was the famous Privilege called *The Franchise of Chalo Saint Marc*, utterly abolished.

After these Revocations, he sent Commissioners into the Provinces to regulate the Tailles. And because the open Country was much destroy'd, he was constrain'd to lessen them about Six hundred thousand Crowns, and to remit all Arrears to the year 1597, which amounted to above twenty Millions. As well, it would have been impossible to have raised them; and then it was not so much a loss to the King, as to the Receivers who had advanced one part of it, and those Captains and Lords who had Assignments on the other. They cancell'd all the Obligations the Debtors had given to the former, and revoked the Assignments of the latter.

His design was, said he, to take off all the Tailles, to this purpose to disengage the Kings Demesains, in which he labour'd very much, and to supply what more should be wanting by an Augmentation of imposts upon Wares. These happy thoughts, whether really intended or not, were very suitable to the Kings great goodness, who

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in effect cherish'd his People as his Children, and was much more fearful of oppressing them, then desirous to fill his own Coffers.

Any other way but that of Arbitration would have better pleas'd the Duke of Savoy. He would willingly the *Spaniards* had undertaken his defence : and although he had already experiment'd at the Treaty of *Vervins* they had not over-much zeal for his interests, he omitted not to solicit them and to give them great Respect : but when they had made him know, they would not engage their young King in a War for love of him, he thought it might do well to inform the Pope with the Reasons he had for detention of the Marquitate. *Francis d'Arconus* Count de *Toussaine* his Ambassador in the Court of *Rome*, and *Sillery* who was there in the same Quality for the King, gave in an Abstract of their Titles : whilst those were under examination, the King demanded as having been diseiz'd, he should be restored before all other Proceedings ; and the Duke replied that the said Maxim of Right had place between private Men, not amongst Potent Princes, as the King was, to whom if they should once adjudge the possession, he would never quit or surrender it again.

Upon this *Sillery* propounded an Expedient, viz. that the enjoyment should rest in the Duke till a definitive Sentence, provided he would hold it as a Feif Mouvant of *Dausine*. *Arconus* not yielding to that, the Pope found out another, which was, that it should remain in Sequestration in his hands. The Patriarch of *Constantinople* (this was *Calatagione* General of the Order of *St. Francis*, whom he had honoured with that Title) was enjoyed by him to propound it to the two Princes, and if they approved it, to demand a prolongation of the time agreed for Sentence, which was ready to expire. Both of them feigned to think well of it, and yet neither of them were really contented : for they feared lest the Pope, if he had it in his hands, should take a fancy to bestow it upon one of his Brothers Sons. Thereupon *Arconus*, either with design to gain his friendship, or to fore-stall his Judgment, went and assured him on the behalf of his Duke, that if the Marquitate fell to his Master, he might dispose of it, to such of his Nephews as he should think fit. The Pope interpreted this Compliment a high injury to his Integrity, and from that time waded the Arbitration.

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The Duke was not much troubled, he was setting other Engines at work in *France* by means of his Ambassadors. When he found they could not succeed to his wishes, he resolv'd to come himself ; and because he knew his Council would not permit him to hazard thus his Person and Reputation, he order'd *Romieu* to write to him, that the King would be very glad to see him, though on the contrary he had told his Agents plainly, that unless he were dispos'd to render up the Marquitate, he would find little satisfaction in his Voyage. This Prince had so good an opinion of his own ability, and his Talent of Wit, which indeed were admirable, that he doubted not to gain the heart of the King and his Ministers by his subtil ingenuity, or over-persuade them by his Arguments and Reasons. In the Month of *June* was fought that famous Duel, betwixt *Philipine* his Bastard Brother, and the Lord de *Creguy* ; *Philipine* was slain, and that sinister accident, (for he relied much upon the like presages) should have made him alter his Resolution : but another Omen seem'd to promise he should reap something of his labour ; which was, that in the Month of *September* all the Fruit-Trees in *Savoy* put forth their Blossoms which turned to Fruit in less time then an hour. So he parted from *Chambery* the first day of *December* with his Council, a Train of twelve hundred Horle, whereof he sent back the one half from *Lyon*, and great Riches in Moneys, Toys, and Jewels.

The Marriage of Queen *Margaret* being dissolv'd, the Kings Agents engaged him upon seeking for *Mary de Medicis*, Daughter to *Francis* in his life time Duke of *Florence*, and Niece of *Ferdinand* Brother and Successor to that *Francis* : but in the interim his heart which was not wont to be long in freedom, was taken by the attractive Charms of *Henrietta de Bassac*, a pleasant, airy, witty, and engaging Virgin Lady ; and indeed the came of a Race that inspir'd Love, for her Mother was that *Mary Touchet* who had been Mistress to *Charles IX.* and was after Married to the Lord d'*Entragues*, from whose Embraces this young *Venus* sprung. Her Parents desiring to make the best of such an opportunity, were very watchful, and kept her close, lest enjoyment should extinguish that bright flame of Love her Eyes had kindled in the Kings Breast. This the did so well second on her part, that in fine by her betwixching innocency and modesty, and by her inviting denials, the engaged him to give his promise he would

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would Marry her, if within that year she brought him a Son. Upon this assurance, and after a shower of Gold (worth a hundred thousand Crowns) he had his full liberty. He soon after gratified her with the Lands of *Verneuil*, and the Title of *Marchioness*.

We do not know whether for his honour we should believe he did intend to make good his word : but *Sillery* and the Cardinal d'*Orléans*, went so far on with their Treaty for *Mary de Medicis*, that they put it beyond his power to recall it. He therefore sent *Alineour* Son of *Villeroi*, to *Rome*, under colour of returning thanks to the Pope for the justice he had done him concerning the business of his Marriage with Queen *Margaret*, and to acquaint him with that he desired to Contract in the House of *Medicis*. After this Compliment he intreated his Holiness to vouchsafe that *Sillery* and he might go to *Florence* to see the Princess and Negotiate that Affair, which was much more advanced then they discover'd to him.

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It is incredible how much the Marchioness of *Verneuil* was vexed and afflicted to see her self fallen from the fairest hopes of a Crown, yet she dissembled it and hid her trouble under the borrowed countenance of content : but the Count d'*Anvergne* her half Brother, as much out of the Malignity of his Nature as Resentment, sought to revenge this injury, and joyned with the Malecontents we have before mentioned. These together conspir'd to coop the King up in a Prison, to rob him of his Crown, and give it to some other Prince of the Blood : Many have been of opinion the Duke of *Savoy* had a hand in the contrivance, or that at least having some hint of it, he had undertaken to come into *France* to try what advantage he might be able to reap thereby.

What ever design he had, he descended along the *Rhône* by Boat to *Lyon*, and then from *Rouane* to *Orleans*. In this last place he was received by the Duke of *Nevers*, upon his way betwixt that and *Fontainebleau* by the Marechal de *Biron*, and two Leagues nearer by the Duke of *Montpensier*. At *Plauzier* he took Post a little after mid-night, with seventy Horses in company, and arrived at *Fontainebleau* the Fourteenth of *December* about eight in the Morning, where he found the King just ready to mount his Horse to have gone and met him. After he had entertain'd him there for six days together with the Diversions of Hunting, Gaming, and Promenades, he took him to *Paris* upon the One and twentieth of the Month. He offered him an Apartment in the *Louvre*, but the Duke giving him thanks, went and lodged at the *Hôtel de Nevers*.

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There is no Art, no Wyle of the ablest Politicks, or experienc'd Courtiers, but he made use of to succeed in his design ; and this may be affirm'd, that if the end did not answer his desires, yet his Conduct surpass'd his Reputation. He made Court to the King with great Complaisance, but without the least servility : for he accompanied his Respects with a becoming liberty, and the Submissions or Condescensions he tender'd were of such a sort as did no way eclipse his Quality. One might observe a more then ordinary grace and grandeur in all his actions ; He express'd a great esteem and kindness for all the Grantees of the Kingdom, gave a civil and obliging Reception to all the Kings Officers, entertain'd the Ladies with much wit and gallantry, and shew'd every where a Royal liberality. In his New-years-Gifts, especially, he made this Characteristick Vertue of a Prince most plainly appear, he bestow'd rich Presents on the whole Court, who by the Kings permission accepted of them ; and after so wonderful a profusion, which seem'd to have exhausted all his Coffers, they were amazed to see him at a Ball he made, cover'd all over with Jewels, valued at above Six hundred thousand Crowns.

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With all this he gained nothing of the King. Upon the very first Discourse he held with him, he found what condition his hopes were in : In the beginning he endeavour'd to lay open his Soul that he might gain some affiance, and after he had with much eloquence made all imaginable protestations of service and adherence, intreating him to receive both himself and Children into his protection, he fell a complaining of the *Spaniards*, then propounded the Conquest of *Milan* and of the Empire, and to make discovery of the Friends, the Intelligence, and the Means he had for that purpose. We may believe his Tongue was then guided by his Heart, for he was much picqued with the little regard the *Spaniards* had for his Interest at *Vervins* ; and besides his Wife, Sister to *Philip III.* (which was the only Link had ty'd him

him to that Crown) died the foregoing year. However it were the King heard him attentively, and gave him thanks for his good will: but after all told him the restitution of the Marquitate ought to precede all those designs, and that they would consider the other Affairs when once this point was over.

Each time the Duke renew'd the charge, he was repulsed in the same manner. This inflexibility, he called it, put him into amazement and despair, yet on his Face appeared no symptoms but of inward satisfaction; as the King likewise on his part, continuing the civilities he owed his Guest, took care he should be diverted the most agreeably they possibly could. All the Grantees held the *Bouquet* * to treat him each in his turn; and amongst the Singularities of France, the King led him to his Parliament, and to a hearing in the Grand Chambre, where a Cause upon a most extraordinary Subject was pleaded, which gave full scope to the Clients Advocates to exercise their Eloquence, as also to the Kings, his name being *Lévis Servin*. After the Pleading was over, the First President treated the two Princes most Magnificently at his own House.

* A Noſe-gay given from one to another, which appoints who shall Treat next.

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Notwithstanding these demonstrations of a seeming amity, their humours as different as their Interests, maintained the discord of their minds, and so increased it, that either of them sometimes let fall words mingled with discontent and bitterness. One day the Ambassador of Spain came to the Duke, and openly hit him in the teeth with a most bloody reproach, saying the King had assured him he was come purposely into France to persuade him to make a War upon Spain.

The Duke was offended in the highest degree with the King, but not daring to question him, designed to revenge himself upon the *Maréchal de Biron* (who as yet passed for) his Favourite. Being therefore one day a Hunting, he takes the *Maréchal* aside, and begins to complain of the King in very sharp terms, with design *Biron* should take him up, and give him some occasion to draw his Sword. *Biron*, far from undertaking to justify the King, began to rail much worse at him than the Duke, and having once let loose the reins of his impetuous Spirit, disclosed all his secrets, and made known there was already a Conspiracy formed to dethrone him. The Duke surprized and pleas'd at the same instant to hear of this which was above his hopes, immediately closed with the Party, offer'd all his assistance to the Conspirators, and even wrote into Spain to make them partakers of such good tidings. But perhaps they might be acquainted with it sooner than himself, and *Picote* have Negotiated the thing with the Count de *Fuente*, who was a Personal Enemy to King Henry IV. This *Picote* was a Native of Orleans, but an ill Frenchman, who fled to the Low-Countries; *Biron* had held him Prisoner at *Aussonne*, and there it was he first began to know him.

From this day, the Duke began to care for *Biron* extremely, and to flatter his vain and ambitious humour. Knowing the too great Reputation of this *Maréchal* gave the King some Umbrage, he studied to praise him even to excess before his Face, on purpose to augment his jealousy, and picque him to let fall some disobliging thing against his valour and brave feats in War. In effect, he did force two or three very stinging Expressions from him, which straightway the Duke convey'd to the *Maréchal's* Ears by *Lafin*, a double and dangerous Man, who having corrupted *Biron* by his flatteries, was a great Agitator in this intrigue, and made the Conditions between the Duke and the Conspirators.

After Twelfth-tide they notwithstanding went on to Treat of the Affair concerning the Marquitate, there being four Deputies on the Kings part, as many on the Dukes, the Patriarch of Constantinople also assisting; who had Orders from the Pope to use all his dexterity to dispose the King to leave that Territory to the Duke, so much he feared the Neighbourhood of the French might bring a War (perhaps *Calvinism*) into Italy. The Duke on his side made divers Propositions to the King, sometimes he demanded the Marquitate upon Homage for one of his Sons, then offer'd an exchange, he propounded three several ones. The King would hearken to none, and persisted to have either a Sentence for Restoral, or the Sequestration in the hands of the Pope.

In fine the Duke approving neither the one nor the other, propos'd to leave him the Marquitate in exchange for Bresse, comprising the City and Citadel of Bourg, Barcelonnette with its Vicariat, even to Angentiere, the Valley of Sture, that of Perouse, and Pignorol with their Territories. The King accepted this offer: the Treaty was Signed the Twenty seventh of February, and they allowed the Duke three Months time to consult with the Lords his Subjects, and to have free liberty to chuse either the

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January.

February.

integrante, or this exchange. Three or four days after he took leave of the King, who conducted him as far as Charenton, and left him the Baron de Lux, who accompanied him through Champagne and Burgundy to the borders of Bresse.

This year, as all others which are the last of an Age in the Christian Era, was named the Holy-year, because of the Jubile observed at Rome, with the Ceremonies his Holiness is wont to practise upon that great Solemnity. It being customary for such Ambassadors as are there to obtain Remission by offering an Alms, he from the King distributed amongst the poor two thousand pieces of Gold stamped with the Arms of France.

Amidst the great affluence of Pilgrims, whom either devotion or curiosity (for there were many Religionaries) brought to the said City, the Duke of Bar made one, but *incognito*. This Prince after his having lived like a kind Husband with Madam Catharine his Wife for six Months together, had suffer'd his Confeſſor to fill his Head with so many scruples of Conscience, that he left her, and took the opportunity of this Jubile to go and obtain his Absolution of the Pope, and a dispensation for the time to come. The Pope did flatly deny him the latter, unless Catharine would become a Convert, and for the first he so terrified his timorous Conscience, that he promised never to cohabit with his Wife, but repudiate her unless she would become a Catholic. Upon this protestation he was privately restored to the Communion of the Faithful, for to have been admitted publicly, the transgression being publick, he must have undergone a Penance that was so. Two smart words from the King would have made the Court of Rome step over all these difficulties, and joynted him again to his Wife; for want of this courage, the poor Prince did for a while live as a Widow in the midst of Marriage.

In the Spring time the King being at Fontainebleau, was Spectator, and in a manner Moderator of the dispute between James Duv Du Perron Bishop of Evreux, and Philip du Plessis Morisy. This last had compos'd a large Treatise against the Mass: the gravity of the Matter, the quality of the Author, the politerness of the Language, and the force which at first appeared in his Reasonings, and those Authorities drawn from the Fathers, to the number of above four thousand, had acquired him a great deal of Reputation; and that Reputation had been mightily increased by the feeble attacks of all those that had undertaken to refute him.

1600.
May.

The King had great interest and reason this work should be blasted, because many suspected he maintain'd and justified the Author, who in effect had served him very successfully both with his Pen and with his Sword. Now Du Plessis himself gave him the occasion by his temerity. Du Perron who was in his Bishoprick of Evreux, brag'd he would produce five hundred passages in his Book which were falsely alleged, maimed, or alter'd. The Friends of Du Plessis advis'd him to reply that if there were any such, he would forsake them, and stand to those that were not so, of which there yet remained to the number of above three thousand five hundred, but he too fond of his own labours, summon'd Du Perron by a publick challenge to joyn with him, and let his hand to a Petition for the King to appoint Commissioners to examine and verifie the Passages in his Book Line by Line. Du Perron did not flinch from it, and the King named five, viz. for the Catholics the President de Thou, Francis Pibou Advocate, and John Martin Reader and Physician to the King: for the Huguenots Philip de Canaye Lord de Freſne, and President at the Chamber of Caisres, and Isaac Casabon Regis Professor in the Greek Tongue. He had sent for this last to be an Ornament to his University of Paris: but some years after he went into England.

It was extream imprudence in Du Plessis to undertake a Combat where the King and all his Court were Parties, and to venture his Honour and Credit upon the Faith of his Collectors; such People being ordinarily but little exact, not caring whether their materials be good, provided they can but furnish store enough. And likewise his acquaintance knowing his Quil much more fluent than his Tongue, desiring he would rather have continued to write than adventure to discourse, dissuaded him from entering the Lists with an Adversary whose Eloquence was a Torrent, and his Memory a Prodigy. Now whether it were presumption or want of fore-sight, he either would, or could not get out of this snare.

In the beginning the Popes Nuncio was much alarmed at this Conference, however the King making him understand it did not concern the truth of the Doctrine, but only that of his Quotations; he assented to it. The day appointed upon the fourth of May, the Bishop of Evreux configned into the hands of the Chancellor the five hundred Passages, of which they were to take a certain number every day into examination; and the very evening before the dispute, he sent nineteen to *Du Plessis*, which he would impugn. This was perhaps a Stratagem to fluff him, and take off the edge of his wit, by engaging him to study the whole night.

1600.
May.

The King was present at this Combat with the Chancellor, some Bishops, the Secretaries of State, and six or seven Princes. They could examine but nine passages that day. *Du Perron* having the truth, the King and the favour of the Assembly for him, had the advantage in all: he did not only overcome but overwhelm his Adversary; who much weaker, amazed, and disfavoured, defended himself so poorly, it made the Catholics pity and his own despise him. The Judges pronounced that in the two first passages, he had taken the objection for the solution; as for the sixth and seventh, they were not to be met with in those Authors, whence he quoted them: upon the ninth that he had mis-translated Images for Idols, and in the rest had either omitted some words that were material and necessary, or had recited them but by halves.

The night put an end to the dispute. *Du Perron* pursuing his advantage demanded it might be continued the next day: but his Antagonist disordered with his over-watching the night before, and to say truth, with the flame of his ill success, fell sick and retired to Paris, and from thence to *Saumur*, without so much as taking his farewell of the King; leaving the Field to his Enemy, and a fair Subject for triumph to the Catholics, and confusion to those of his own Party; which was soon after forsaken by *Fresus-Canaye*. *Du Perron* had for Crown of this Victory a Cardinals Hat.

The University eldest Daughter of our Monarchs, being like the rest of the Kingdom, extremely disfigured by the War, wanted to be reformed. The King at his return to Paris gave charge thereof to *Renaud de Braune* Archbishop of Bourges his great Almoner; who having advised with the Deans of the four Faculties, the most able Professors, Proctors of the Nations, Principals of Colleges and the Rector, and viewed the Statutes and Reglements made 150 years before upon the like occasion by the Cardinal d'Elouteville, changed, added, and retrenched as was thought most expedient. The Parliament allowed of those Articles, and deputed a President and three Counsellors, who caused them to be openly read in an Assembly expressly convoked at the *Maburins*.

June, &c.

"The Arch-Duke *Albertus* going to attack the Prince of Orange who besieged *Nieuport*, had at the first a notable advantage over him, regaining the Fort *Albert* taken by *Maurice* and cutting off near a thousand *Hollanders* in the place; After which had he but fortified himself in the passage between *Ostend* and *Nieuport*, he would have forced them to surrender at discretion, or to have taken Shipping in such disorder, as must have given him opportunity to have charged and defeated them. His Men were almost quite spent with lassitude and hunger, for the preceding day he had marched them from *Maestric* at one Stage, and the greatest part had scarce eaten a bit of Bread in four and twenty hours: but the heat of this good success led him out of his Post to fall upon the *Hollanders*. The Fight was very bloody, being very old Soldiers on either hand, and animated by the brave example of their Chiefs. The day began to decline when the Victory inclined towards *Maurice*; not but that his purchase was dear enough, for it cost him twelve hundred Men, but the Arch-Duke left near four thousand upon the place, all his Cannon, and a great number of brave Captains; Amongst others *Colas* formerly Vice-senescal of *Montelimar*, and pretended Count de la *Fere*.

1600.
July.

"It is observed to the honour of *Maurice*, that he gained this Battle over an *Alberus* of *Austria*, upon the same day, viz. the second of July, as another *Albertus* of the same House, had three hundred years before gained a Victory over an *Adolpus* of *Nassau*, in a Plain near *Spire*, where he deprived him both of his Empire and Life. It was said the generous Blood of *Nassau* had brought forth this Prince three Ages after, to be the Avenger of the most illustrious of his Ancestors.

The

The intention of the Duke of Savoy was not to stand to his Treaty at *Paris*, he pretended to have been compelled by a just fear of being detained: and he flattered himself either that the King durst not attack him by force, for fear of being look'd upon as a Violator of the Treaty at *Verwins*; or if he were assaulted he should be supported by the *Spaniard*, whose interest it was to employ all their Power to bar up the *French-mens* entrance into Italy, or that in fine, if he should leave *Paris*, those Seeds of Conspiracy he had sown in France would disclose themselves. In effect, the King of Spain had commanded the Count de *Fuentes* to furnish Monies towards it, this Count had informed himself of it's Truth by the *Spanish* Ambassador in *Switzerland*, and *Romcas* who had discoursed with *Biron*, disguised like Porters, yet nevertheless he refused to advance any thing unless the Duke of Savoy would give him *Montmelian* and two other Places for Security of the Money; The Duke could never be brought to do that, and so the Count let slip a fair Occasion for his Master's advantage.

As soon as he was arrived at *Bourg* the Fourteenth of March, he dispatched a Courier to the King to give him thanks for the Honour he had received in France. Being at *Chambery* the Four and twentieth of May, *Brulard* Brother of *Sillery*, and the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, went to Summon him either to agree to the Restitution or the Exchange, since the time drew near. He referred them till he should be at *Turin*, and from thence sent *Romcas* to demand a new delay; this was to give *Bely* his Chancellor time to complete his Negotiation in Spain: King *Philip's* Council, to make him the more obstinate in the Retention of the Marquisat, assured him the young Prince would come and assist him in Person at the head of Fifty thousand Men: But these were but words; for the Duke of *Lerma* who govern'd him, being no Martial Man, would be sure not to engage him in a rupture, that would have disturbed his Favour, and consumed the Revenue; which he quietly disposed of during the Peace.

1600.
March.

The Duke's delays, and the Discourses he held of the Severity they had shewed him in France, made it plain enough that he had no desire to execute the Treaty. Wherefore the King consenting to a Prolongation till the end of July, did not however omit to advance towards *Lyon*, that so his approaches might both hasten the said Restitution, and at the same time the Preparations for War he was making to compel him. His Council who were much divided about this Enterprise, detained him above Fifteen days at *Moulins*, where he arrived at the beginning of July; and in the mean time the *Bills Doux*, (or Love-Tickets) from the Marchioness of *Perneuil* his Mistress, and the Intrigues of the Ministers of his Pleasures, recalled him daily to Paris. That Lady passionately desired he would be at her Labour, believing if she brought him a Son; there might be some hopes yet to persuade him to perform his Promise. He was more than a little inclin'd to return and give her Satisfaction, when the hand of Heaven, if we may say so, broke the Charm, and set this Prince at Liberty: for one day after many violent Claps of Thunder, a Flash of Lightning breaking into the Chamber of the Marchioness, and passing under her Bed, she was so horribly frightened; that she was presently deliver'd of a dead Child.

May.

May and
June.

The Duke thought he should find contrivances enough to amuse the King till Winter. *Romcas* and the Marquis de *Lullins* proppounded the Restitution to him, but at the same time demanded the investiture of the said Marquisat for one of the Duke's Sons; This demand was no better received from their Mouths, than it had been from the Dukes at Paris; and *Romcas* sent back to him again, was commanded to let him know the King's great dissatisfaction. On the other hand, *Fosseuse* whom the King at the same time dispatched to the Duke to know his utmost resolution, brought back word, That nothing was to be done, unless they left out of the Treaty *Savignan* and *Pignerol*.

Romcas however returning some days after, assured that his Master intended to restore the Marquisat upon the Conditions expressed in the Treaty of Paris, which he, the Marquis de *Lullins*, and the Archbishop of *Tarentaise* Ambassador in Ordinary, of that Duke, gave in Writing under their Hands. Upon that the King gave Commission to *Brulard* and to *Janin*, to Negotiate with those Three concerning the Articles. When they had fully suted them, *Romcas* who had the Secret, excused himself for signing them, till he had first shew'd them to his Duke: The King allows him some days too for this; but the Duke, who desired nothing but to gain time, instead of sending *Romcas* back to *Lyon*, sent only a Courier, who carried an Order the other two should Sign, but which was only Verbal.

July.

T t t t t

These

1600.

These Deputies after they had Signed, started up some new Difficulties to spin it out yet longer : they demanded that the King, as the most Powerful, should first commence the Restitution, he satisfied as to that by offering them Hostages. They afterwards desired him to Name the Governor he meant to send to the Marquis, for that in the Treaty of *Park*, it was said, That he should place none there that was an Enemy to the Duke. To solve this difficulty, he named *N. de Poitiers le Passé*, whom the Duke could not reasonably suspect, being Brother in Law to Count de la Roche his Grand Eſcuyer, and immediately ordered him to March with Nine hundred men to go and take Possession of the Citadel of *Carmagnat*.

August.

The Articles agreed to by the Deputies; expressed that the Duke should render it the Sixteenth of August : The King doubted not of it, he was much astonished when he was informed he refused to ratify them, and that on the Seventh of the Month he had plainly declared, that the most Cruel War in the World would be more honorable to him, than the Execution of so Shameful a Treaty. He was therefore forced to recal *le Passage* : Nevertheless the Duke did again send the Patriarch of *Constantinople* to *Lyon*, to assure him he was disposed to Surrender the Marquisat, upon certain new Conditions which he had contrived. But it was now too late to shuffle, the King quite tyred with these Deddian intricacies, had sent to declare War, and was advanced to *Grenoble*. The Patriarch came to him the Fifteenth of August, most earnestly to beseech him in the Name of the Pope, not to rekindle that Flame again which his Holiness had with so much care extinguished : He received no other satisfaction, but only he assured him he desired nothing but to recover his own, and sent him to confer with his Council at *Lyon*.

August.

It did not seem that he had Forces sufficient to undertake this War, and that was the thing which deceived the Duke of *Savoy*. Indeed he began it at first with not above Seven or Eight thousand Men at most, but he had given such good Orders, that this Snow-ball encreased more than one half in very short time. He divided these Forces in two Bodies, the one to enter upon *Savoy* towards *Chambery*, the other to fall into *Bruffe* ; This was Commanded by the Marschal de *Biron*, and the other by *Lesdiguieres*, a great Commander for those Mountainous Countries. *Rosny's* Diligence provided so well for Ammunitions and Cannon, (having convey'd them by Water) that in the end of July he had in those Parts forty Pieces of Cannon, and wherewith to make Forty thousand shot.

And indeed he omitted nothing in this Expedition to show himself worthy the Office of Grand Master of the Ordnance, wherewith the King had newly honoured him, having also Establish'd it an Office of the Crown. Two years before he had likewise given him that of Grand-Surveyor of the High-ways, knowing him to be careful and orderly, and that he would take great pains in repairing and maintaining the Roads for conveniency of Carriage, which in effect he performed extremely well.

In one and the same day being the Twelfth of August, *Biron* took and pillag'd the City of *Bourg*, by forcing his way thorow one of the Gates with a Petard ; and *Creguy* seized on that of *Montmelian*. The *Savoisens* suspected the Count de *Montmajor* who Commanded in the first, did betray it ; some French on the contrary, imagined *Biron* had purposely given him notice of his Enterprize that it might miscarry : for 'tis certain that the former had put himself in a posture of Defence, standing to his Arms the whole Night, as if he knew of it, but then defended himself so poorly, that they had just cause, at least to accuse him of Cowardize.

The Duke of *Savoy* believed he might sleep quietly upon the Security of his Fortresses, and that of *Montmelian* ; They were both accounted impregnable, the one because it was very regular, the other for its odd situation : for it stood upon a lofty Rock, very steep on every side, with Bastions not Mine-able, a Fosse, or dry Ditch, hewn out of the quick Stone, the Ground about it the same, and cover'd with pointed Mountains which seem'd accessible to none but the winged Inhabitants of the Air ; so that it was thought impossible either to make any Trenches, or to raise Batteries. This place was really well enough furnished, but the Governor, who was the Marquis de *Brandis* of the House of *Montmajor*, wanted Resolution ; The other on the contrary wanted almost every thing, especially Provisions : but in recompence was provided with a Commander who was very brave and resolv'd to all Extremities. They called him the Chevalier de *Bonven*.

The

The taking of the City of *Bourg* was followed with all those of *Bresse* and the Country of *Bugey*. *Grillon* with a Party of the Regiment of Guards seiz'd on the Suburbs of *Chambery* ; The King going thither in Person, the Count de *Jacob*, who Commanded in the City, capitulated to Surrender within Three days if it were not relieved : The fear of being Plundered, obliged the Inhabitants to anticipate the said term, and open their Gates the very next day. *Milans* and *Conflans* made little resistance, the Floods of Rain, and difficulty of carrying their great Guns in a Country scarce passable for Carts, defended that of *Charbonnières* near Fifteen days : But as soon as their Cannon had batter'd it in a place which seem'd a Rock and was not so, it was taken by assault the Nineteenth day of September.

1600.

August.

Septemb.

After this Success *Lesdiguieres* push'd directly to *Saint-John de Maurienne*, made himself Master of all that Valley to the foot of Mount *Genis*. Then entering into *Tarantaise*, made them bring him the Keys of *Briançon*, *Monfieri*, and *Saint-Jacques*. The report of these sudden Conquests extremely astonished the Pope : The Spanish Ambassador solicited him most intantly that he would interpose his Authority to stop the King's Progress : both these apprehended almost equally, not the Ruin of the Duke of *Savoy*, but that the French should have Passage to enter into Italy : The Pope was therefore over-persuaded to send his Nephew the Cardinal *Adobrandin* to the King in the quality of Legate, with order to use all possible means to procure an accommodation.

It was much wonder'd at, in the mean while, that the Duke of *Savoy* did not go about to resist so Puissant an Enemy, but on the contrary pass'd his time at *Turin* in Dancing and making Love, as if he had rested in the bosom of a profound Peace. We cannot tell whether he relied on the intercession of the Pope, assistance from *Spain*, the effect of some great Conspiracy, or the event of some vain Predictions, which assured him, That in the Month of September there should be no King in *France* ; which proved true, for he was then in *Savoy*. Now when he found that all these failed him, that the Citadel of *Bourg* was invested, that of *Montmelian* formally Besieged, and the Fort *Saint Catherine* block'd up, he began to awaken and draw his Forces together.

He promised himself that the Citadel of *Montmelian* would hold out at least Six Months, believing the Heart of *Brandis* as well fortified as the place. In effect, that Marquis did at first triumph in words, as imagining they could raise no Batteries to Attaque him : But when *Rosny* had found the way to plant them in four or five places, (for what cannot Money, Ingenuity, and Labour bring to pass ?) his Bravery sunk on a sudden : He permitted his Wife to hold Conversation with the Wife of *Rosny*, and his Fears encreasing every hour, he capitulated the Fourteenth of October, to Surrender the Place upon the Sixteenth of November, if it were not relieved within that time.

October.

Upon which Design the Duke parted from *Turin* with Ten thousand Foot, Four thousand five hundred Arquebusers on Horseback, and Eight hundred Maitres, pass'd by the Valley of *Aoste*, and along the little *Saint Bernard*, then came and encamp'd at *Aixme*. The King went to meet him as far as *Montfieri*, and had fought him, but for the great Snow which fell in the Night, and made a Barricade betwixt the two Armies. The Duke need'd but have made a Diversion towards *Provence* : But Four thousand Spaniards (lent him by *Fuertes*) refused to go any further than *Saint Bernard*, and *Albigny* Lieutenant General of the Duke's Army, had much ado to make them stay there to guard that Passage.

October.

Mean time the timidity of *Brandis* had so infected the Courage of his Soldiers, that there was no Spirit left amongst them. For some out of fear did precipitate themselves from the Rocks to escape, and the rest could scarce endure to stand under their own Arms, and wanted even the Confidence to fire upon the Enemy. Nay more, Having suffer'd the French by small Parties to enter the Place, they were found to be so numerous, as to be able to Master them, and could have turned them out. So that having suffer'd himself to be reduced to this Condition, he was forced to anticipate the term of the Capitulation, and began to dislodge upon the Ninth day of November.

Novemb.

In the Place were found Provisions for above Four Months, Thirty Pieces of Cannon mounted, and Ammunition enough for Eight thousand shot. He talked a long time with the King in the Cloister belonging to the *Dominicans*, and that same Night treated *Rosny* and *Creguy* with a Supper in his own House. He afterwards

T E R T 2

wards

1600. wards retired into *France*, where his Cowardize was opprobrious even amongst the most Cowardly, he took Sanctuary at *Brandis* in *Switzerland*, and some while after was apprehended at *Casal*, and carried Prisoner to *Turin*.

The Legate would not stir from *Rome* till the Ambassador of *Spain* had promis'd him in Writing, the King his Master should agree to such Treaty as he could make; and recall his Forces if the Duke proved obstinately contrary. Passing by *Milan* he got the like Writing from the Count de *Fuente*, and the Duke whom he saw at *Turin*, promis'd to stand to what he should think convenient. His coming did not make the *French* put up their Swords: the King would not see him till he was Master of *Montmelian*, and the Five and twentieth of *November*, coming to *Chambery* to receive him, he refused to hear any thing of an accommodation or a Truce: he only permitted the Dukes Deputies, (these were *Francis d'Arceus* Count de *Touaine*, and *Rend de Lucinge des Alymes*, Chief Steward of his Household) should salute him, then sent him to confer with *Villeroy*, and at the same instant went to the Siege of the Fort *Sainte Catherine*.

This Place and the Citadel of *Bourg* being all the Duke had left on this side the Mountains, the King was persuaded the taking of them would reduce him to demand a Peace. *Bourbons* who was in *Bourg*, stood out resolutely both against his Proffers and his Menaces: But *Philip Charles* Governor of the Fort *Sainte Catherine*, chose rather to follow the example of *Brandis*, than his: for three days after the Arrival of the King, viz. the Sixth of *December*, he capitulated to Surrender within ten days.

The City of *Geneva* having the King so near them, sent him two Deputies to implore he would continue the same Protection to them as his Predecessors. *Theodore de Bèze* the most ancient and the most renowned of all the Ministers of that Religion, deliver'd the Message, and in few words made him a Compliment worthy of his Reputation.

Biron in all this War plaid a very ambiguous part: as he was most extremely Vain; but withal engaged with that Duke, he desired Honor for his own share, and yet ill Success to the King; so that he could not bear doing bravely and well, nor speaking basely and ill. In the Month of *September* being at *Pierre-Châtel* in *Bagoy*, *Laffin* came to him, and by his order made to Journeys two *Roucas*. The King, who then was at *Chambery*, informed of this going and coming, and being jealous of some dangerous underhand Practice, sent for him, and gave him caution to Banish that pernicious fellow from his Society. He did not regard, as he ought to have done, this good advice, on the contrary he increased the just Suspitions they had of him: for being under such Apprehensions as those still are that intend Mischief, he went no more to see the King without a great crew of desperate Fellows, and always lodg'd himself in some by-place.

There were two things exasperated this haughty Spirit, and made his discontent swell to a perfect Rage; the one was, the King denied him the Government of the Citadel of *Bourg*, which he requested for a Friend of his, when it should be taken: The other that he had not given him the sole Command in this War, as he had formerly at the Siege of *Amiens*, but equal'd or rather even preferred *Lesdigueres* above him, who was a *Huguenot* and his Enemy. In this fury he conceived an Enterprize upon the Person of the King, but soon after had a horror for it within himself and desisted: However he did not let fall the Practices he was engaged in with the Duke; and the Count de *Fuente*. *Laffin* under pretence of a Voyage to our Lady of *Loretta*, departed about the last days of the year to go and conclude the Bargain he treated first at *Torée* with the Duke and the Ambassador of *Spain* in that Court, then at *Turin* with *Roucas*, and afterwards with the Duke and the Count de *Fuente* at *Some*. *Picote* who came from *Spain* met them, and they there explain'd themselves more fully, and cleared all Difficulties.

To repeat the whole substance of this Treaty in few words, as was since discover'd, they agreed to Dismember the Kingdom, make as many Sovereignties as Provinces, and shelter all these petty Principalities under the Protection of *Spain*. The Duke of *Savoy* for his part was to have taken, if he could, *Lyonnais*, *Dauphiné* and *Provence*, and *Biron* the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, to which the *Spaniards* would have joyned the *Franche Comté* as a Dowry for a Daughter of their Kings, or one of *Savoy*, whom they promised to give him in Marriage. They were besides engaged to furnish him with such Prodigious Sums of Money, that he might easily have guess'd by the excess of their Promises, they never designed to perform them.

It

1600. It being impossible these things should be transacted so privately, but the King must know somewhat, and take notice of it, *Biron* moved rather by his Fears than any remorse of Conscience, approached him in the Monastery of the *Cordeliers* at *Lyons*, and pretending a deep and sincere Repentance, confessed that the refusal of the Government of *Bourg* had fill'd his Mind with Phrenetique thoughts and fancies; but Protested they were past away like Dreams and Shadows; and that if he had a Thousand lives, he would Sacrifice them every one to obtain his Pardon. The King was touched to the very heart with a kind of secret Pleasure to see he thus confided in his Clemency; that Virtue which he cherish'd above all others: he Pardon'd him without any reserve, and assured him, *That he would give him so many tokens of his Affection, he never should have any cause to prove unfaithful*.

A Pardon attended with so much Goodness, ought certainly to have purged his giddy head of all those wicked Thoughts and Designs; And yet no sooner was he returned to *Bourg*, but he dispatched *Bosco* the Cousin of *Roucas*, to the Duke and the Count who were still at *Some* with *Laffin*. This Trade continued all the year 1601, until the Birth of the *Dauphin*, when *Biron* seem'd to change his Mind, and sent for *Laffin* to return. Now as this Traitor began to play double, *Fuente* perceiving by his juggling there was no trusting him, thought fit to seize his Person, and likewise upon *Renazé* his Secretary. In effect *Renazé* was apprehended as he passed thorow *Savoy*: but *Laffin* who was mistrustful of every thing, went by the *Grisons* Country, and so avoided the Ambuscade.

After this he was highly offended that they detained his Secretary, a young Fellow who was accused of serving him for other uses less commendable than his Employment in Writing. Which displeasure, joyned to a jealousie he conceived that the Marechal put more confidence in the Baron de *Luz* than in him, was the true Motive that push'd him on to ruin him.

So soon as the Fort *Sainte Catherine* had capitulated, the King took Horse to go and meet his new Spouse who had laid for him Eight days at *Lyons*. The Duke of *Florence* Uncle to this Princess, having received the King's Procuration by *Bellegarde* his Master of the Horse, Married her the Fifth of *October* (the Cardinal *Adorandini* performed the Ceremony) and afterwards shew'd his Magnificence and Riches in Feastings, Huntings, Carroufells, Balls, and other Divertissements usual upon the like Solemnities. The *Italians* have not omitted to note, as a mark of his Grandeur, that one single Comedy cost him Sixty thousand Crowns the acting.

The Gallies belonging to *Florence* and *Malta* brought the new Queen to *Marseilles*, where she Landed the Third of *November*, accompanied by the Grand Dutches of *Florence* her Aunt, the Dutches of *Mantua* her Sister, *Dona Antonio* her Brother, and *Virginio des Vrsins* Duke of *Bracciana*. The Constable, the Chancellor, the Dukes of *Nemours* and *Vendadour*, with the Duke of *Guisse* Governor of that Province, and the Cardinals de *Jouyssel*, de *Condé*, de *Givry*, and de *Soradas*, were sent to receive her on the behalf of the King, as likewise many of the Princesses and greatest Ladies of the Court to keep her Company.

After the Consummation of the Marriage, which was performed the very same day of his Arrival, the City of *Lyons* honoured the Queen with the Pomp of a Magnificent Entrance. Afterwards the Nuptial Ceremonies were celebrated the Seventeenth of *December* in the great Church there by the Cardinal *Adorandini*. Whom (which we mention in *Passant*) the King permitted to exercise the Functions of Legate in his Kingdom, though his Faculties were not verified in Parliament.

The Treaty of Peace which had been begun at *Chambery*, was continued at *Lyons* between *Sillery* and *Famin* on the King's part, and *Arconas* and *des Alymes* on the Dukes. The Legate contributing his Mediation and care to advance it, obtained a Suspension of Arms from the King for a Months time while they were in Treaty. The Pope and the *Spaniards* did above all things dread the *French* should have the Marquisat; and the Duke had likewise a great deal of interest not to suffer it, because by this means they would have had footing in the midst of his Estates, and have held him, as it were, continually blocked up in *Turin*; It was therefore not very difficult to make him offer *Bresse* in exchange. The *French* withall demanding Eight hundred thousand Crowns for the Expences of the

Decemb.

Novemb.

Decemb.

1600. the War, the Legate obliged the Deputies of *Savoy* to add for that consideration, *Bugey* and *Valromey*, and then also the Bailliwick of *Geix*, that they might have *Cental*, *Demont*, and *Roque-Sparviere* : for the King affirmed that those places were not of the Marquisat of *Salusses*, but of the County of *Provence*.

The Chancellor and *Villeroi* had positively promised the Legat, that none of the places taken from the Duke should be demolished, and he had sent such word to the Pope : To the prejudice of this Promise, *Rofny* had blown up the Fortresses of *Saint Catherine* by Mines, and the Inhabitants of *Geneva* failed not to demolish it ; Hearing this News when they were ready to Sign, he was so offended that he ceased intermeddling any further with the Treaty, and openly declared that he revoked all he had said.

Arconnas and *des Alymes* did not so hastily press him to undertake the Business anew, as judging the Citadel of *Bourg* was yet in a condition to hold out a long time, and in the mean while their Duke, together with the *Spanish* Army, would make some great Attempt to put in Relief. The Besieged suffered very much already, most of them having for at least a Month past fed upon nothing but Dogs and Horses : During the Suspension the King had allowed they should be furnished with a Hundred Loaves a day, and some Bottles of Wine : But with these refreshments they convey'd, in a Report that their Deputies abusing of their faithful Constancy, did not hasten to conclude the Treaty, but trusted more to what they could yet suffer, then they did Commiserate them for what they had suffer'd already. The Besieged thought this so great a Truth, that they sent a Ticket to those Deputies, Signed by *Bouvins* and all their Officers, to declare they could not hold above two days more, and that they should make their account accordingly.

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The Necessity was not so pressing as they pretended : However the Deputies took so hot an Alarm, that they immediately besought the Legate to renew the Treaty. He would do nothing in it till they had given him a Declaration in Writing that it was upon their request, and that they would Sign all he had agreed to. They had received Letters, indeed, from the Duke of the Eight of *January*, which enjoined them to Sign when the Legate commanded it : But when all was concluded, they excused themselves by reason three days afterwards another Express was come, which order'd them to defer it till the Duke had confer'd with the Count de *Fuentes*.

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They ought, no doubt, to have follow'd the last Instructions ; and yet the Legate who found all the pains he had taken likely to be lost, and himself like to receive a sensible Affront, employ'd Arguments, Intreaties, and Artifice to persuade them that they were bound to follow the first. The *Spanish* Ambassador joyned his instances to the Legates, and the Necessity of their Master's Affairs pressed them also, for they believed the Citadel of *Bourg* to be lost. Yet could they find no way to reconcile the breach of this last Order with their Duty : the Patriarch found out one ; which was that the Legate should give them a Promise under his hand, To make the Duke approve of the Treaty, to free them from his Indignation, and to warrant their Persons, Declaring that what they had done was out of the respect due to his Authority, and because of the rank he held in Christendom. Upon the assurance of this Writing they Signed the Treaty the Seventeenth of *January* : but to say the truth, this was no reason to the Duke, it was rather an offence, to own the Commands of any but himself. Therefore the Negotiation being ended, *Arconnas* was received by him with extreme coldness : *Des Alymes* fearing something worse, durst not go to Court, but set himself upon making his apology ; and understanding it had but the more exasperated the Duke, he changed his Sovereign, and retired to the Country bearing his own Name, called *Bugey*.

The Duke and the Count de *Fuentes*, deferred for some time to ratify the Treaty ; the Duke because he was willing that to oblige him to it, King *Philip* his Brother in Law should have recompensed him for the inequality of an exchange which he pretended to be very disadvantageous to himself : The second, because he ardently desired a War, hating the King's Person, and vainly promising himself he should find the *Fortune de la guerre* as favourable in those Parts, as formerly in *Picardy*.

The Legate, who was then gone to *Avignon*, took such an Alarm upon their refusal, that he rode away Post to find the Count at *Milan*, and e're he went dispatched a Gentleman to the King to desire he would harbour no distrust concerning

cerning his making good the Treaty, and to prolong the Suspension of Arms for Fifteen days more. The Duke of *Savoy* made them wait yet Seven or Eight days e're he came to *Milan*, and the Count being of intelligence with him, refused to Sign before that Prince had done so. But when King *Philip* had signified his Pleasure, and the Legate, by a wyle of an *Italian* Breed and Air, had reproached him that he alone hindered the Duke from Signing, had picked him with Honor, and obliged him to decipher the whole Secret between him and the Duke, he could delay it no farther. And besides, the Duke having sent a Messenger expressly to *Bourg* with a Token, (which was the one half of a broken piece of Gold) to know the condition of the place, upon pretence of going there to Surrender it, found it really such that the Besieged could not maintain it Three days longer, unless they would feed upon one another.

So that he and the Count Signed and sent their Ratification to *Lyons*, *January* and where the Constable, *Sillery*, and *Tavin*, staid to receive it. The King *February* was gone thence Post to *Paris* about Fifteen days before ; the Queen follow'd by easie Journeys, and arrived at the beginning of *Saint Germain* Fair, Towards Spring, both of them went to *Orleans* to gain the Jubile the Pope had sent thither. *May*.

This is the Substance of the principal Articles of the Treaty. The Duke quitted the Country of *Bresse* to the King, comprehending *Bourg* with its Cannon and Ammunitions, *Bugey*, *Valromey*, and the Bailliwick of *Geix*, with the River of *Roine* from *Geneva* even to *Lyons*, excepting only *Pont de Gressin*, which he retained for the convenience of Passage. Moreover he gave up the City, Chastellenie, and Tower of the Bridge of *Chateau-Dauphin*, and demolished *Beche-Dauphin*. The King in exchange left him the Marquisat of *Salusses*, with the Cities of *Cental*, *Demont*, and *Roque-Sparviere*, and rendered up all the Places he had taken during this War. Both the one and the other were bound to make good the Gifts, Rewards, and Assignments made by either of them or their Predecessors upon those Lands they yielded up.

Bouvins went out of the Citadel of *Bourg* the Ninth of *March*. Had there been Provisions they could never have forc'd him thence : But the City being surprized on an instant, he could not transport any Stores into that place, which Demonstrates that it is more secure to lay up Stores in Citadels than in the Cities. The King gave this important Government to *Peter d'Escodeca Roelle* a *Huguenot*, and therefore the fitter to be trusted there. *March*.

In the Count de *Fuentes* Army were Five and twenty thousand Men, he could willingly have employ'd them against France : but the Council of Spain had designed them elsewhere. One half were sent to *Flanders*, the other about *Mid-spring* were put aboard several Gallies for some grand Enterprize against the Infidels. It was believed they meant to surprize *Algiers*, by the Assistance of Ten thousand Christian Slaves who were to be Armed upon their Landing. The Barbarians suspected it, and shut them close in their Cellars, doubly-chained. Now, whether that were the Design or not, this Fleet having roved about those Seas some time, returned into Port, much shattered without so much as offering to make any the least attempt. *May, June, and July*.

A powerful Division of the Turkish Forces would much have amended the Affairs of the Emperor *Rodolph*. Sultan *Amurath III.* had broke the Peace with him in the year 1591. after he had made one with the Persian. 'Tis true that during the rest of his Reign he ever had the disadvantage, nor was his Son and Successor *Mahomet III.* more fortunate the first year of his : The Imperialists having taken *Strigoniam*, and *Sinan* his Grand Visier being most shamefully chased by *Sigmund* Battery Prince of *Transylvania*. But the following, which was 1596. the said Sultan going in Person, gained the Fortress of *Agria* in the Upper Hungary, which the Turks call the *IN-EXPUGNABLE*, and won a great Battel over *Matthias* the Emperor's Brother, who came, too late, to the relief of that Place.

The Invasions of the Persians who renew'd the War with him, and the Mutinies of *May, June, and July*, made him lay aside his Enterprizes for some years : but having brought his Forces again that way, the Emperor not relying any more upon the Conduct of his Generals, who served him very ill, had cast his eyes upon the Duke of *Mercoeur*, as well because of his Courage and Quality, as because it was likely he would bring great Numbers of brave Frenchmen with him, who otherwise weary of being idle, would have

1601. have run themselves into the Service of the United Provinces. This Duke did joyfully accept so honorable an Employment, not, however, without the King's Permission, and took with him the Count de Chaligny his Brother, a great many Volunteers, and some complete Companies of Soldiers.

There is no Historian of those times but hath taken delight to mention the Exploits of this generous Prince; They relate the great, though fruitless, efforts, he made with only Fifteen hundred men, to raise the Siege which Ibrahim Bassa had laid to Canika with Three-score thousand Combatants, and to draw him to give Battel; Afterwards, when he had no more Provisions, his gallant Retreat, the bravest that Europe had beheld in all these Wars; Then the following year 1602. the taking of Alba-Royal, and defeat of the Turks who marched to relieve that Place. After so many noble Actions, as he was returning into France for his Domestic Affairs, a Purple Feather seized on him in the City of Nuremberg, and sent him to Triumph in Heaven the Nineteenth of February.

Now Seha Abbas King of Persia, having renew'd a War against the Turks, was persuaded by Anthony Shirley an Englishman, one of the greatest Cheats in the whole World, to seek the Alliance of the Christian Princes against their common Enemy. His Ambassador Conducted by this Anthony, saw the Emperor, the Pope, and the King of Spain; they all gave him noble Receptions, and magnificent Promises, but such as had no effect. The whole Profit of this famous Embassy fell to Anthony, who stole and converted to his own use the greater part of the Presents the Persian sent and designed for the Christian Princes.

Mahomet advertis'd of the great Noise it made in Europe, and that the Duke of Mercœur with a small number of French, put his Armies to more trouble than the whole Forces of Germany had done before, dispatched an Envoy to the King, desiring him to recall that Prince, and renew the ancient Alliances between the House of France, and that of the Ottomans. This Envoy was only a simple Physician without any Train or Attendance; not that those Barbarians are so insolent as to hold the Kings of France inferior to their Grandeur; but because our Kings themselves would never admit of any splendid Embassies from thence, lest it should provoke the hatred and reproach of the rest of Christendom. However the effect of this Negotiation was as inconsiderable as the Minister of it.

1601. The Treaty of Vervins did not hinder the two Kings from seeking to take their advantages of each other. The Spaniards reproached the King that he assisted the United Provinces with Money, and that he permitted his Subjects to go into their Service with whole Troops of Horse, and complete Regiments of Foot. As to the first he replied, That if he did send them Money, it was because he owed them a great deal: But for the second, he could not avoid making an Order to Prohibit the French from bearing Arms for those Provinces, though in effect he were very glad they disobey'd him in that point, and was as sorry and displeased with those that took Pay under the Spaniard.

On his part there was much more cause to accuse them of infidelity; He complain'd that they had sent Forces to the Duke of Savoy; that the Count de Fuentes had endeavour'd to form an Enterprize upon Marseilles; that they had debauched the Marechal de Biron, and that they yet held intelligence with the Grandees of the Kingdom to stir up the flame of a new Civil War.

It wanted but little, being thus already exasperated at each others underhand dealings, of breaking into an open defiance, for an Affront the Spaniard put upon the Ambassador he had at Madrid, this was Anthony de Silly Rochepot. Some young Gentleman belonging to his Train, amongst whom was his Nephew, quarrelling one Evening as they were walking in the River, with some Spaniards, whom they protested were the Aggressors, kill'd two of them. The Dead being of the best Families of the Town, their Parents and their Friends so stirred up the Rabble, that they ran in multitudes to the Ambassador's House to do themselves justice by force. The Alcade, so they call the Town-Judge, could find no other way to appease this fury, but by going himself to the Ambassador's, and with strong hand break open the doors, and carry those Gentlemen away Prisoners. This was an attempt, justly deserving Punishment, to force a place which ought to be held Sacred: the King of Spain however did not do justice, but even detain'd the Prisoners when the Commotion was over, as if they had been liable to his Laws. The King therefore made loud complaint to all Christian Princes that they had violated the Rights of Nations, and the Majesty of France recalled

his Ambassador, who departed without taking leave of the King of Spain, and forbid all Commerce between his Subjects and Spain.

The People on those Frontiers did already apprehend the miseries of a Bloody War, and were the more alarmed upon a Report that the Bell at Arragon, which they hold miraculous, had rung out divers times of its own accord, which never happens, said they, without prefiging some great Accident; And that upon Holy Thursday, in the Village de Cudos near Bajas in Gasconne, a Woman uncovering her Pate, which she had wrapped in a Napkin, perceived a Bloody Cross both upon the one and the other. This was seen by great Numbers of People, and the Vicar of the Parish carried some of it to the Bishop. Which may perhaps not seem so miraculous to those that consider how amongst good Wheat there grows sometimes another worse Grain, which after its Flower is kneaded, will seem as it had been mingled with Blood.

Now the Duke of Lerma Minister of King Philip, apprehending a War as the bane of his Fortune, intreated the Pope in behalf of his Master to become the Mediator for an accommodation, and caused the Prisoners to be put into his hands. The Pope deliver'd them into the French Ambassadors at Rome, and desired the King to send another Ambassador into Spain, assuring him that he should be received with as much honour as he could desire. The King thereupon sent Emery Joubert de Barrant in the stead of Rochepot; the Principal Officers went forth to meet him at his approach near any of their Cities; when he came to Court, the Grandees made him their Visits; and within three days after, he had a favorable Audience.

During the heat of these Contentions, the King being gone to Calais, the Arch-Duke who besieged Ostend, greatly feared he drew near to disturb him, in his great Enterprize, and sent to Compliment him in terms as one that is afraid and intreats. The King assured him he had not the least thought of molesting him, and that he did desire to observe the Peace, provided that on the Spanish side they would do him reason.

And in truth, it was not any such thing that led him down to Calais, but the desire of Negotiating at the nearest distance with the Queen of England. That Princess having some Projects to impart for the ruining of the House of Austria, longed to confer with him personally, and flatter'd her self with the hopes of an interview at Sea between Dover & Calais. Biron was ordered on the King's behalf, to go and make his excuses to her for that he could not participate of that joy.

Whilst he was preparing for this Embassy, Rosty passed into England to endeavour the discovery of Queen Elizabeth's thoughts. He pretended to have no order to see her, but only a Curiosity to make a Voyage to London: he was soon taken notice of, as he desired, by some English Gentlemen, who carried him to the Queen; & gather'd as much of her Mind as she would let him know. Now when she found the King deprived her of the satisfaction of an interview, which she so ardently desired, she went about Forty Miles from London; & there it was she received Marechal de Biron, & treated him with all the Magnificence imaginable. From thence she brought him to London, where she shewed him, perhaps designedly, the Head of the Earl of Essex, other while her Favorite, planted upon the Tower, amongst those of many more English whom she had put to Death for conspiring against her.

All France, but principally the King, was in great impatience to know if what the Queen bare in her Womb, would prove the accomplishment of their earnest wishes: Knowing therefore her time drew near, he went in haste from Calais to beat her Labour. She was deliver'd at Fontainebleau, and brought forth a Son who entered upon the Stage of this World on Thursday the Seven and twentieth of September about Eleven at Night; he was named Lewis. The Father transported with joy, did the same day put his Sword into the Royal Infant's hand, according to the Custom of the Kings his Predecessors, craving the favour of Almighty God that he might one day make use of it for his Glory, and the good of his Subjects. The Birth of this little Prince was preceded by an Earth-quake, a preface of those terrible Wars wherewith all Europe was to be shaken during his Reign.

Five days before, viz. The two and twentieth of the Month being the Feast of Saint Maurice, the King of Spain had a Daughter Born, to whom they gave the Names of Anna-Maria-Mauritia. Such as pretended to have Skill in judging of future times, observing that Heaven had given Birth to these two first Children of different Sexes, so near one another, did then foretell it was decreed they should

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1601. be one day joyn'd together, to produce a Prince that should in his single Person unite the Grandeur of those two most August Houses.

October. The *Dauphin* made his first Entrance into *Paris* the Thirtieth day after his entrance into the World: his Cradle was carried in a Litterie accompanied by the Dame de *Montglas* his Governess, and the Nurse. The *Prévost des Marchands* and the *Eschevins*, went a good way into the *Fauxbourg* to receive him, and made him a Harangue; the Governess replied to it.

April. In the Month of *April* a difference arose which was like to have embroiled all *Provence*, between the Archbishop of *Aix*, (*Paul Hurand de l'Hospital*), and the Parliament. A Priest had forced a little Boy of Six or Seven years old: the Parents giving information, the Arch-bishops Official, or Chancellor, order'd that the Parties should proceed before him: but upon the Parents appeal, the Parliament ordained one of the King's Judges should have the hearing of it. In fine the Priest by Sentence was Condemned to such Death as his Abomination degraded him: Before Execution the Parliament summon'd the Archbishop to degrade him: but as in *Provence* the Ecclesiasticks were wont to enjoy the same Privileges and Franchises, as those of *Italy* enjoy'd, the Archbishop complaining they had infringed the Liberties of the Church, excommunicated all such Councillors as had been assisting in this Prosecution, forbid any within his Diocess to administer the Sacrament to them, and sent a Brief to all the Churches containing their several Names. This Scandal was the greater as hapning to be near the time of *Easter*. The Parliament offended with this proceeding, cited the Archbishop, and upon default of Appearance, declared his Brief calumnious, and his Excommunication null and abusive, ordained he should take it off, and enter the same in the Court Register, (or upon Record) within three days, in default whereof he should pay Ten thousand Crowns fine. In the mean time the Archbishop was obstinate, to persist, and the Parliament to compel him, the People were divided into two Parties, and grew hot even to the danger of some great Commotion: Nevertheless the Parliament having order'd a seizure of the Archbishop's Temporal Estate (the only Bridle for the Clergy, when they more value their Revenues than either their Duty or their Dignity) he soon complied, took off his Excommunication purely and simply, and sent to his Diocesans to receive those Judges to the Communion, whom he had deprived.

May. 1602. *March.* The following year in the Month of *March*, almost the like Scandal hapned at *Bordeaux*. The Archbishop who was the Cardinal de *Sourdis*, a hot-brained man, had demolished an Altar in the Church Saint *André* his Cathedral, without communicating it to the Chapter. The Canons endeavouring to Rebuild it, were drove away somewhat too rudely by his People. The Parliament took the Cause in hand, and upon their Complaint put the Mason in Prison who had pull'd down the Altar. The Cardinal breaks the Prison doors and takes him thence. Some days after, the Parliament, assisted by the Jurats who came with a strong hand, caused the Altar to be Rebuilt. The Cardinal was so enraged, that the Sunday following, being informed the first President, (by Name *Godfrey Malloin Sessac*) and the President *Verdun*, were hearing Mals in the Church of *Saint Projez*, he went thither with his Archiepiscopal Crozier and the Holy Sacrament, and there Excommunicated them by Bell, Book and Candle. The Parliament in great wrath for the injury done to all their Body by this affront to their Head, made a Decree which enjoyed him to revoke his Censures, and to cause the same to be published in the same Church upon the Penalty of Four thousand Crowns Fine, forbidding all Bishops to use the like for the future to any Judges for doing their Office, upon Pain of Ten thousand Crowns. The King having received the Complaints of either Parties, brought the Business before himself, and there kept it, to allay the heats on either hand.

There were divers Reglements published this year necessary to discharge the King's Debts, and make the Money circulate. Amongst others the Suppression of the Triennals created upon necessity of the Siege of *Amiens*, and their Reimbursement by the Ancient and Alternatives. They did however reserve those of the *Epargne*, *Parties Casuelles*, Extraordinaries for War, and some others. The Prohibition against Transporting Gold or Silver out of the Kingdom, or exposing any more Foreign Coin, except Pistols and Reals of *Spain*. Another forbidding the wearing of Gold or Silver upon their Cloaths, or to squander away that precious Metal in gilding. The King authorized this last by his own Example, and look'd very fowly upon a Prince who presumed to appear before him with

with that Gaudry. This Reformation did much discountenance the Gossips and Gallants, and was reckoned one of the Publick Grievances by that sort of Cattle, who have no other Perfections but what they borrow from the Laced-man and the Taylor.

The most Universal cause of all the Disorders and Corruptions, sprang from Luxury; the extraordinary Taxes first brought forth and Nursed this proud and dainty Monster: tho' to say truth both of them were as yet but in the Cradle; The Contractors and Exchequer-men having abundance of Money, which for the most part cost them but the dash of a Pen; did lay it out in all manner of Vanity. And most of the Gentlemen, who were picked to equal those foolish Expenses, did by over-swelling and strutting burk themselves, like the Frog in the Fable; Then when they were so ruined and had nothing left to sell but their Honour, they Married with those Fellows Daughters, to get great Portions, which they could not have met with in Houses of Repute or Quality; not considering that from such corrupted Blood, nothing but a corrupt and vicious generation could proceed.

It was therefore become most necessary to repress the intolency of these Robbers, and their Pillage, or unlawful Gains, that caused it. The King for that purpose establish'd a Royal Chamber, composed of Judges of known and approved integrity, selected from amongst the Masters of Requests, belonging to his Parliament, and the *Cow des Aides de Paris*. The People who are easily fed with vain hopes, imagined that the Gallows would soon do them Justice upon those Robbers under the specious title of Officers, and that their Spoil would be restored, at least in part, to such as had been fleeced by them: but by vertue of great Presents and Intrigues, they found out able Mediators; for some of the greatest Lords, many fair Ladies, together with the Ministers of the King's Pleasures, attack'd the Clemency of that good Prince with so many Engines and Importunities, that he admitted those Rascals to Composition, after the Chamber, or Court had sat till the year 1604. and so punish'd them only in their Purses, and that but very lightly.

Thus the Publick, far from receiving that Satisfaction they so justly expected, had the displeasure to find this Inspection served only to secure that booty to them who had so unmercifully rifled the Kingdom. Nor could they distinguish the Innocent, few as they were, from the Guilty, since not the most wicked; but the more weak were the most roughly handled.

The Adventures of a Man who said he was Sebastian King of Portugal, miraculously escaped from the hands of the Moors after the Battle in Africa, did for some years exercise the worlds Curiosity, and begot a diversity of Judgments, according as mens Minds were variously disposed. The Portuguese did easily believe it was their King, the Italians doubted it, the Spaniards treated him as a Frowbe and a Magician. He told his Fable, or his History so well, and brought so many Proofs and Tokens for the truth of what he said, that they could not detest him of one Mistake. The Senate of Venice, to whom he first address'd himself in the year 1598. found all his Answers very pertinent to such questions as they put to him: but the Spanish Ambassador to that Seignoury, made so much noise, that he was laid hold on, and after he had been Prisoner there two years, condemned him to quit their Territories within Eight days. The Portuguese Merchants who were then in Venice, traussed him as a Jacobin to carry him to Rome about the end of the year 1600. As he pass'd by Florence the Grand Duke apprehended him, and fearing to offend the King of Spain, who had a Fleet upon those Coasts, put him into the hands of the Vice-Roy of Naples. The Vice-Roy having detained him a while, caused him to be haved and sent to the Gallies, who carried him into Spain; where he was shut up close Prisoner in the Castle at Saint Lucar, and there died soon after. A horrible Injustice if he were Don Sebastian, and too slight a Punishment if he were an Impostor.

Some years before, another who came from the Terceres into Portugal, acted the same Part, having gotten together Six or Seven thousand Men, created Grandee, and bestowed upon them all the Offices belonging to the Crown: The Cardinal of Austria Vice-Roy of Portugal dispersed this confused Herd of Wild Beasts, and put their Counterfeit King with his principal Associates to Death.

The year 1602. found the whole Court very jocund: there was nothing but Feastings, Balls, Hunting-Matches, and great Gaming. Besides the gay Courtiers

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clers promis'd themselves a Golden Age, upon the discovery of some Mines of Gold, Silver, Copper, and Tin. In so much, as by an Edict, which however was not verified till *Mars*, *Bellayard* & *Esfiger*, of Master of the Horse, got to be made the Grand Maître, or Superintendent of them, *Beaulieu* Ruff Secretary of State that of Lieutenant; *Beringhen* first *Vallé de Chambre* Comptroller General, and *Pallemireuil* Counsellor in Parliament the Office of President to take Cognizance of all Matters; and Chancery relating to Workmen that should be therein employ'd. The Parasites did not stick to say Heaven had reserved this Happiness for the Reign of *Henry* the Great, and that the Earth enamour'd with his incomparable Vertues, open'd her Breast to let him behold all what she had of Rich and Beautiful: but when they came to work in their Mines, the expence did much exceed the profit, so that all these metallick Treasures vanish'd in smoke and vapour like Quick silver.

The Alliance between *France* and the *Swiss* and *Grison*, being expired after the Death of *Henry III.* the Agents for *Spain* had omitted no endeavours to break those People wholly off from us, and engage with them; particularly the Five petty Catholick Cantons; to that for some time past there had made one with them, and with the Duke of *Savoy*. Now the King desiring earnestly to renew with them upon the same Conditions as his Predecessors, *Francis* *Hornem* Ambassador in those Countries, had begun to lay some foundation for a Treaty, and would have carried it on much further, if Death had not laid his cold hands on him at *St. Dennis*. Afterwards *Baron de Vie* placed in his stead, pursued his work; and about the end of the foregoing year *Sillery* had been sent thither expressly to put the finishing hand to it.

The greatest difficulty, was to make the Treaty of the Five little Cantons accord with what the King demanded upon the foot of the old ones. *Sillery* thought he had overcome it by the promise he made of paying them a Million of Gold for what was due upon the former account: But the delay of payment (the most sensible of all injuries to them) had given opportunity to the Embassadors of *Spain* and *Savoy* to cast the Seeds of Anger and Discontent into the Minds of those suspicious People; in so much, that all was breaking in pieces when the Marechal de *Biron* arrived at *Soleure* in the Month of *January* of this year 1602. with a numerous Train, and a pompous Equipage.

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February.

His magnificent Expence, his Discourse wholly Martial, and the lustre of his brave Acts, whereof themselves had often been Eye-witness, had indeed a great influence upon those War-like Spirits; but it was the Arrival of the Waggon loads with Silver that wholly won their hearts. The Alliance was then renewed to last, not only during the life of the King, but during the life, also, of the Dauphin. The Marechal crowned this Festival with the Magnificence of a sumptuous Banquet, where he did wonders, in describing the Grandeur of the King, and the Power and Strength of *France*. This was not the least of his Services, but it was the last day of his Glory and good Fortune. At his return, finding that *Spain* was sent for to Court, he staid in *Burgundy* and would not stir thence, till the Month of *June*.

There had been granted by the Estates at *Rouen* a Tax of a *Sol per Liatr* upon such Wares as should be brought into any City, but for Three years only; the term expired, this Impost was continued with great severity; and the Partisans had hung up Papers containing the Prizes of all sorts of Goods near the Gates of the Towns at their Toll-booths. Those of *Guyenne* and *Languedoc* could not endure so odious an imposition, and which was no way due: *Limoges* and *Rochell* opposed it by main strength, the rest were ready to follow the same Dance, some Emisseries running about those Countries blew up the flame; and there was danger it might put those Provinces into a Combustion, unless timely care were taken to prevent it. To this purpose the King went to *Blois*, and thence to *Portiers*, and sent the President *Jamberville* into *Limoges*.

This Magistrate was very vigorous, he took the Hoods away from the Confessors of *Limoges* who were in Office, and caused two or three of the most Factions to suffer by the severest hand of Justice. By these means he appeased the Tumult in *Limoges*: as on the other side the Voyage of *Rochell* to *Rochell*, disposed the People of that haughty City to admit of the Impost. The Order and Paper of Prizes therefore was set up again in all the Cities: But some Months after, the King being satisfied of the Obedience of his Subjects; and moreover finding the said Impost did stand him in almost as much to Collect it, as it brought in, revoked

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May.

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ked and converted it into a moderate Subsidy; For Imposts, though they be abolished, like Wounds do ever leave some cicatrice and ill-favour'd Scar behind them.

Whilst the King was in *Poitou*, the Parliament the Chambers assembled, after a *Mercenaire* *, and chiefly at the instance of the President *Siquier*, seconded by the Examiners, ordained that all Advocates, or Attorneys, pursuant to the 161 Article of the Estates at *Blois*, should at the end of all their Briefs or Writings put down the particulars of all they had received for their Fees, and given Certificate of what they had gained from their Clients for their Pleadings. He made this Decree the Thirteenth of *May*, upon the desire the King had to reform the gross Abuses in Law-States; and upon Complaint made to him by the Duke de *Piney*, of an Advocate that had demanded Fifteen hundred Crowns of him to Plead one Cause. The Advocates refusing to obey, there was a second, which enjoined those that would not Plead, to make such Declaration to the Register, after which they were forbidden to exercise their Profession, upon pain de *faux*, i. e. Loss of Life and Estate.

The Morrow after this had been pronounced in full Court, they all went by two and two out of the Chamber of Consultations to the Number of 307, and going to the Registers laid down their Caps, and declared that they obey'd. The Palace, (or Court) was dumb for Eight or Nine days: Some of the Courtiers persuaded the King to leave them in that humor which they would have been weary of sooner than himself: But having Business of much greater weight than this, and the *Brouillery* beginning to look like a Commotion, he would needs determine it, and caused an Order to be dispatched which restored the Advocates to their Function; and commanded them to return to the Bar and obey the first Article. Which was only for the Formality. For the Judges themselves who made it wink'd at it, and let it fall to nothing.

It was with much reason suspected, that the Commotions in *Guyenne* were a Train leading to those other Mythes contrived by the Marechal de *Biron*; and it looked as if at the same instant that he was to spring them, the *Spaniards* were prepared to give the Assault, and enter upon the Kingdom. For they had raised a numerous Army by Land, which was kept upon the Frontiers, and were fitting another for Sea under the Command of *Juan de Cardona*. They gave out that the first was to be sent into *Flanders*: and the second to execute some Enterprize upon *Algiers*: by the assistance of the King of *Fez*. But it was apprehended rather to be designed against *Burgundy*, and to surprize some Sea-port Town in Provence.

The Spaniard shewed plainly enough by his Treatment of Alexander Caretta Marquis de Final, who was comprised in the Number of the King's Allies, that he cared not over-much to observe the Treaty of *Verwins*: for Fuentes seized upon Final, having paid the Garrison of that place for Ten or twelve Masters that were due to them. The very Old Age of that poor Lord, who was near upon Four-score, and his being destitute of Children, gave him the Confidence to make this Usurpation, for which the good Man never had any other Satisfaction, but only, I know not what Pension allow'd him in the Kingdom of Naples.

The fear of some terrible Event keeping the King in perpetual alarms, he came back from *Poitou* to *Fontainebleau*, that he might search into the bottom of the Conspiracy, believing that if once it were but laid open, it would not be so dangerous. And therefore he would needs at what rate soever, have *Laffin* brought before him who was privy to the whole Secret. We have told you what cause of discontent this man had against *Biron*; it is conjectur'd he had given notice to the King of all his Practices for a long while before this time; at least it is most certain he had thoughts of doing so; and of providing himself with Evidence to verifie his Accusation.

And this they ground it upon, *Biron* had with his own hand written a Project of the Conspiracy, *Laffin* perswaded him it was dangerous to keep it by him, and that he needed but to have a Copy. *Biron* gives it him to Transcribe in his presence. When he had done so, he rowls up the Original between his hands like a ball, and cast it into the Fire: but *Biron* not minding it further, (the negligence of a great Lord) he craftily draws it out again, and puts it into his Pocket. So that some will needs believe this man overwhelmed with Debts, Crimes,

May.

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Crimes, and other Misfortunes, foothed the passionate Marechal in his Designs, on purpose to make a fortune by betraying his Secrets; and that if he would, he might easily have prevailed with him to lay them all aside; especially after the Queen was deliver'd of a Son. For amongst the Letters the Marechal had written to him, there was one that said, *That since God had bestow'd a Dauphin upon the King, he would think no more of his former Follies, and pray'd him to return.*

When *Biron* understood *Laffin* was press'd upon by the King to go to Court, he sent a Gentleman to put him in mind of his Oathes, to let him consider he had his Life and Honor in his hands, to treat him above all things to burn all his Letters and Papers, and to rid himself of a certain Curate whom they had employ'd in some ill-favour'd Business. *Laffin* being come, to *Fontainebleau* reveal'd all to the King, gave him all the Letters and Papers, and named the Confessors to him; amongst whom he involved so many Persons of Quality, even *Rosny*, that the King amaz'd at the greatness of the Peril, was for some time in much doubt whom to confide in.

His secret Council thought convenient to dissemble in respect of many of the accused, and indeed there lay no other proof against them but the Depositions of *Laffin*; it had been the ready way to have set all *France* on a flame should they have fallen upon so many great ones at once, it was safer much to allow them time to repent, than to have put them to the necessity of seeking their particular safety in a desperate general Rebellion. And therefore of all the Letters *Laffin* produc'd, they publish'd none but those which made mention of *Biron* only; there were five and twenty of them. The King gave them into the Custody of the Chancellour, who for fear they should be lost, sowed them within the lining of his Doublet.

May.

All this was done before the King went to *Paris*. During his Voyage *Peter Fougues Desfoues*, and then the President *Jehin* being sent into *Burgundy*, labour'd to dispose *Biron* to come to Court. His Confidence, his Friends, those Prognostications wherein he put much confidence, divers ominous Prefages, the pressing haste of those that would have him go, dissuaded him; On the contrary, the Assurance which the Baron *de Lux* newly return'd from Court gave him, that *Laffin* had discover'd nothing, the King's profound Dissimulation, who one day said before this Baron, that he was very glad *Laffin* had cleared several doubts which some had made him conceive of *Biron's* innocency, the shame the Marechal had of shewing any fear, and giving advantage to his Enemies, the apprehension of being thrust out of his Government if he did not obey, and withal his Pride and his ill Fate betray'd him to the resolution of going to the King.

Before he went, he received a Ticket from a Lord, his intimate Friend, who advis'd him rather to go into the *Franche Comté*: for there was now no farther Security for him in *Burgundy*, the King's Agents having dispos'd of all things there to invest him. Upon his way many more of the same Tenor were deliver'd him; At *Montargis* he met one so pressing that he was like to have turned back again; nevertheless he persued his unhappiness, and arrived at *Fontainebleau* the fourteenth of June.

June.

The Duke d'Espernon had sent before his coming to proffer him his Service, believing those odd Reports that flew about were but the Slanders of his Enemies. When he was at Court he did not meet with his accustomed Applause, and might well read the disposition of the Prince in the countenance of his Courtiers. Wherever he went his Presence cast a damp upon their looks, few people approach'd him, and none could speak but with a great deal of Constraint: whil't every thing pointed out the danger he was in; and if he did not understand that Language, a Note from the Countess de *Rouffy* his Sister, spake more plainly, wishing him to get away before he was more strictly guarded.

This would perhaps have proved very difficult, so carefully was he observed: but he had no need to provide for his Safety by such shifts, the King himself offer'd him a way both more certain and more honorable. He had resolv'd, and his Council applauded that resolution, to extend his Clemency to him, and forget all what was past, provided he would faithfully discover and unriddle the whole Practice, with all the instruments of this Conspiracy, that so by certainly knowing from what quarter the Storm was to have fallen upon him, he might be eased of his Fears, and Jealousies that did so much disturb his rest.

June.

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He therefore made three several attempts to persuade him to own the Truth freely and sincerely: one the very same Morning he arriv'd at Court, having drawn him aside in a private Walk of the Garden; another after Dinner the very same day taking him into his Closet; and the third the next Morning in another private Promenade. He every time exhorted, and conjur'd him not to conceal those things which could not by other means be made out without ruining him, assur'd him of a full and real Pardon, and told him that what he desired to be inform'd of from his own Mouth, was not for want of other Evidence, but purely because he desired to save his Reputation, and keep the Knowledge from any but himself, of such things as must if prosecuted be to his disadvantageous to him. All these endeavours were to no purpose, for he believing *Laffin* had kept his Faith, and thinking whatever the King hinted was but Conjecture, was so far from owning any thing, that he talk'd audaciously and without respect. The first time he replied, he was not come either to justify himself, or to accuse his Friends. At the second, he made loud Complaints, was transported, demand'd Justice against his Accusers, or Permission to carve his Satisfaction with his Sword. At the third it was nothing but Bravado's, Menaces, execrable Oathes, which convinc'd the King that he was much more susceptible to commit a Crime than to repent it. He therefore resolv'd to abandon him to the severity of Justice, since he refus'd to cast himself into the arms of Mercy, and gave Order to *Viry* and *Praslin* Captains of the *Guards du Corps*; to be in a readiness to apprehend him, and also the Count d'Avorgne, the most intimate of his Acquaintance, and Accomplices.

Before it came to this, he would needs Communicate the Proofs he had against them to his secret Council, that he might not bring People of such great Importance before his Tribunal, unless there were enough to Convict them. When they had satisfied him that there was more than needed, he made yet another and last effort to draw the whole Truth of the Fact out of the mouth of the Marechal. At Night about Ten of the Clock, having left off his Gaming with the Queen, he call'd him into his Closet, and conjur'd him once for all, to confess that freely of himself, which he was too well inform'd of by others, passing his word that a true and ample Confession should wipe off all his Crimes, how many and enormous soever. The least token of Humility and Repentance had sav'd him: But he most arrogantly replied, *That, this was to press an honest man too far*: So that the King touch'd at the same time with Sorrow and Indignation, left him, saying, *Since you will reveal Nothing, Adieu Baron.*

June.

Going forth from thence, he was seiz'd by *Viry*, as the Count d'Avorgne was by *Praslin*. Both of them being kept that Night in the Castle, were the next day convey'd to *Paris* by Water, and lodg'd in the *Bastille*. The same day the King arriv'd by the Gate *Saint Marceau*, the People following him with loud Acclamations which express'd the Joy they revent for his having discover'd so dangerous a Plot.

Three days after, *Biron's* Relations to the number of Seven, of whom were *Saint Blancard* his Brother, *Salignac* of the same Surname, and *James Nompur Canon* *La Force*, coming and calling themselves at the King's feet to implore his Mercy, had for Answer, That he would leave him to the Severity of the Law. Immediately he sent a Commission to the Parliament of *Paris* to make his Process, and another particular one to the first President, to the President *Potier*, and to *Flcury* and *Turin* the two eldest Councillors of the whole Company to Examine him. His Friends presented a Petition in the Name of his Mother, desiring he might have Council allowed him, as is usual to such as are accus'd; But the Court denied it, grounding it upon this, That they are not allowed any in case of Treason.

In this necessity whereas he should have collect'd all his strength of Reason and Prudence, he shew'd if ever he were Master of any, that this present trouble of Spirit had utterly confounded them: for from the moment he was apprehended to the day of his Death, all his Discourse and Behaviour seem'd to tend only to the aggravating his Crime, and loading him hourly with new Guilt. When *Viry* made him Prisoner, he would needs have the King be a Persecutor, and said to those that saw him led away, *Behold, Sirs, how they treat the good Catholics*. After his Confinement, unless at those times when he fell into perfect raving, his mouth was ever full of Reproaches, Imprecations and Rodomontado's.

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As to the Witnesses, he reproached them not till after he had heard their Depositions, though he had been fore-warn'd that if he had any thing to object, it must be before-hand. Thus he owned *Laffin* for an Honest man and his good Friend; Then when they had read what he deposed, he Curs'd him as the worst of all Mankind, a Sorcerer, a Traytor, and a Sodomite. Had he said this in due time, it might in some measure have weakened his Evidence. He said that if *Renazé* had been alive he could have testified the contrary, and justified him: he did not imagine he was so near at hand, and was much amazed when they read his Deposition, and brought him to confront him. This fellow had made his escape from the Prison at *Quiers* with his Keepers, so opportunely, one would have guess'd the Duke of *Savoy* was of Intelligence with the King.

The Witnesses alone Convicted him, for most of his Writings were dated before the Pardon the King had granted him at *Lyons*. All things being ready, they led him to the Parliament to give Judgment: He was convey'd thither by Boat with a strong guard. The Chambers were assembled, the Chancellour presided, not one of the Dukes or Pairs were there, although they had been summon'd in due form. He defended himself somewhat better there, than he had done before his Commissioners. They gave him full liberty and time to Plead, and this time he did Plead as he had often Fought; that is, he did wonders.

All the strength of his defence consisted in an endeavour to make it out, that the Will without any Effect, or a Design without an Overt act, was not punishable, that his Services ought to over-weigh and excuse some transports of passionate and indecent words and thoughts that had no farther consequence; And above all he laid his main stress upon this, that the King had Pardon'd him in the *Cordeliers* at *Lyons*. To these Reasons and Arguments he added so lively a Representation of his brave deeds and so many Motives for Compassion, that he drew Tears from the Eyes of some of his Judges; and if they had at that instant given their Opinions, perhaps he might have found some mercy: but they having then not time enough to take all their Votes, the Business was deferred till *Monday*, in the mean while he, was remanded to the *Bastille*.

On *Monday*, while the Judges were in Consultation, an Order was brought them under the Great Seal, whereby he revoked the Pardon he had given him by word of mouth at *Lyons*. Some of his Ministers finding the Prisoner stood so much upon that, and apprehending his fury if he should escape, prevailed with the King to make the said Revocation, though it were a thing altogether unnecessary, and somewhat contrary to his Natural Clemency.

The Judges, as one Man, gave all their Votes for his Death; They declared him Convicted of High-Treason, for Conspiracies against the Person of the King, Designs upon the State, and Treaties with the Enemies, and Condemned him to have his Head cut off in the Greve, his Estate confiscate to the King, the Duchy of *Biron* to be Extinguish'd, and those Lands and others, if he had any which were held of the King, reunited to the Crown. The Sentence being brought to the King, he put off the Execution till the next day, and changed the place from the Greve to that of the Court in the *Bastille*. Which to his Friends was interpreted as a Favour, though it was purely an effect of the fear they had of some Commotion, not so much amongst the common People, as the Soldiery, who loved him most entirely.

Upon *Tuesday* the last day of *July* about Noon, the Chancellour with some Councillors of State and of the Parliament, went to the *Bastille* to put the Sentence in Execution. So soon as *Biron* saw him he cried out, he was a Dead man, and ask'd if there were no Pardon. The extravagancies, and the transports he shew'd in this last Scene, where his Courage ought to have shew'd its force, if he had had any, demonstrates enough, that some who dare venture into dangers with Bravery, because they have a prospect of overcoming, have not the resolution

tion to stare Death in the face, when there's no possibility of escaping. The Chancellour having given Order they should lead him to the Chappel, gave himself up to Cries, to Complaints, and to Reproaches, protested his Innocency, summon'd the Chancellour to appear at the Bar of Almighty God, accus'd the King of Ingratitude and Injustice. After he had thus spit all his fire and venom, he fell into the other extreme: his too great love of life flaring him yet with a faint beam of Hope, made him beseech his Judges to intercede once more for him, and made him even beg the favour of *Rosny*, though he esteem'd him his most mortal Enemy; Then when he found they all were deaf and dumb to his requests, he fell into more fury than before.

They had at first no little trouble to bring him to that condition a Criminal should be in to hear his Sentence pronounced: yet he heard it patiently enough, excepting those words which accus'd him of having Conspired against the Person of the King, this he could not endure, but cried out, *That was False*; and he persisted to his very death, that he was innocent as to that point. It was a mighty laborious task the Doctors had to prepare and dispose him to his Death: he had scarce any settled intervals. They thought fit not to tie him, lest that should put him out of all his Senses. When they led him to the Scaffold, the sight of the Executioner put him into a new rage: He would not let him touch him, nor tye a Handkerchief over his Eyes, he bound it on himself, and then unbund it again two or three times. At last the Executioner took his time and blow'd dexterously as made his Head fly off at one stroke. As it was full of Fire and Spirits, it was observed to make two Rebounds, and cast forth a much greater quantity of Blood, than came from the whole trove of his Body. His Corps was interred in the Church of *Saint Paul*, with a marvellous Confluence of People, who flock'd thither from all Parts, and served for his Funeral train.

He was of a middle Stature, and for Corpulence gross enough, had black Hair beginning to turn grey, his Physiognomy cloudy and ominous, his Conversation rough, his Eyes sunk inwards, his Head little, and no doubt ill furnished with Brains: his extravagant Designs, his giddy Conduct, and the foolish Passion he had for gaming (losing in one year above Five hundred thousand Crowns) were infallible marks of it. The King bestowed the Government of *Burgundy* on the *Dauphin*, and the Lieutenantancy on *Bellegarde* during his Minority.

The Death of *Biron* put out all the remaining Sparkles of the Conspiracy, if any were yet alive: his Friends and Relations bemoan'd his Death, but durst not murmur; his Confederates knowing he had said nothing against them, and being certain they had not written any thing, (for amongst his Papers they found no Letters but his own) reassured themselves, and that more especially because the King made as if he had no knowledge of their Practices; the King of *Spain*, nor Duke of *Savoy* dared not make any attempt now; whose Ambassadors were not the last that Congratulated the King, for his having detected this Conspiracy. He let them understand he very well knew their evil Disposition towards him, but yet assur'd them he would not break the Peace: but he denied to grant Passage by this Bridge de *Grefin* to their *Milan* Forces, before he had thoroughly inform'd himself of all this grand Affair.

Their Design, as they gave out, was to pass into *Flanders*, nevertheless he suspected they were brought thither only to favour the Enterprize of the *Mareschal de Biron*, and apprehended when he was first taken, lest they should have exasperated his Confederates by despair. Upon this consideration, and to keep *Burgundy* in obedience, he had sent thither the *Mareschal de Lucaradin* with some Forces; so that those who held the Castles of *Dijon* and *Auxonne*, after they had used threatenings four or five days talked no more but of submitting, when they perceived him in a condition to force them. The Fidelity, no less than the Courage, of this Lord, was well known to the King upon many Trials, therefore for some time past he had taken delight in bestowing the Noblest employments upon him, to eclipse the glory of *Biron*.

Edme de Malain Baron de *Lux*, Lieutenant in the Government of this Province, acquainted with the utmost Practices of the Conspiracy, was so wise and fortunate as not to lose himself: He trusted to the Mercy of the King, came to him, and disclosed all. Wherefore he Pardon'd him without any reservation, pass'd his Oblivion in the Parliament of *Paris*, and in the Parliament of *Burgundy*, and left him in his Command.

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August and September. The Baron de *Foixwillas* of the House of *Beaumont*, and *René de Marce* *Monsieur* Governor of *Rouen* were apprehended as Confederates with *Biron*. The Grand Council having a Commission to try the first, condemned him to be Drawn on a Hurdle to the *Grevs* and there to be Broken alive upon the Wheel, and five two or three of his People to the Gallows. The Cruelties this Gentleman had committed in *Britany* during the League, and the obstinacy he had shewed for that Party, did not a little heighten his Punishment; On the contrary, the Services which *Amboise* had done the King in that same Province, did much contribute towards his justification. The Count d' *Auvergne* remained but Two Months in the *Basille* after the Death of *Biron*, the King set him at Liberty, and also received him into his Favour. He had a Powerful Intercessor in his Sister the Marchioness of *Vermandois*, and moreover he owned all he knew.

October.

The Marshal de *Boillon* thought it more safe to be at large, and to justify himself at distance. He considered that *Rosny* jealous of the too great credit he had amongst the *Huguenots*, did him ill offices at Court, and he had reason, had he been never so innocent, to apprehend the Indignation of the King, because at *Poitiers*, that Prince having told him of his Practices, he resorted again too confidently, and in such a manner as is justly accounted Criminal towards a Sovereign. Thus far from coming upon the King's Commands, he went and presented himself at the *Chambre des Comptes* of *Castres*, offering to justify himself there, for he pretended they were his Natural Judges, because his Vicinity of *Toulouse* is within the Jurisdiction of the Parliament of *Toulouse*, whereas the Chamber of *Castres* is a Member. However it were, he drew from them an Act of Contemner, for which the King was very angry with them. Passing by *Montpellier*, he engaged the Reformed Churches of *Languedoc*, to write in favour of him to the King; then finding no place of Security in *France*, he went to *Geneva*, and from thence into *Germany*, where having persuaded the Protestant Princes of his Innocency, and craved the intercession of Queen *Elizabeth*, he gave his Enemies more cause to animate the King against him.

October.

December.

Towards the end of this year, the King discover'd how the Prince of *Fainville* had suffer'd himself to be circumvented by the *Spaniards*, and negotiated some Contract or Colligation with them, by means of *Philip d' Anglere Guyonvello* a Lord of *France Compté*. He caus'd him therefore to be apprehended: but when he found there was more of Puerility and Wantonness, than Malice in his Transactions, he would not put the young Prince in Prison, he only put him into the Custody of the Duke of *Guise* his eldest Brother, that he might teach him more Wit.

Amidst so many Inquietudes and Alarms, the Court tasted some little joy at the reception they made for the *Savoy* and *Grisen* Ambassadors who came to *Paris* to treat their renewed Alliance with the Crown. They were in number Forty two; *Savoy* Advocate of *Barnes* was their Orator. They arrived at *Paris* the Fourteenth of *October*, and stay'd there Thirteen days. The manner of their Reception, their Lodging, the Feasts that were made for them, the Ceremonies they us'd at their swearing the Alliance in the Church of *Notre-Dame*, which was performed the Two and twentieth of *October*, the Presents which the King bestow'd on each of them, were just the very same things as we have seen these latter years upon the like occasion, and are withal more proper to fill up a Ceremonial than a History.

But it is remarkable that at the Treat was given them in the Archbishoprick after they had taken the Oaths, the King who had dined apart, came into the Hall where they were sitting, accompanied by the Cardinals de *Joyeuse* and de *Gondy*, and some other Lords, and presenting himself at the end of the Table without sitting, nor yet suffering any of them to rise, drank to the health of his Companies, or Gossips, and obliged the two Cardinals to do the like. The Ambassadors received this Honor bare-headed, and Pledged him in the same manner.

About four or five days afterwards they took leave of him, having obtained Three things which they earnestly desired: The First for the whole Body of the Cantons, viz. A Confirmation of the Privileges that had been granted to them in *France*; Of the other two, the one was for the Protestant Cantons, and imported, That they should not be obliged to serve against those of their own Religion: The other for the little Cantons, allowing them, to continue their Alliance with *Milan* and *Savoy*, provided it were not Prejudicial to that which they had newly made with the King.

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An Edict which the Chancellour had minuted against Duels, was not yet Published. The King receiving every day Complaints how the most generous Blood of his Nobility, (idle and punctillious) was shed in these Combats, thought himself obliged to put that Curb upon so Tragical a Fury. The Edict was Published in the Month of *June*. It forbade all the King's Subjects from making any Duels, or Challenges, as well within, as out of the Kingdom, under pain of the Punishment inflicted for High-Treason; viz. Death and Confiscation, as well for the Seconds, as for the principal Parties concerned. Ordained that Process should be made to the memory of those that should happen to be slain in those Combats; Enjoyed the Constable and Marshalls of *France*, to cause such to be brought before them as had any quarrel, and to order Reparations for the Injury; to which the Parties were to acquiesce, otherwise to incur the uttermost Displeasure of the King, and to be Banished both from the Court, and the Province.

June.

Complaint was made that Strangers melted down the Gold and Silver, and carried it out of *France*, and that the manner of counting by Crowns encreased Luxury; because it cost no more to say Crowns than Livers. Upon this pretence some of the Council, by Motives not well understood, persuaded the King to raise the price of Moneys, so that the Gold Crown which was at Sixty *Sols*, was raised in value to Sixty and five; the *Franc*'s which were worth Twenty *Sols*, to One and twenty and four *Deniers*; the *quart d'Elou* of Fifteen *Sols*, mounted to Sixteen; and the *Tellons* of Fourteen and a half, to Fifteen and a half. It was likewise ordained, That from that time forward they should account by Livers, as was used before the year 1578. when King *Henry III.* ordained they should reckon by Crowns.

* There are the Pieces of 27 *Sols* now.

Those who had given this advice, desiring to have it Authorized, the King sent for the Chief of the Four Sovereign Companies, of the *Chambres des Monnoyes*, and the principal *Bourgeois* and Merchants to come to the *Loovre* to have their Opinions. All excepting those of the *Monnoyes* found great inconveniences in the said Change or Alteration: Nevertheless, those that had given that Council, persuaded the King to pass by all those Reasons to the contrary, and to force the Parliament by divers expresse Commands to verify it, without having any regard to the Remonstrances made by them whom they would not allow to speak, but only to deliver what they did object in Writing.

The Preparation made by the Duke of *Savoy*, was for an Attempt upon *Geneva*. *Albigny* his Lieutenant General on this side the *Alps*, and Governor of *Savoy*, had the first Conceptions of it; *Bernoliers* Governor of *Bonne* perfected the Design. The first chose Twelve hundred Men to execute the same on the Night of the Two and twentieth of *December*, led them to the foot of the Wall between the *Porte Neuve* and that of *la Monnoye*, made them plant their Ladders which were of a marvellous Structure, and saw Three hundred Soldiers get up well Armed, and provided with good Hatchets, Pincers and Hammers; this was about two hours after Midnight. *Bernoliers*, who managed the whole Design, having surprized the Sentinel, forced the Word from him, then kill'd him, and stood in his place; he did the same to the next that came the Rounds, but imprudently suffer'd a Boy that carried the Lanthorn to escape. The Lad ran to give the Alarm to the Court of Guard, and the whole Town: who but for this had remained in a profound quiet, resting upon the Faith of their first Syndic of the Guard, named *Blondet*, who was afterwards proved to be of intelligence with the Undertakers.

Decemb.

They had designed not to stir till just at break of day, but now finding they were discover'd, they resolv'd to begin the Execution. They therefore divided themselves into two Parties, went to gain the one the *Porte Neuve* (or *New Gate*) and the other that of the *Touraine*, and of these last part of them believing the Town was already their own, broke into the Houses and fell a Plundering. The first did Petard the inward Gate: but it hapned that the Petard was not in a readiness to break open the second; that soon after their Petardier, or Gunner, was slain, and a Burgher cut the Rope which held the Port-Cullis, and made it slide down. Then was the time they should have made use of their Hatchets: But their Astonishment made them forget they had any such Instruments.

In the mean time the Inhabitants having taken up their Arms, and gotten into a Body, came to attacke them. The *Savoyens* who were gone to the *Touraine* Gate, rejoyce with those at the *New Gate*; This Gate is taken and retaken

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three several times, *Renellere* is laid dead upon the spot; the soldiers were with- out do nor succour them as they ought to have done; by giving both and sell- Alarms at the other Gates. In fine, their great Numbers overcame the *Savoyens*, about some Fifty of them are cut off, the rest returning to the Leaders, the Cannon from an opposite Bastion had batter'd the wall pieces they leapt from top to bottom of the *Effort*, where most of them are knock'd on the Head, and even many of those that had not been within the City, *Albigny* and the other Chiefs, to the number of Thirteen, defend themselves to valiantly, they obtain a Capitulation with their Swords in hand. But ye could find their valour re- served them but to a more ignoble Fate, of course to be sold for slaves.

The Duke of *Savoy* believed the Success to be certain, that he parted from *Turin* four days before, and was come to *Rome* *d'Espermon*, which is within a League of *Geneva*. We may guess what his displeasure was, when upon his Arrival he heard *Albigny* Scolding a Retreat; wherefore he returned the very next day over the Mountains in post-haste, leaving his Forces in the Countries of *Concomy*, *Chablais*, and *Terrain*, and sent dispatches to the Neighbouring Princes, especially to the *Swiss*, to justify his Actions.

He had three colours for it: The first, That *Geneva* was not comprised in the Treaty of *Kerolus*; Neither was it indeed express'd by Name; but the King maintain'd that it was included under the Name of the *Allies* of the *Swiss*. The Second, That the Inhabitants of *Geneva* refused to pay him the Duties and Im- posts for what they possess'd in some Parts of the Countries subject to him; and this was true. The Third, That *Le Desforts* had contriv'd a Design to seize upon their City, and that he only endeavour'd to prevent him, as being more equitable it should fall into the hands of their Natural Lord, then into a Stran- ger and an Heretick.

The Day came, they held a Council in the Town-Hall how to dispose of their Prisoners; the *Swiss* were of opinion to keep them as Hostages in case the Duke should have a mind to Besiege their City: but the common Rabble, and the Wif- dows of those Citizens that had been slain in the Attack, made such Out-cries that they resolv'd to treat them as Robbers. They therefore Straggl'd those that were alive, then cut off the Heads of them and Threescore more that were dead; planted them upon the Walls, and cast their Bodies into the *Rhofne*.

They make mention of a *Damoiselle* Wife of *Sonnas* one of the said Thirteen Officers, that had Seven Children by him, and was great with the Eighth, who having resolv'd neither to eat nor drink till she had once more killed her dear Husband, and the Magistrates having refused to let her have his Head, she sat her self just opposite to the place where they had planted it, and kept her Eyes ever fix'd upon that dismal Object of her Love, and her Dispair; till Death depriv'd her both of her Sight and Life.

It hapned after some good distance of time, that *Blondel* *Syndic* of the Guards was accus'd by certain Persons of having had intelligence with *Albigny*: but they being of the Scum of the People, his Authority was enough alone to in- validate their Testimony; so that the Business had rested there, if himself to his Misfortune had not push'd it on too far, by contending to have them punish'd as Calumniators. The necessity of a Self-defence, drove them to search out for Proofs; They alledged that he had sent Letters to *d'Albigny* by a *Savoyard* Pea- sant. The difficulty was to meet with this Fellow, three years were spent be- fore they could get a sight of him; so soon as he appeared *Blondel* made him Pri- soner, and had put him down into a Dungeon. He thought by his very rough handling to force him to be willing to clear him: But finding he perished in the Truth, he forbore the Goaler, who strangled him in the Dungeons, and left the Rope about his Neck, as if the poor wretch had exercised that Cruelty upon himself. The truth of the Fact being discover'd by Inspec- tion of the Place and Circumstances, *Blondel* and the Goaler were broke upon the Wheel; The first before he died, owning his Correspondence with the *Savoyards*.

The News of this Enterprize being carried into *Switzerland* and *France*, the Canton of *Bearn* immediately concern'd themselves for the defence of *Geneva*, the King assur'd them of his Protection, and a Thousand or Twelve hundred *Hu- guenots* put themselves into the Place to defend it in case it were attack'd. This People turbulent and proud of the Support of the Protestants and that of *France*, gave themselves up to their resentments, and began a War against the Duke of

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Savoy; but with much more Fury than either Force or Success. Now the King, whatever kindness he bore to *Geneva*, had an interest to make up an Accom- modation. For if it went farther, he knew himself oblig'd to assist the *Huguenots*, and join all the Protestant Party together, which would inevitably have knock'd the Pope, whom he more dreaded than all the Powers upon Earth. For this reason he gave Order to *Edmund* *Wick* Ambassador with the *Swiss*, to come to *Geneva* and dispossess them of *Peagion*, and at the same time declared to the Duke of *Savoy* who arriv'd to Besiege that City, that if he proceeded any farther he must content himself with what he had.

The consideration and weight of this great Power put a full stop to their Motions on either hand, and brought them to a Peace. The Cantons of *Glaris*, *Schaffhausen*, *Basel*, and *Appenzel*, the least interest'd of the Thirteen, undertook to manage it. It was first begun at *Chablais*, and finished at Saint *Ju- lian's* near *Geneva* the One and twentieth of July, and ratified by the Duke the Five and twentieth. The Treaty contain'd, That they should mutually restore the Places which had been taken; That the Immunities and Exemptions which those of *Geneva* enjoy'd for what they possess'd in the Territories of the Duke, should be confirm'd; That the Duke should not draw any Forces together, raise any Fortifications, nor keep any Garrison within four Leagues of their City; and that it was declared to be comprised in the Treaty of *Vervins*.

The Court pass'd the Winter after their wonted manner: Dancing, Gaming, Feasts, Balls, and Comedies, especially those of the *Italians*, were their daily Diversions. In the beginning of March, the King took a Journey to *Metz*, *January* and carrying the Queen along with him, who on the two and twentieth of the pre- ceding *November*, was deliver'd of her first Daughter. The chief Motive of this Voyage was to discover what practices the Duke of *Bouillon* might possibly have contriv'd with the Protestants of *Germany*, and secure the City of *Metz*, which being at that time in great combustion, might have sided with some other Party.

The Duke of *Espermon* having been settled in that important Government by King *Henry III.* had left the Lieutenantcy both of that City and Country in the hands of a Gentleman named *Monsieur* *Cassin*, his Kinsman, and that of the Citadel to *Sobole* of the House of *Coblenz*, who had been bred as his Page. Soon after having recalled *Monsieur* *Cassin* near his person, he bestowed both those employ- ments on the second; he invited his younger Brother to come into that Country, a man violent and covetous, and who soon gain'd the full sway over him. Now the Elder *Sobole* having brought some assistance to the King at the Siege of *Laon*, got of him, as the reward for his Services the promise of these Lieutenantcies, his Master being then in *Provence* and in disavowr at Court with this new power, playing *Rex*, he begins to treat the Inhabitants curvily, and enraged that the Duke seem'd to justify their complaints; and foment their discontents, he by the advice of his younger Brother, Accus'd the principal Citizens and Officers of Justice, of having intelligence with *Mansfeld* Governor of *Luxembourg*; upon this Information several were imprison'd, and had been put to the Rack. But in fine, the business being brought before the Parliament, their innocence and the calumny of *Soboles* were clearly made known. Then the Duke makes no difficulty of espousing the quarrel of the oppress'd, so that they barricade them- selves to besiege *Soboles* in the Citadel. This Murine proved the loss of the two ingrateful Brothers: but the Duke got nothing but the pleasure of a revenge. For the King making halt to treat with them, press'd it so home, that before his Arrival they Surrender'd the place into his hands, without making the least advantage to themselves. He sent *Francis de Montigny la Grange* Lieutenant for the King over that Country and that City, and *Arquien* his Elder Brother in the Citadel, under the Government notwithstanding of the Duke *d'Espermon*, who feign'd to be very well satisfied, though he fore-saw he should have no power in those parts so long as the King liv'd.

Ever since the Kings absolution at the Court of *Rome*, the Jesuits had miss'd no opportunity of employing the Popes intercession, with all their art and indus- try to solicit their re-establishment, pretending it was one of the secret condi- tions which had been oppos'd at his absolution. But the imprudent conduct of some of their Society in *England*, at *Venice*, and in the lesser Cantons of *Swit- zerland*, having brought complaints against them to *Rome*, the Pope grew some- what cold in the pursuit of it. Now as the King was passing by *Perthuis*, the

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Rector and Fathers of the College in that City, encouraged by *la Varenne*, presented themselves to request of him that the Decree of the Parliament of Paris, which forbid the French to send any of their Children to study in the Jesuits Colleges, might not extend to theirs. The King having retained them a very Gracious Answer, they thought it a fit time to try a little further. Their Provincial named *Armand*, and three or four of his, came to *Paris*, and chusing the week of the Passion of our Lord, most proper to stir up mercy and compassion in a Christian Soul, got into the Kings Chappel upon *Holy Thursday* after noon, and fell down at his feet. The good Prince soon raised them up, and gave them a full Audience. The Provincial who was Spokes-man, innuendates himself, by extolling of his Victories and his Clemency, then endeavour'd to justify his Society from the common reproaches of their Enemies, and afterwards concluded by conjuring, and imploring his Royal Clemency by the precious Blood of *Jesus Christ* to shew mercy towards them, and to do it in such sort, that this favour might depend on nothing but his own goodness, that it might be wholly from him alone, and that they might have no obligation due to himself.

They had put down their harangue in writing, after he had heard it with all possible humanity, he took it out of their hands as if to read it with more attention. The Monday following having called them a second time into his Chappel, he gave them his positive word for their being restored, commanded the Provincial to come to him at *Paris*, and to bring Father *Casson*, then embraced him and all his Companions, in token he freely forgave them for the time past, and would make use of them for the time to come.

While he was at *Mez*, he received some Letters the Prince Palatine had written in favour of the Duke of *Bavaria* his Brother in Law. In the same place some German Princes came to Compliment him, particularly *Maurice* Landgrave of *Hesse*, *N. de Bouverie* Duke of *Nemours*, the Duke of *Dum-Pont* of the same House, and *John George* of *Brandenburg*, who disputed the Bishopricks of *Strasbourg* with *Charles* Cardinal of *Lorraine* ever since the year 1592. the first having been Elected by the Protestants at *Strasbourg*, and the second by the Catholics at *Saverne*. The Emperor had often endeavour'd to bring them to an agreement, but could never effect it. The King rather suspended then decided the controversy, by sharing the Revenue between the two Contenders: but the following year it was absolutely and finally determined by the mediation of *Frederick*, Duke of *Wurtemberg*, upon these conditions, amongst many others, That *John George* of *Brandenburg* should entirely yield up the Bishopricks to the Cardinal de *Lorraine*, for an hundred and thirty thousand Crowns of Gold ready Money, and that the City and Bailiynke of *Obernach* should remain in the hands of *Frederick*, redeemable at the end of thirty years by the Cardinal or his Successors, for the sum of four hundred thousand Crowns.

From *Mez* the King went to *Nancy* to visit the Dutchess of *Bar* his Sister, and to give her the satisfaction of seeing a Ballet danced which was of her own invention; for such things are not to be counted the least important Affairs of the Court. It was likewise, as some would have it, further to convince the Duke of *Bar* of his scruples concerning that Marriage, and to let him know that the devoir of Man towards his Wife being founded both on a natural and a divine right, ought to be more regarded then humane prohibitions. However it was, within some few Months after, the Dutchess believed she was with Child.

The King had designed a longer stay upon those Frontiers, that he might draw the German Princes to him, by making himself a friendly Mediator of their differences, reconciling as much as possible the Protestants with the Catholics, re-uniting in one common League, those that apprehended they might be oppressed by the grandeur of the House of *Austria*, and scattering Money amongst the Captains and Officers. But the News he received that *Elizabeth* Queen of England was at the *Agony*, made him suddenly leave that place to return to *Paris*.

This Princess so much exalted by the Protestants, and made so black by the zealous Catholics, was in truth worthy of immortal praise for the grandeur of her courage, her unswerving prudence, the rare qualities of her mind, and above all that tender love wherewith she cherished her people, a virtue which may well cover all the other Vices in a Sovereign: but her reputation will be for ever stained with the Blood of a Queen her Cousin, which she spilt upon a Scaffold, and with that of a great number of Catholics

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her Subjects, whom she exposed to cruel deaths. This severity notwithstanding proceeded not so much from her own temper as the Influence of her Councils. It has by reason of the frequent Conspiracies, hatched by our indiscreet and ungrateful nobles against her person, had specious opportunities to remove the innocent with the guilty, and to increase her hatred to that Religion by the wickedness of those attempts. She died the fourth of April about four in the morning, Aged sixty nine years and six months, of which she had Reigned forty five and more.

On her Death-bed she gave Letters written with her own hands, and sealed with her own Seal, to Robert Cecil High Treasurer and Secretary, with Command he should open them so soon as she expired. Now whether by these writings she had declared *James* Steward King of Scotland her Successor, or had left the liberty of Election to her Subjects, as the last mark of her affection, the Lords, the Bishops, those of the Privy Council to the late Queen, with a great number of the Nobility, and the Major and Sheriffs of London, being on the same day assembled early in the Morning at the Guild-Hall, Elected that Prince for their King; and so speedily, that they proclaimed him by eight of the Clock; wherof sending him notice to *Edinburg*, he came to London the seventeenth day of May.

It concerned France to take care in time to secure the Alliance with this new King, for that hitherto his correspondence and interests had been with the *Spaniards*, his whole Council held that byas, the inclinations of his Wife *Anne* of *Denmark*, who had much influence over him, were turned towards them, and it was not to be doubted but that the Catholics, who were numerous in England, and even all the people, because of the advantage of Trade, much more considerable from Spain then France, would use all their endeavours to oblige him to Treat with King *Philip*. It was therefore thought fit to send *Rosby* on the Embassy: for it was believed that he being of the Protestant Religion, his mediation would be the more acceptable, and that they would look upon him as a Minister who knew the Kings greatest secrets; besides that his words would have the greater influence upon King *James's* Counsellors, because he had the Purse wherewith to guild his Arguments and make them the more efficacious.

He had order to demand of that Prince, first the continuation of his Amity, and Alliances with the King; afterwards to sound whether he would incline to assist the United Provinces against the *Spaniards*; If he did not do it frankly to proceed warily, and not discover the private designs of the King against the House of *Austria*: but if he did find him disposed, to lay open the Methods whereby to destroy that grandeur, and reduce it within the limits of Spain only, and their Hereditary Countries in Germany; For this purpose to make a League wherein should enter the Kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, who should first attack the Low-Countries and then the *Indies*, to be shared amongst the Confederates, and to set up at the same time a potent Caball in Germany to take the Imperial Crown from him. He was also commanded, if he found the overtures favourable, to desire that King to put a stop to the English Piracies, who since the Peace of *Vervins*, under colour of a War with Spain, had taken for above Three Millions belonging to the French; As likewise to demand that the French who Traded in England, might enjoy the same Privileges and Franchises as the English enjoy'd in France, by the Treaty made between King *Charles IX.* and Queen *Elizabeth*, Anno 1572.

His whole Negotiation is to be seen at length in his Memoirs, and how he brought back a Treaty into France made the Five and twentieth of June, by which, the Prince promised in his own Name, and *Rosby* in the Name of the King; of which he made great use, though he had no expresse Commission for it, to renew and strengthen the Ancient, and never interrupted Alliances between France and Scotland, and those between the late Queen *Elizabeth* and King *Henry IV.* That a League should be concluded between the two Kings, for the Defence of their respective Kingdoms, Persons, and Subjects, and of their Allies: Especially of the United Provinces, whom they should forthwith assist with Powerful Succours, which should be raised in England, but pay'd by the King of France, the one half in Deduction for what he might be indebted to the English; That if either the one or the other were Attacked by the Spaniard, his Ally should assist him with a Land Army, or a Fleet of Ships, at the choice of him who should be so Assaulted, which should consist, at the least, of Six Thousand fighting Men; That if both should at the same time be Assaulted, or should become

1603. became *Assailants*, each on his part should make War upon the Common Enemy: Henry with Twenty thousand Men, whom he should send into the Low-Countries, and a considerable number of Gallies and other Vessels into the Mediterranean. And James with a Body of Six thousand Men by Land, and two strong Fleets which he should send the one upon the Coasts of Spain, the other towards the Indies.

Before this Treaty the King had been greatly afflicted with a Retention of Urine, caused, as was said, by an Excrecence stopping up that Channel. The Danger was so eminent, that believing he should die, he had begun to dispose of the Government during the Minority of his Son.

June. When he was Cared, he applied himself as before to his Buildings, and in procuring Money to be more plentiful and of a quicker Circulation in his Kingdom, thereby to make his Subsidies flow in both more abundantly and more readily. Trade appearing to him to be one of the most certain means and ways leading to that end, it was the Ardent desire of his Heart to make it grow and flourish, having the foregoing year erected a Chamber or Council for that end, composed of Officers belonging to his Parliament, the *Chamber des Comptes*, and the *Cour des Aides*. And because he was not Potent enough at Sea, and by that way the Expence was great, and the Profit a long time and very uncertain in its coming, he thought to succeed better and sooner by Home-Manufactures. Therefore he set up of divers sorts; Tapestries of the richest Fabrick in the *Faux-Bourg Saint Marcceau*, by means of divers excellent Artificers whom he invited thither from *Flanders*: Gilt-Leather Hangings in the *Faux-Bourg Saint Honoré* and *Saint Jacques*; Mills to work and cleave Iron with ease, and to cut the same into several pieces, which were Built on the River of *Estampes*; *Gaules* and thin Linnen Cloth at *Manes* upon the *Seine*; Pot-works for coarse and fine Earthen Wares of all sorts at *Paris*, *Nevers*, and *Brissambourg* in *Saintonge*: Glass-houses for Chrysolaine in imitation of the *Venetians*, at *Paris*, and *Nevers*. (There had been formerly some at *Saint Germain en Laye* in the Reign of Henry II. but the Wars had extinguish'd the Furnaces.) Cloth and Serges; Stuffs and Silks in divers Parts of the Kingdom, and several other things.

The Manufacture of Silks was that which took most with the generality, and promised the greatest Profit. The use of it first began in the East even with the beginning of the Persian Monarchy; the Romans having penetrated those Countries by their Conquests, could easily have brought away the Art and Use of it, but despised it, fearing to render themselves effeminate by those softer Garments, much fitter for tender amorous Youths and Women, than the more rough and martial Men. Afterwards their Courage growing indeed effeminate, they suffer'd it to be introduced in the lesser *Asia* and in *Greece*, about the time of the Empire of *Justinian*. Then towards the year 1130. it made a step into *Sicilia* and *Calabria*, by means of Roger King of *Cicilia*, who upon his return from an Expedition to the Holy-Land, having taken *Athens*, *Corinth* and *Thebes*, transported all such as wrought in Silk to *Panormus*. Of them the *Sicilians* learned to breed up those Worms that make the Silk, to Spin, and Weave it, and afterwards brought the Art into *Italy* and *Spain*.

June. From *Italy* it came first into the hottest Parts of *France*, as *Provence*, the *Comtat of Avignon*, and *Languedoc*; Francis I. settled it in *Touraine*, thinking to make great Profit by it. Nevertheless it was not common in *France* for a long time, for King Henry II. was the first who wore Silk Stockings at his Sister's Wedding. Yet till those Troubles hapned, which turned the whole Kingdom upside-down (under the Reigns of Charles IX. and Henry III. the Courtiers did not use much Silk, but after that the very Citizens began to wear it frequently. For 'tis a most certain Observation, that Pride and Luxury does never spread so much as during Public Calamities; for which I can guess at no other reason, but that it is a Curse from Heaven which ever comes hand in hand with the Plague of Civil War.

Now King Henry IV. believing this Manufacture might in like manner be set up at *Paris*, treated with certain Undertakers who Built several places in the *Tuileries*, the Castle of *Madrid*, and at *Fontainebleau*, to breed Silk-Worms, (they sending every year into *Spain* for the Eggs) and gave order for the planting great Numbers of white Mulberry-Trees, and raising Nurseries of them in all the adjacent Parishes, the Leaves of those Trees serving as Pasture for those precious Worms or Caterpillars.

1603. In the year 1599. he had by Edict Prohibited all Foreign Manufactures, as well of Silk, as Gold, Silver, pure or mixt, at the request of the Merchants of *Tours*, who pretended to make quantities sufficient to furnish the whole Kingdom. But as those kind of Establishments accommodate only the Undertakers, and incommode all others, it was soon found, that this Project ruined the City of *Lyon*, which may justly be called the Golden Gate of *France*, destroy'd their Fairs, and withal diminished the Customs by one half. These Considerations tended to the King, as he was never obstinate to prefer his absolute Authority to evident Reason and Demonstration, he made no scruple to revoke it.

In the Month of June, Ferdinand de Velasco Countable of *Castille* pass'd thither, *France* on his way to *England* to finish that Treaty of Peace with King James, which *Taxis* the Ambassador in Ordinary from *Spain* had begun. I shall here observe, that he concluded it about the middle of June in the following year: to the great regret of the King of *France*, who knew by this what he was to hope for from King James, a Prince heedless and timorous, a Philosopher in words; yet having nothing but the meen of a Soldier: And who withal was not yet so well settled in *England*, as to venture or dare to shock any one of his Neighbours.

Divers things caused great inquietudes in the King; There were some which troubled his Divertisements, and others that tended to the disturbance of his Kingdom. The Jealousies the Queen his Wife had of his Amours; the Malice of his Mistresses, especially the Marchioness of *Vernueil*; the heats of the Count de *Soissons*, which many times broke out upon Points of Honor, for the most part rather imaginary than real, and the Insolency of the Duke d' *Epernon* were of the first sort. The procedure of the zealous Catholics, who sought by oblique Methods to engage him to ruin the *Huguenots*, as on the opposite the Discontents of the *Huguenots* who endeavour'd to Cantonize that they might not be taken unprovided, were of the second.

We shall Discourse of the two first Points hereafter. As for the Count de *Soissons*, being already much offended for that *Rosny* had refused to allow him a certain Impost upon Linnen-Cloth, which he begg'd of the King, the false Reports made to him by the Marchioness of *Vernueil*, pull'd him on to such an extremity of resentment: that he talk'd of nothing but to be revenged by the Death of *Rosny*; and although the King did openly enough take part with this last, he could never allay the Count's Passion, but by obliging *Rosny* to disown by a Publick Writing, what he was accus'd to have spoken of the Count, and offer to fight any Man that durst maintain the contrary.

The Brave *Grillon* had suffer'd himself to be persuaded to lay down his Command of *Mestre de Camp* in the Regiment of Guards, the Duke of *Epernon* Collonel of the French Infantry, took it to be his Right to Nominate; and the King would retrench that Right, and had desin'd it for *Creguy* Son-in-Law to *Lesdiguières*. *Epernon* after having made all his efforts by Intrigues and by Remonstrances, to maintain his pretended Right, retired Male-content to *Angoulême*. Nevertheless being informed the King threaten'd to follow him, he was advis'd to submit to his Pleasure. When the King saw he acquiesc'd obediently, he did him Justice; for he order'd *Creguy* to wait upon him in that Country, to make Oath to him, and to take his Attach on his Provisions.

However he reserv'd the disposal of that Office, and the like in all other the old Bodies: but would have them be subject to the same Devoirs towards their Collonel: That when two Companies hapned to be vacant in the Regiment, he would fill up one by Nomination of the Collonel, who should not be installed, nor take place, but from the day they had given their Oaths to that Officer, and taken his Attache: That as for the like Officers in other Regiments, the Collonel should Nominate, and he choose Captains out of those so named; and as to the Lieutenants, Ensign-Collonels, Sergeant-Majors, and their Aids, Prevosts, *Maréchaux de Logis*, and other Officers, he should dispose of such by his sole Authority. Which rais'd his Power above that of Princes, and almost in a condition to make Head against the King himself.

In the Council his Ministers animated with Zeal against the *Huguenots*, and too much persuaded of the Spanish Grandeur, endeavour'd to divide the King from the Protestants, to reduce him to an entire submision to the Pope, to bring in the Jesuits, and to unite him with *Spain* and *Rome*, thereby to extirpate Calvinisme from all his Territories. *Taxis* Ambassador from the Catholick King, offer'd

1603. him all the Forces of Spain for that purpose, representing that the Huguenots were the greatest Enemies to his Person, and often had solicited King Philip to help them to dethrone him. He was, indeed, but too well informed that the Chiefs of the Huguenots, as Bonillon, la Trimouille his Brother in Law, Du Plessis-Mornay, Lefdiguières, and some Gentlemen that were his Domesticks, but had quitted him when he went to Mass, and almost all the Protestant Ministers, had no more that Love for him which otherwise they had shewn, but sighted after some other Protector. He could not, how-ever, resolve to treat those as Enemies who had so tenderly nursed and bred him up, and had Sacrificed every thing for his sake; and he consider'd withal, that if he could have forgot their eminent Services, he must thereby have alienated from him all the Protestant Princes, and have remained alone exposed to the Mercy of the same Power and Persons that had formed the League, which was what they desired. He chose therefore rather to restrain the hatred of particulars, without designing, or indeed daring, to fall upon the whole Body of them.

The Duke de la Trimouille was he, who discovering himself with most Confidence, rendered himself the most Criminal, not so much by Actions, as by his Discourses. His Strength lay in Poisson, where he had his Estate and Friends; The King to destroy his Credit and his Intelligences, thought fit to give the Government to Rosny; And to this effect, knowing that Malcoire and the Marechal de Lavardin, who had the Reversion the one after the other, were content to part with it, and that they even offer'd it him for some of his Children, he gave them Twenty thousand Crowns reward, that he might bestow it on his Super-Intendant.

A little while before, about the beginning of October, the Huguenots had held a Synod at Gap in Dauphiné, where they made several Reglements for their Ecclesiastical Discipline. Amongst others, That the Word of God should be the sole foundation of their Theology and their Sermons; That those Scholastick Disputes wont to be us'd in their Synods, should be sent back to their Schools; That they should have no Effigies upon their Tombs, nor Coats of Arms or Escutcons in their Temples. They likewise ordained many things for the maintenance and good order of their Colleges and Academies, and for the instituting of Seminaries and Libraries in each Province.

One of their main ends, was to conciliate the Lutherans with the Zuinglians and Calvinists: for the first were a more bitter Enemy to these than to the Catholics themselves: they invited therefore some Doctors of the Palatinate who were Calvinists, and some others from divers Parts of Germany who were Lutherans to come thither. After they had heard them all, they thought there could be no better way to suppress and silence the Discords between them, than by turning the Heat and Hatred of both Parties against the Pope, whom they knew to be their common Foe. With this Prospect, the more Factious caused it to be decreed that from thenceforward it should be one Article of Faith amongst them, That the Pope was the Anti-Christ, and in that quality should be infer'd in their Confession, which should be sent and recommended to all the Protestant Churches in Christendom.

The Minister Ferrier, possessed with an impious and turbulent Ambition, was chief Promoter of it. The more Prudent amongst them, even the great Scaliger, condemned this Decree, as the monstrous Product of a violent Cabal, and acknowledged that the Name of Anti-Christ could no way be suitable or appropriate to Clement VIII. who was very moderate towards those of their Religion. The Pope's Nuncio and the whole Clergy of France were moved and provoked at it as became them, and carried their Complaints to the King; who thought himself more concerned and affronted yet than they, as by consequence reproaching him that he worshipped the Beast, and which was more, cut him out very dangerous work at Rome. He therefore made use of all his Authority, and all the interest he had in those of greatest Credit amongst the Huguenot Party, to get them to abolish the said Decree; But not being able to persuade them to annul it, he did however for order things that it remained (unexecuted, and) only in the Heads of those that forged it. Four years after, viz. in Anno 1607. the Factious brought it again above-board, and got it confirmed in their Assembly at Rochell; And for the second time, also, he hindered the effect of it.

After his Voyage of Metz, the Jesuits earnestly solicited to be recalled: they had grand intrigues at Court; they had very potent friends there, who urged that

that, none but they were 'capable to instruct youth, and to convert the Huguenots. Father Cotton who never forsook the Court but preached there with great applause summon'd the King day by day to make good his promise. the Nuncio press'd him on behalf of his Holiness, Valleroy and Sillety joyn'd their good Offices, but their most prevalent Solicitor was William Fouquet La Varenne, Comptroller General of the Post-Office, who from the meanest imployments of the Kings House, had raised himself to the Cabinet or Closet, by those complaints and Ministeries, which are the most agreeable to the great ones. This detestable Courtier had a huge fancy to enrich and illustrate la Flesche the place of his Nativity, and whereof the King had given him the Government: he had already set up a Prefidial, an Election, and a Salt-work, all of a new Creation; the Crown of his desires was now to see a Collège of Jesuits Established there; to this end the King had given him his Palace, had assign'd eleven thousand Crowns of Revenue, and vast Sums of ready Money to build and to maintain it; and gave order that his heart and that of his Queen, and of all his Successors should be buried in their Church there.

When his intentions on this Subject were made known, there was not one in all the Council that durst open his lips against it. He therefore gave them an Edict for their re-establishment, which confirmed them in those Houses from whence they had not been expell'd, restored them to those of Lyons and Dijon, and to all that belonged to them; yet not without several conditions very necessary, but which time or favour have easily abolished.

This Edict being not brought to the Parliament till some few days before the September vacations, which begin on the eighth of September, the Company put off the business till after Saint Martin's day, that it might be considered at more leisure. November. The Chambers Assembled order'd to make most humble remonstrances to the King, to let him know the justice and necessity of that Decree or Act, by which they had banished the Society. The Month of December being pass'd whilst they were drawing it up, André Huraud de Massie who had a Vote in Parliament, went thither from the King to hasten them, and to let them understand, he would have them to do it by word of Mouth, and not in Writing, (contrary to what he had desired of them in the Money-business.) Upon Christmas Eve the Deputies being admitted into the Kings Closet, Achille de Harlay first President spake for them.

The weight of his reasons supported by the dignity of so grave a Magistrate, and with the force of his Eloquence, were enough to have convinced the King, had he not been absolutely fix'd in his resolution: but as he gave Audience to those Gentlemen only to make the Restoration of the Society the more authentic, he was not at all moved. After his giving thanks to the Members of Parliament, with his accustomed benignity, for the care they shew'd of the common good, and for the security of his person, he replied, that he had well foreseen and considered all those objections, and inconveniences which they laid before him: but that they must trust him with the care of providing against those, and desired that his Edict might be verified without any modulation. The Officers belonging to the King did notwithstanding delay the dispatch of it, and essay'd to put some stop to the verification: but the King having sent for them treated them with rough Language; and enjoy'd them to sit about it that very day; they were therefore forced to obey.

Thus the ignominy of the Jesuits banishment, served to heighten the glory of their return, and to procure them a more noble establishment; For in lieu of ten or twelve Collèges which they had before, in a short time they got eight or nine additional ones in the best Cities of the Kingdom, as invited with great civility by divers, and admitted into others by force of Orders and Interdict of Friends; they now saw themselves installed in a Royal Palace, which they made their most sumptuous Collège; And that condition in the Edict which oblig'd them, to have always attending upon the King one of their Society, a Frenchman, and sufficiently authorized amongst them, to serve him as a Preacher, or Chaplain, and to be responsible for the actions of the Company, instead of blenching, as those imagin'd who had thrust it in, proved to them the greatest honour they possibly could desire, for it impow'd them to give Confessors to the King.

Father Cotton was the first of theirs that held that place: all honest people did mightily rejoice, imagining he could shew no connivance for the Kings

1664. Kings-amours, but that he would make use together with his mildness and prudence, of the power of his Ministry, which certainly was most necessary to cure him of an infirmity that was become habitual. He did not want for qualities proper to make him successful either within the sphere of the Court or of the wider World: his circumspection, his complaisance, and dexterity to lay hold of time and opportunities, did soon insinuate into the Kings favour, and oftentimes into his very bosom and most retired thoughts.

1605. I shall say once for all the Credit of these Jesuits was so great at Court, that the following year they prevailed to have that Pyramid demolished, upon one face whereof was engraven the Sentence of *Chastity* Condemnation, and their Banishment, and on the other three divers inscriptions in Verse and Prose very biting and very injurious to them. To take away the Brand-mark from the forehead of the Society, they must pull down that Monument which taught men to curse that hellish Parricide. It was desired it might have been done by a Decree of Parliament: but when they found the Sentiments of that great Company were quite contrary, they did it without further application to them: tho not without giving the World a just occasion to speak variously concerning it. In the place of that Pyramid they made a Conduit or Fountain, all whose streams of Water though clear and plentiful shall never be able to wash away the memory of so horrid a Crime.

1604. At the beginning of the year, the death of Madam Catherine Dutchess of Bar, interrupted the diversions of the Court, and doathed it in Mourning. A tutor in her Womb, (which her Physicians, Flatterers, and Ignorants affirmed to be a true conception and treated her accordingly) made her lose her life the thirteenth day of February in the City of Nancy. To be reconciled with her Husband, she had divers times suffer'd disputes of Religion between some of the Catholic Doctors and her Ministers, but with no other success than what the like Conferences are wont to produce, viz. to make the truth more obscure. She had also given some hopes that she should be instructed: notwithstanding she obstinately persisted in her first belief to her very death.

March and April. The secret consultations and resolutions of the Council of France were known to the Council of Spain, almost as soon as they were taken; the King was mightily troubled at it, and knew not at whose door to lay the blame; the discovery of the Treachery of Nicholas P. Hesse, brought it to light. This was a young Clerk of Villeroys, whom his Master employ'd in deciphering Letters and dispatches. He was Son of one his Domesticks, and his own Godson; he bred him up in his own house, and for his first employment placed him with Rochepot whilst he was Ambassador in Spain. In that Country a Frenchman named Rasis a Native of Bourdeaux, (who for his having been too hot a Leaguer, could not attain the Kings permission to remain in France, and therefore was retired to Madrid) corrupted and prevail'd with him to accept a Pension of twelve hundred Crowns to betray the secrets of his Master; and after his return into France he continued to earn it by the same infidelity. Now Rasis at length finding they neglected to pay him his own allowance discover'd this intrigue to Barrant the French Ambassador: Barrant assured him of a good reward, and to get a pardon for him; in effect they fear him one immediately: but when he found it was signed by Villeroys, he judged it would not be safe for him to stay any longer in Spain, and desired to be gone at soonest. The Ambassador therefore lent him Money and his Secretary to conduct him into France.

His fears were just, for so soon as the Council of Spain knew of their departure, they gave notice of it to their Ambassador in France, by an express Courier, who got thither two days before them. They did not find Villeroys at Paris, but at a house of his own name on his way to Fontainebleau where the Court was. He did not think fit to send presently to apprehend P. Hesse who was yet at Paris, till he had first spoken to the King; the next day P. Hesse came to Fontainebleau, but as soon as he spied Rasis he immediately slunk away, the Spanish Ambassador having appointed a Fleming to conduct him to the Low-Countries by Champagne.

May. The Provost des Marches hastens to overtake them, and pursues him so close, that the unfortunate fellow had not time to get into the Ferry-boat, hard by la Ferrière: but hearing the noise of Horses, (it was in the night) ventures to wade cross the Marne and was drowned. It is not known whether by chance or despair, or whether his Guide played him that fly trick, to prevent the disco-

very

very of his Accomplices. His Body was brought to Paris; the Parliament made his Process, and Condemned him to be drawn by four Horses in Grève, which was Executed the nineteenth of May. Such as were Enemies to Villeroys rejoiced at this misfortune: they would willingly have charged his Servants with it on him, but not daring to Accuse him of infidelity, they taxed him with negligence. The King was for some days a little reserved towards him, however considering his great and real grief, and the necessity of his Services, instead of adding to his affliction, he took part with him, and had the generosity to console him.

The Council of Spain were in despair for that the French passed in great numbers to the Service of the Hollanders, and every year the King furnished those Provinces with six hundred thousand Livres in ready Money. These succours had put King Philip to so great an expence, that not knowing where to get any more Cash, he laid an Impost of thirty per Cent. upon all Goods imported into his Dominions, or exported thence. The King could not suffer such exaction, which enriched his Enemies to the loss of his Subjects: he prohibited all Commerce to the Low-Countries and Spain; and observing that the appetite of gain tempted the Merchants, who for the most part value no other Sovereign but their Interest, to infringe his Laws, he added great penalties to it. This was to begin a rupture, the Spanish set a good face upon it, as if they much desired it: but under-hand solicited the Popes mediation: who put an end to this dispute by persuading them to take off the new impost on the one hand, and the prohibition on the other.

Not daring openly to revenge himself upon the King, he endeavoured at least to contrive some private means to perplex and displease him. Taxis, his Ambassador, had concern'd himself in the intrigues of the *Marchioness de Vermeuil*, Balthezar de Samiga, who succeeded him, follow'd his Foot-steps, and held secret correspondence with five or six Italians who absolutely governed the Queen, particularly *Conchino Conchino* a noble Florentine, and *Leonora Galigay*, a Bed-Chamber woman to that Princess, whom *Conchino* had married. She was the humblest Creature about the Court, and of very abject birth: but that great Empire he had over her Mistress, repaired all the defects both of her person and condition.

The King as weak in his passions and domestick Affairs, as valiant and tough in War, had neither the heart to reduce his Wife to obedience, nor to rid his hands of his Mistresses, who were cause of all his Domestick broils. Those little Italian people, to render themselves more necessary, exasperated the spirits they should have allay'd, and by the malignity of their Reports and Councils encreased the Queens discontents; so that instead of reclaiming the King by alluring Careless (for he would be flattered) and endeavouring to regain his affection with the same Arts others made use of to steal it from her, she made him loath her Society with her Eternal grumbings and bitter reproaches. This contest betwixt Man and Wife was the perpetual business of the Court; their Confidants were no less busily employ'd in these Negotiations, then the Council was in the most important Affairs of State; and this disorder lasted as long as their Marriage, being sometimes quieted and laid asleep for a few days, then wak'd and rous'd again by fresh occasions, and accordingly as those *Bouffeurs* thought fit.

The Marchioness, on her part crafty and coquette, used all her artifice to maintain those feuds, which maintain'd her felicity. Amongst her Jefts with which she made the King merry, she often mix'd some insolencies against the Queen, and upon divers occasions would make her self her equal, spake meanly of her extraction, and then would counterfeit the Gate, her gestures, and her way of speaking. These offences did so much heighten the resentments of this Princess, that she with outrageous Language threatened a severe Revenge; the Marchioness having reason therefore to apprehend more then a bare affront: and wital displeased with the King for not taking her part, made use of an artifice common enough amongst those Female Politicians when designing to revive a dying passion: She feigned to be touched with a remorse of Conscience and Christian sorrow: the fear of God, said she, would suffer her no more to think of what was past but only to do penance for it, and that of her own life, and Childrens forbid her to see the King in private. She went yet farther, and begged leave of him to seek a Sanctuary out of the Kingdom for her and hers.

This Artifice had not at first its effect: for the Holy time of Easter approaching, he was resolv'd to take her at her word, and to give her leave to retire into England, where she might have the Duke of Lennox her neer Kinsman to sup-

port

March,
April, &c.

1604. port her, but not to carry her Children. As to the rest, to qualifie the Queens discontent, he desired she should surrender up the Promise of Marriage he had given her, and with which she made so much noise, shewing it to any one that had the curiosity to see it. His intreaties were not prevalent enough, he was obliged to make use of his Authority, together with Twenty thousand Crowns in Money, and the hopes of a Marechal's Staff for the Father. Upon which Conditions she deliver'd it in the presence of some Princes and Lords, who verified, and witnessed in Writing that it was the Original.

After all this, the Queen being satisfied, and the Marchioness appearing no more, the Tempest seemed to be allay'd, when the King discover'd that *Entragues*, Father of the said Lady, and the Count *d' Auvergne* had contriv'd a dangerous design with King Philip's Ambassador; it was to convey the Marchioness into Spain with her Children; which was negotiated with *Balthazar de Saligny*, Ambassador from the Catholic King, by the management of a certain English Gentleman named *Morgan*. It was reported, whether true, or false, how the Count *d' Auvergne* having acquainted the Spaniards with the Promise of Marriage the King had given the Marchioness, had made a secret Treaty with them; by which King Philip promised his assistance, to set her Son in the Throne: And to that purpose would furnish them with Five hundred thousand Livres in Money, and order the Forces he had in *Catalogne* to March, and second the Party who were to Cantonize in *Guyenne* and *Languedoc*. Nay, much more was mention'd, but few believed it, as that the Count had fram'd an Attempt upon the Life of the King, and that he was to dispatch him when he came to visit the Marchioness, then seized upon the *Dauphin*.

June, &c.

Now after the Death of *P. Hoste*, the Count finding the Intrigue began to be discover'd, retired into *Auvergne*, upon pretence of a Quarrel which hapned to him at Court: The Business being taken into Deliberation by the Council, some gave their Opinions he ought to be treated like the Marechal de *Biron*; but the King would by no means proceed after that manner: The example would have been of Consequence to his Bastards; So that the Constable, and the Duke de *Vendosme*, the former, Father in Law to the Count, and the other his Brother in Law, found it no difficult matter to get a Pardon for the Life of that wretched Man, upon condition however that he should Travel three years in the Levant.

July.

When he thought himself out of Danger, he offer'd the King, if he would be pleas'd to give him his full Liberty, to continue his Correspondence with the Spaniards that he might discover all their Secrets, and give him a true account thereof. The King seem'd to confide in his Promises, soon discover'd that he neither kept Faith with him nor his Enemies, but juggled with both. Thereupon he Commands him to Court: The Count excuses it, till he had his full and authentick Pardon; they sent it to him, but with this Clause, *That he should come to the King*: He could not find in his heart, to relye upon the word of a Prince whom he had so often deceived; so that the King resolv'd he should be Apprehended in *Auvergne*. The Count stood much upon his guard, and thought there was no Man in the world able to surprize him being so well fore-warn'd; Notwithstanding *Nerevan*, and the Baron of *Enrre*, having inticed him into the Field to be present at the Muster of a Company of *Gens d'armes* belonging to the Duke of *Vendosme*, surrounded and dismounted him, and took him in such manner as is at length related by the Historians of those times.

July.

Septemb. &c.

At the same time *Entragues* and his Wife were seized in their House at *Malesherbes*, and the Marchioness in her House at *Paris*. The Count was brought to the *Bastille*, and *Entragues* to the *Conciergerie*, or Common-Goal of *Paris*. It was necessary that all the world might see and know the Spaniards still maintained Factions in France: The King therefore commanded his Parliament to proceed against these Criminals: The event we shall shew in the next years Transactions.

Another Faction also did much discompose the King's Thoughts. He could not deny the *Huguenots* leave to Assemble at *Chastellerau*: and it was to be feared the Intrigues of the Marechal de *Bouillon*, and Credit of the Duke de la *Trimouille* and du *Plessis Mornay* should put them upon Resolutions contrary to his will and interest. But *Rohou* under colour of going to take Possession of his Government of *Poitou*, broke their measures: And la *Trimouille* falling into Convulsions, and then languishing, died some while after, Aged not above Four and Thirty years.

May.

years. He was a Noble-man of great Courage, and of most eminent Qualities; but not of such as suited with a Monarchick State. 1604.

The King diverted himself, amidst all these intrigues, with Buildings and other such like Occupations, when his leisure would give him leave: it tended to the improvement of his Kingdom. King Henry III. had begun the *Pont-Neuf*, having built two Arches, and brought the Pyles for the rest above the Water-mark, Henry IV. finish'd it, so that People began to pass over about the end of the preceding year. He carried on the Works also of the Lower Galleries, the Gallies *Saint Germain en Laye*, *Fontainebleau*, and *Monceaux*, which last he had bestow'd upon his Wife. After his Example, all the Great and the Rich set to Building, the City of *Paris* was visibly enlarged and embellish'd: The Hospital *Saint Louis* was Erected, for such as were infected with the Plague: Some private people distinguish'd the Place, (or Square) Royal: and others offer'd to make a much finer one in the *Marec du Temple*.

They likewise offer'd at many Projects, to make several Rivers Navigable which either had never yet been so, or else were now choked up; and to open a Communication between the greatest, by means of the lesser lying nearest together with some new Channels where it should be necessary, to carry it from the one to the other. They offer'd to join the *Seine* to the *Loire*, the *Loire* to the *Seine*, and the *Garonne* with the *Adour*, which falls into the *Mediterranean*, near *Narbonne*: The Conjunction of these two last would have made that of the two Seas.

May.

As for that of the *Seine* and the *Loire*, *Rohou* undertook it, drawing a Channel from *Briare*, which lies on the *Seine*, to *Chastillon*, above *Montargis*, upon the River *Loire*, and falls into the *Seine* at *Morvillars*. In this Channel they collected all the Waters of the adjacent Rivulets, designing to make Two and thirty Sluices to retain, and let them go by flaves, when needful to convey their Boats. He Expended above Three hundred thousand Crowns, but the change of Government made this design to miscarry, though very much advanced. It was, a long while after, taken up again, and completed at last.

In the Month of October, a new Phenomena was observed in the Heavens, which appeared four Months together. It was at first taken for the Planet Venus, because although it exceeded all the other Stars in Magnitude and Splendour, yet had it no Tail; but Observation soon found it was different from this Planet, for they both appeared at the same time. John Kepler a very Learned Mathematician, wrote a Treatise of its Motion, according to the Rules of Astronomy, without troubling himself or the World, to no purpose, like the Judicial Astronomers, who upon this Apparition, and the Conjunctions and Oppositions of some other Planets happening this year, and such as were to happen the year following, made, as is usual, divers strange and terrible Predictions.

There was for about two Months an extream Scarcity in *Languedoc*, and which would have caus'd a horrible Famine had they not been furnished with Wheat from *Champagne* and *Burgundy* by the Rivers of *Seine* and the *Rhone*. The Plague also rag'd in several Provinces of France; the foregoing year it had afforded Death a most plentiful Harvest in England.

March, &c.

When the Plague was ceas'd in those Countries, King James held his first Parliament in London, to whom having made a Gracious and Royal Speech concerning the happy Union of the two Kingdoms; the Affection he had for his Subjects, the Laws and Regulations they were to make, he desired of his Parliament, and they granted it, That from thence forward the Kingdoms of England and Scotland should be joyned into one Body, under the Denomination of GREAT BRITAIN, otherwise used by the Romans: Whereupon was Coin'd that Medal, bearing this Inscription, HENRICUS ROSAS, REGNA JACOBUS. His Speech was full of excellent things, amongst others, That he did not believe, as Flatterers would fain persuade their Princes, that God bestowed Kingdoms upon Men to satisfy their unruly Lusts, and Pleasures, but to take care of the Peace and Welfare of the People; That the Head was made for the Body, not the Body for the Head: The Prince for the People, not the People for the Prince.

The Subtil Scholiasts have so great an itch to bring every thing into Dispute, that some Jesuits mov'd this year three Questions at Rome which begot great Contentions in that

March, &c.

1604.

that Court, and greater Scandal shew out all Christendom: The First, That it was not an Article of Faith to believe that Clemens VIII. was Pope, which so enraged his Holy Father, as without the Intervention of the Spanish Ambassador, the Society had been in great Danger. The Second, That Sacramental Confession might be made by Letter. The Third was, The Novell Opinion of Molina; the Spanish Jesuit, receiving Grace, of which we shall perhaps, make mention elsewhere: I call it Novell, because that Author wanted himself the Inventor of it, as a thing wholly unknown to the Ancient Fathers, who by this said he, might have avoided a great deal of Embarras, had they lighted on the Nation. The Jesuits for Self-Preservation were forced to renounce the two First, which notwithstanding were rather sisted, than Condemned: but they maintain'd the Third, with all their force, against the Dominicans. These, attack'd it, as an Opinion which destroy'd that oft their Saint Thomas, and even that of Saint Augustin which hath been received and allowed by all the Latine Church.

By too eager an endeavour to increase the King's Revenue, the Super-Intendant brought such disorder into the State, as can never be made worse but by the continuation of it. Formerly, the Offices of Judicature and of the Treasury might be resigned, but the Resignee was to live Forty days after, otherwise the King was to provide one. Now, the King considering that the King made no benefit upon such Vacancies by Death, but was obliged to bestow them at the opportunity of Courtiers, he bethought him of a way to bring great Emoluments to the Exchequer. Which was, to assure the Office to the Wife and Heirs of those who were in Possession, provided they would yearly pay the Sixtieth Denier of that Finance, or Revenue, those Offices had been valued at; in Default whereof they should upon their Death revert to the Profit of the King. This was called, in Exchequer terms, the Droitt Annuel. The Vulgar named it, *La Paulette*, from the Name of Paulus the first Contractor. In some Provinces they gave it that of *La Palote*, because the Officers there had to do with one named Palot, who undertook it after Paulus. This favour was first granted but for Nine years, but it has been renewed for the said term, from time to time to this very day.

Unless stark Blind, they might with half an Eye foresee that this Edict would consequently and necessarily perpetuate the Sale of Offices, besides the impossibility of reducing them, (as they ought) to their ancient Number; That it would raise the prizes of them to that monstrous excess as we have by Experience known. That it would make those that held them less dependant on the King, as tied only by their Purse-Strings; That it would make their Children become Careless, Ignorant, Unjust, and Proud, as being certain to enjoy the Offices of their Fathers; That it would bar the way to Honor against People of Quality or Merit, and open it to People of no Birth, Capacity, or Honor; to Solicitors, Pedling-Merchants, and Excise-men. That it would excite a violent appetite after Riches, the only means now to attain Employments, and by the same consequence a contempt of Virtue, as only fit to be the companion of Poverty: And, which indeed is the greatest of all these Mischiefs, it would at once take away all future hope of recovering satisfaction for any Injustice, or Oppression done, since they must certainly have the Successors of those very Men to be their Judges, who had oppressed them.

And indeed no one Court throughout the Kingdom, (while they had nothing in their Prospect but the good of the Nation) did much incline to accept of it: So that they only read and published a Declaration in form of an Edict, at the Court of Chancery in the year 1605. But when particular Men, (making reflexions) considered their Families would receive vast advantages, they consented to the publick loss, for their own private Gain; which perhaps in time may not prove altogether so much as they had flatter'd themselves withal. The Chancellor *Believere* kept the said Declaration in his hands for some Months, and did not then pass it, till he was in danger of losing the Seals for it; which he could not hold much longer however, for *Silery's* interest forced them out of his Possession.

Men of upright Honesty could have wished that instead of this odd kind of Establishment, they would rather have taken away not only the Sale of Offices, but likewise all Salaries, Wages, Spices, and Presents, without leaving any other Emoluments but the Honor of the Magistracy, and hopes of future Rewards for their long, or their eminent Services in the due Administration of Justice.

This

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This Method, said they (besides that it would have produced the advantages contrary to those inconveniences which are pointed at, above in the Establishment of the *Paulette*) would have been of vast Profit to the King, by easing or discharging his Coffers of the Wages to so many Officers: It would have reduced the Charges to a very small Sum, and have discharged the publick of huge Burthens, besides the Plague of tedious Sutes in Law. For there could have been none but Men of Integrity and Probity, that would have undertaken those Offices thus denuded of Profit, and such Magistrates being totally disinterested; and not in a possibility of getting by delays, would most certainly have endeavour'd to do speedily and impartial Justice, and retrench those Formalities, and little quirks and shifts by the severe Punishment of litigious Pettifoggers: And there was no need to fear but that amongst such huge numbers of Learned Men, wherewith France then flourish'd and abounded, even amongst the Gentry and the richer sort, there would have been enough willing to undertake those Offices gratis, and who till their Prince should have thought fit to reward their Vertue and Diligence otherwise would have satisfied themselves with the pleasure of well doing, and the real delight of being commended, respected, honoured and by all ingenious Persons highly applauded: a Motive which alone does daily prompt the more brave and generous to venture their Estates and Lives, and wherewith the best governed States have ever rewarded the Noblest Actions, rather than with Money, which renders Judges covetous and mercenaries, proud and voluptuous, unjust and oppressors.

We must not step out of this year 1604. without briefly mentioning the Siege of Ostend, which never shall be forgotten. It lasted Three years and Seventy eight days, during which time it was the School and Cock-Pit of all that were the bravest Warriors in Christendom, the exercise of the best Ingenieurs, and most dextrous Inventors of Machines, and the Spectacle of the curious and inquisitive who flock'd thither from all Parts, and gaz'd at the fight as on a Miracle. The Arch-Duke began it the Fifth of July in the year 1601. The renowned Ambrose Spinola put an end to it the Twentieth day of September in this year 1604. having had the honor to reduce the place to a Capitulation.

It had the advantage of receiving daily Supplies by Sea; so that when ever the Garrison was tyred, they could send them out, and take a Recruit of all fresh Soldiers in their stead. By this means the Besieged disparted their ground foot by foot, and did not Surrender till they had no more Earth left to cover themselves. When the Spaniards were come in, and found the Walls beaten quite down by the Cannon; the Earth all torn up with their Mines, and nothing remaining but Rubbish and Ruine, they were but little satisfied for having bought so dear a little heap of Dust and Sand, (or rather a place of Burial) which cost them above Ten Millions of Money, Seventy thousand Men, and Three hundred thousand Cannon-Shot; nor reckning the Cities of Rhimbergue, Grave, Sluce, Ardembourg, with the Forts of Iffendre and Cadfant, taken by Count Maurice, whilst they were pelting at this Siege.

In these times, there hapned a notable Change in the Kingdom of Sweden. The King Gustavus Eric-son had set up the Confession of Ausburg in the place of the Catholic Religion, and bred his two Sons in that Profession, namely John who succeeded him, and Charles Duke of Sudermania. John maintained the same, yet notwithstanding, whether he were not fully satisfied, or were over-persuaded by his Wife who was a Catholic, he caus'd Sigismund his Eldest Son to be bred up in that From the year 1602. until the year 1604. Catholic Religion. Besides this Sigismund, he had also another Son named John Sigismund was Eleited King of Poland in the year 1587. during the Life of his Father, and went into that Country; the Second remained in Sweden: Now, when King John died in Anno 1592. he by Will, either real or supposed, left the Government of the Kingdom of Sweden to his Brother Charles: this Prince making good use of the Assistance of the Lutherans, to Exclude his Nephew, and get into the Throne himself, managed his Design so Prudently, that he had the Government of the said Kingdom settled upon him by the Estates, Anno 1595. and afterwards obliged them to take the Crown from the Sigismunds, Anno 1599. And, in fine, after a War of some years, to place it upon his Head: Which was done this year 1604. Sigismund not being ever able to wrest it from him again; so that after his Death it descended to the Great Gustavus his Son, and to his Heirs.

Decemb.

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During

1605. During the Bulls and Masques which since the Peace ever began the year, they went on with the Process against the Count *d'Anvergne*, and his Complices with the more diligence, because the Queen seemed to be a Party, the King nor to exasperate her, shewed no less heat than she, and the Parliament made all the dispatch they possibly could. But the intentions of all three were very different, for the Queens were to chastize a Mistress of the King; that hereafter such as succeeded might dread her anger; as for the Parliament such as minded Courtship, more then to unridle the hearts of Kings; thought they did great service by proceeding with all severity; and as for the King, he had no mind to disgrace his Mistress, for fear of distasting those by whom he expected to be obliged; he only desired a thundering Arrest, (or Decree) might pull down that haughty spirit and make her readily submit, who of late treated him like a meer stranger, and to his enjoyment opposed the fear of God, and the prohibitions of her Confessor.

The Count *d'Anvergne* was Examined three times; the King having given notice to the Parliament, by his Attorney General, that they ought to have no regard to his pardon, nor that *Briquet* he had granted him. *Entragues*, the Marchioness his Daughter, and *Morgan* were likewise interrogated; the Count laid all upon the Marchioness his Sister, believing the King could never find in his heart to ruin her: he cast all the reproaches on her he possibly could express, and the upon him. *Entragues* on the contrary did wholly acquit her, and took all upon himself, chusing rather to hazard three or four years of a languishing remainder of life (for he was above seventy three years of age) then to put his dear Daughter in danger of losing her head with ignominy.

The business was carried on with such heat, that the first day of February there was an Arrest, (or Act) which condemned the Count *Entragues* and *Morgan* to be beheaded in *Greves*; and the Marchioness to be refused in a Nunhery at *Beaumont near Tours*, till more ample Information concerning her. The Queen received much joy, yet reped not all the advantage she expected from this grand Arrest: for the King acquainted the Court, by his procurer, or Solicitor General, that he desired the Sentence might be suspended till he had made a more narrow inspection. When therefore he had humbled the haughty Marchioness by so terrible a Decree, he began to show favour that he might obtain some from her, and caused an instrument to be passed under the Great Seal, which was verified in Parliament the three and twentieth of March, giving her liberty to retire to her house of *Vermuil*.

After all this there were some people in Parliament so unacquainted with intrigues of this nature that they importun'd him for leave to pronounce Judgment: but he eluded their pursuits by divers delays; and at length by other instruments committed the punishment of the Count, and of *Entragues* to a perpetual imprisonment; and then restored them to all their honours and estates, though not to their Offices and Commands. Soon after he allotted *Entragues* his house of *Malesherbes* for his Prison: and as for *Morgan* he only banished him the Kingdom for ever. Seven Months being pass'd, and no new proofs coming in against the Marchioness, for indeed who could have taken the pains to produce any? the King gave her a Writing of the sixteenth of December which declared her perfectly innocent, and imposed perpetual silence on his Solicitor General touching that Fact.

The Count *d'Anvergne* being the most dangerous, was therefore handled the worst, they left him in the Bastille, where he remained twelve years, without any other consolation then what he received from good and ingenious Books, the faithful companions for all Ages, fortunes and places.

During these amorous intrigues, which were managed as grand Affairs of State, the King began to engage in affection with *Isabelina de Buci*, whom he made Countess of *Moret*; yet nevertheless he soon after recalled the Marchioness, whose charming humour and conversation ever seasoned with pleasant raileries, and piquant reflexions upon the other Court Ladies, did most agreeably divert his mind, from the too intense thoughts of his Affairs, and vexations caused by the ill humours of his Wife: but on the other hand, it begot new Brouilleries every hour with her; as also frequent punctillios between the other Lords and Ladies of this Court: a Subject much more worthy and fit for a Romance, then such a Chronicle, but which have occasion'd the most considerable Events in the Court of France since the Reign of *Francis I.*

As to the business of Ladies, I must note, that Queen *Margaret* having often earnestly desired permission to come to Paris, especially after she knew the Queen was the Mother of several Children, failed not, that she might merit that favour, to concern her self very much in discovering the contrivances of the Count *d'Anvergne*, whereof she gave punctual accounts to the King: so that, in fine, he resolved to grant her request. She arrived then at Paris in the Month of August; and they assigned her the Castle of *Madrid in the Bois de Boulogne* to lodge in. She staid there six weeks, thence removed her Lodging to the *Hôtel de Sens*: but there, an odd accident hapning to one of her Minions who was killed in the boot of her Coach, by a young Gentleman, in despair because that Gallant had ruined his Family as to the favour they had from that Princess: She quitted that unfortunate *Hôtel*, and purchased another in the *Fauxbourg Saint Germain*, near the River and the *Pré au Clerc*, where she began a great foundation of Buildings and Gardening.

There it was she kept her little Court the remainder of her days, odly intermixing voluptuousness with devotion, the love of Learning with that of Vanity, Christian Charity and Injustice: for as she had the Ambition to be often seen at Church, to converse with learned men, and to bestow the Tythe of her Revenues upon Friars and Monks, she also took a pride in fresh Galantries, inventing new diversifements, and never paying her just Debts.

Pope Clement VIII. by diving too far into the profound questions concerning Grace, which have no bounds nor bottom, died by the Study thereof, as it was said, so over-heated his Brain, as kindled a Feaver in his Blood, whereof he dyed the third day of March. There were two Factions in the Conclave, that of the Aldobrandines, and another of the Montaltes. The Cardinal de Joyeuse, having made himself head of the French Cardinals, and of some other indifferent ones, moved them both so well, with this flying party, that he disposed them to Elect the Cardinal Alexander de Medicis, who would be named Leo XI. this was upon the first day of April. They made Bon-fires for joy at the Court of France, and all over the Kingdom in consideration of the Queen; but the news of his death extinguish'd them as soon almost as they were lighted, for he survived but five and twenty days. The regret was so much the more sensible, as their joy had been short liv'd, and he had rais'd their hopes and expectations. Then the two Parties renewed their intrigues in the Conclave with more heat and application then before: the Cardinal de Joyeuse by his prudent conduct calmed them a second time. They having on either part made use of all the little policies and stratagems employ'd in the like cases, he contriv'd it so, that the plurality of Votes fell upon the Cardinal Camillo Borghese; who was Elected the sixteenth day of May, and took the name of Paul V.

Whilst all Italy had both their Eyes and Hearts attentively fixed upon these Cabals, Peter Guffman de Toledo, Count de Fuentes, Governor of Milan, thought this a proper time to forge his Chains intended for them, and would needs make an Essay of his grand design, first on the Petty Princes bordering upon his Government, then upon the Grisons. He commanded the President and Treasurers of Milan to summon the first May, June to attend them, to do homage, as feudatories of the Duchy, and to hear themselves &c. condemned to restore the Lands they had there usurped. He first of all Attack'd the Malespines, as being the feeblest: but they failed not to call upon the Princes of Christendom to assist them, and to make the World acquainted by their Apologies, that if this Claim of the Spaniard were allowed of, there was no Potentate in Italy could be exempt, neither the Dukes of Parma or Modena, the Genoese or the Venetians, the Duke of Tuscany, nor even the Holy See: inasmuch as by their loud out-cries, they made him let go his hold.

As to the Grisons, the Condé being angry at the new League was made between them and the Seignory of Venice, he put forth Edicts which broke their Commerce with Milan, without which it is impossible for those Leagues to subsist; and to quell them absolutely, he built a Fort called by his own name, upon a high Rock which commanded the entrance into the Val-Teline, and the Valley of Chiavenna, to serve not only as a bridle to those people, and stir up the Valtelines against them, who being all Catholics disclaimed that Protestants should Lord it over them; but also to have free passage and communication with Tyrol, and other hereditary Countries belonging to the House of Austria.

The Swis, whose resolutions are slow and heavy, did not bestir themselves so soon as they ought, to have broken this uneasy Curb, which gave a check to the whole body

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of their Leagues: the Fort was completed, with five great Royal Bastions, and the Spanish Faction so increased amongst the Grisons, as caused most pernicious divisions, and made them run great hazard of their liberty.

May, June,
&c.

It was impossible but the remembrance of so many injuries the King received from the Spaniards, and so many Conspiracies, which by their instigation had been formed against his person, must give him some resentment: he verily believed too, that his life would be more secure in an open War, than such a treacherous and insidious Peace: wherefore, his thoughts both day and night were rowling on the means to destroy that House much more an Enemy to his particular person, yet, then to the Kingdom of France. But, as he was guilty of that fault incident to the tender hearted, not to be able to conceal his thoughts from women, he had communicated this design to his Wife, who having at that very time a too strict correspondence with the Spaniards, did eternally bait and importune him to wave it, and enter into a League with them, and with the Pope. But far from yielding to her, he recalled himself with the Protestant Princes, and was endeavouring to draw the Duke of Savoy and the Duke of Aquitaine to Club in the design, promising the first to help him in Conquering the Kingdom of Lombardy; and the second to assist him with Money and Credit to make his Interest to attain the Empire, when *Rodolphe*, who was already old, should cease to live. These negotiations lasted three or four years before he could succeed.

Having such vast designs, he notwithstanding was at prodigious expences in building, Gaming and Mistresses. Such as imagine that all the Actions of Princes tend to some certain concealed ends, would have it, that he was glad to find his example made the Grandees run upon those Rocks, so that being wholly taken up with vain amusements, softened by dalliance, and impoverished by excessive expence, they could neither spare the time, nor means to contrive any Brouilleries. It is very certain that many of them lost so much at play, they were not in a condition, had they intended it, to make any considerable disturbance.

I have heard it affirm'd that a refined Italian, having bought up all the Dice that were in Paris, and furnished the Shops with false ones made for his purpose, fell in with the Court Gamesters, and knowing exactly which would run high or low, made a prodigious gain, which he shared with Persons of the highest Quality.

However it were, the huge Sums the King expended in these three Articles, (not including those he employ'd on other more necessary ones) those which he had issued out for the payment of his debts, and redeeming part of his demerits, and those also which he collected and heaped up for the carrying on the projects he had conceived, could not possibly be raised without grinding his people, whatever care and Methods he took. Besides, he was too easy in granting, to his Courtiers and Ladies, either new Monopolies, or new Impôts, and made Gifts that were of profit to particulars, but which tended to the general ruine. Moreover, the Nobility, and old Commanders, were discontented in their minds to see him by little and little reduce the Companies of Ordinance, and the old Regiments to so narrow a condition; and instead of keeping those old bodies full and compleat, he gave Pensions to above twelve hundred men, who most commonly were chosen rather upon recommendation than for their merit. The Cardinal d'Orléans had otherwise taken the liberty to presage, that these discontents would become universal, and one day break forth into some great disorders.

Some Sparks of it were to be seen in the Provinces of Quercy, Perigord, and Limosin: The Servants of the Duke of Biron, furiously bent to revenge the death of their Master, employed all sorts of means to render the Kings person odious and contemptible, and to stir up the people against the pretended violence of the Government. The friends of the Marechal de Bouillon, whether they had orders from him, or acted by their own proper motions, believing he would own them if they succeeded, made divers Assemblies of the Nobility, and gave earnest Money for the levying of Soldiers, but in such pitiful Sums, that it plainly appeared this advance-money came out of some little private Purse only. And yet to give life to their Partisans, they every hour reported some forged news of the Marechal, sometimes affirming that if they held together but till the Month of October, some great matters would be done in favour of him: another while that they should find him in France sooner than his friends imagined, or his

his Enemies desired: Then, that the reason of his stay was but to bring such Forces with him from Germany, as would be able to enter into the very heart of the Kingdom, and bide Battel in the open Field.

Besides all these Rumours which at so great a distance made the Rebellion appear a hundred times more formidable than it really was, the King had frequent notice, that the Spaniards held Intelligence, and had Designs upon the most important Frontier places, as Toulon, Marseilles, Narbonne, Bayonne, and upon Baye. He apprehended also lest the whole Party of the Reformed Religion should embrace the Marechals defence, and by the Directions of so able and knowing a Person should be inclined to form a separate Republick in the Kingdom: for they talked of setting up Councils in each Province, of not admitting such as were Officers of the Kings to any Consultations that concerned the Good old Cause, to make Orders and Regulations for raising of Men and Monies, and to make Leagues with Strangers. To these Dangers he opposed the Cares of Rhosny, who having had Interest and Credit enough to preside in their Assembly of Chastelleraut, stifled all Motions of Affairs of that Nature, and besides mightily qualified the hottest amongst them, by presenting to them on the behalf of the King, a Brevet dated the Eight of August, which prolonged their holding the Places of Security for Three years.

When all was out of danger on that Side, the King prepar'd himself about the end of August, to take a Journey into the Provinces where the Fire was kindling, and to clear the way before him, he order'd Ten Companies of the Regiment of Guards, and Four or Five Troops of Horse to March, Commanded by the Duke September of Esperson, with two Masters of Requests, *Jehan Jacques de Mesme Riffy*, and October, and *Raimond Vertueil Feuillat*; The first went to take Information in Limosin; the November second in Quercy, but caused all the Prisoners to be brought to Limoges.

Bouillon's Friends could never have believed they durst have attacked his Castles, because they were comprised amongst those places of Security granted to them of the Religion: they were much startled when they found that consideration could not protect them. Bouillon being informed of it, sent them Orders to Surrender upon the King's first Demand.

As to themselves, the wisest preferring a timely retreat before an obstinate stay, withdrew; some, as *Rignac* and *Vassignac* to Sedan, others to other places of Safety: Many had recourse to the King's Clemency, and purchased their Pardon by discovering the whole Series of the Conspiracy, the Cities they were to have Surprized, the Places where they were to be Armed, those that had promised to declare for them, and many more Particulars, which being thorowly examined, had little other foundation, but their own credulity and foolish imaginations. Nor was any thing produced in Writing against the Duke of Bouillon, nothing appearing but the Evidence of such people whose profligate reputation destroy'd the Credit of what they would have asserted.

The more Unfortunate fell into the hands of Justice. Roissy made their Process, assisted by Ten Councillors of the Presidial. Five or Six paid down their Heads, which were planted over the Gates of Limoges, the Bodies burnt, and their Ashes dispersed in the Air. Some others were hung up in Effigie: But these Executions were not till after the King had been gone a Month; who seeing the Fire was put out, returned to Paris towards the end of November.

As he was going to Limosin, being at Orleans, he took the Seals from the Chancellerie de Belieure, to give them to Sillery, but still left him the honor to be Chief of the Council, a sorry Comfort for so great a Disgrace, and which gave Belieure occasion to say, *That a Chanceller without the Seals, is a Body without a Soul.*

At Paris the King met with new cause of disquiet, the Business of the City Rents, and the Demands of the Assembly of the Clergy. As for the first, he had of a long time resolved to Suppress those Rents, or Revenues, for the creation whereof no Money had been given, and to redeem such as had been purchased at a mean price. To this purpose he had named Commissioners, who were the Presidents de Thou, Nicolai, and Calignon, a Master of Accompts, and a Treasurer of France: and in the manner these did proceed, none could have just cause of Complaint. But when he had named others, and it appeared by their management, the Council had a design either to destroy, or much lessen that Fond which was the clearest subsistence of many Families in Paris, the interested, who

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1605. were numerous, had recourse to the *Prevost des Marchands*, he being as it were their Guardian.

This was *Francis Miron*, a man of Courage and Probity, and who had no other interest but his Duty and the Honor of his Office; He took up the Business with some heat, spake very resolutely in the Town-Hall, and wrote to the King who was then at *Fontainebleau*. Those of the Council who had a Pique against him for his great resolution, too stiff in their opinion, imputed as a Crime that he should mention *Nero* in some Discourse of his, and inflicted much with the King to have him apprehended. The *Bourgeois* were ready to take up Arms in defence of their Magistrate, although he protested he would rather chuse to die, than be an occasion of the least disorder.

It was a great happiness for the City of *Paris* to have so good and so wise a King as *Henry*: who having in other occasions thorowly tried the Fidelity and Candour of *Miron*, and it being withal his Method to give People time to calm and cool themselves, and repent of their rashness, he would not push things on to extremity, which must have engaged him to severe Chastisements; So that the Tenants referring themselves wholly to this good natur'd Lord and, and *Miron* having explained himself with all the Respect and Humility due from a Loyal Subject to his Sovereign, he stopt all further proceeding touching their Rents.

As to the rest, *Paris* does owe this acknowledgment to the honor of *Miron*, that in his Office of Lieutenant Civil, and of *Prevost des Marchands*, they never had a Magistrate so exact in settling of the City Government, their Markets, and what else was necessary, or that so warmly espoused the Peoples interest, or took more pains and care about the Revenue and Rights belonging to them, to clear their Debts, keep up that Splendour becoming the Capital City of the Kingdom, as also to beautifie and furnish it with things that were at once an Ornament and of Publick Advantage. The several Streets enlarged, many new Paved and made shelving to convey away the Dirt and Water, Eight or Nine stately Conduits or Fountains, still casting forth their plentiful Streams, the River improved with Wharfs, Keys, and watering places, divers little Bridges in places convenient, a new Gate at the *Tournele*, that of the Temple repair'd and open'd, after it's having been shut up above Forty years, will be lasting marks and tokens of it to all Posterity. But there was nothing so noble as the Front of the Town-Hall, which seemed to have been left imperfect for Two and seventy years space, to give this Magistrate an opportunity of making it the Monument of his Fame, and to exercise his Generosity by employing all the Profits of his Offices to put it into that condition wherein we behold it to this very day.

As to the Assembly of the Clergy, that Body having recovered much force and vigour, the Complaints and Demands they had to make to the King were very great. *Hierosme de Villars*, Archbishop of *Vienne* presented the Assemblies Papers to him, and was the Mouth of the whole Assembly; He made a long discourse upon those vexations the Church suffer'd on all hands, the infamous Trade of Benefices, Simoniack Bargains, Pensions paid to Lay-men, and frequent Appeals, as gross abuses. He said, the cause of all those Disorders was the refusal, they had hitherto met with, for Publishing the Council of Trent; That it was strange the Kingdoms of the Earth, which are but as the baser Elements of the Terrestrial Globe, should substract and withdraw themselves from the benign Influence of the Church, which is the Celestial World; That the things which pass away on the wings of Time should hinder the Fruits of an Eternal duration; That they should make Divine Reason stoop and truckle to Humane Policies, and, if we may so express it, subjeit God, in a manner, to the Wills of Men.

As to the Reception of the Council of Trent, the King would not be Positive, That it could not quadrare with the Reasons of State, and the Liberties of the Gallican Church; On the contrary he declared that he desired it as much as they, and was very sorry it met with so great Difficulties: That he would spare neither his Life, nor Crown for the Honour and Exaltation of the Church. And as concerning Simonies, &c. they must lay the blame upon those that practis'd it, not upon him, for he made no Trade of Bishopricks, like the Favorites of his Predecessors, but bestow'd them gratis, and upon Persons of Merit.

He afterwards, at leisure, made distinct replies to all their Papers, and amongst other things granted them by an Edict, the liberty of redeeming such things as formerly

formerly belonged to them, and had been sold for little or nothing without due form or the Solemnities thereto requisite. They were not satisfied with this, but must have another to empower them to redeem in what manner soever they had been sold; Yet the Parliament put in this Modification, or *Proviso*, That it should not extend to the prejudice of any who had been in Possession Forty years upon a legal Title.

"There hapned this year Three Eclipses, two of the Moon; The first upon the Four and twentieth of *March*, the second the Seventeenth of *September*; and one of the Sun the Second day of *October*. It began about One of the Clock afternoon, and for two whole hours caused such a darkness, that it seem'd as it were Night; the disk of that great Luminary being totally obscured by the Moon which appeared black, and edged with a circle of light quite round.

"The Astrologers after their wonted manner Predicted it would have most terrible Effects: If the *Fougaie* in *England* had not failed they would have made the world believe that this *Phænomena* did Prognosticate it. Some *English* Catholics accustomed to contrive Conspiracies during the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, being much incensed against *King James*, for that though at his first coming he had given them fair hopes of enjoying greater liberty than ever in their Religion, yet did now keep as severe a hand over them as any before, Plotted to destroy both him and all the most eminent of the Kingdom by a Blow, the very thoughts whereof begets a horror. *Robert Catesby*, and *Thomas Percy* were the principal Authors. These knowing the Parliament was to sit at *Westminster*, hired the Neighbouring Houses, and then some Cellars under the very place of their Meeting, filled them with Barrells of Gun-Powder which they cover'd with Coals and Faggots, and intended to set Fire thereto when the Houses of Parliament were Assembled, and so blow up the King with all his Lords and Commons there attending. One of the Conspirators could not forbear writing a Letter to a Gentleman his Friend, but in a Counterfeit hand, and without any Name, conjuring him not to meet there in Parliament for some days. This Gentleman communicates his notice to a couple of the Lords belonging to the Privy Council, who made their Report of it to the King, thereby to discharge their Duty. They took it to be a piece of Raillery on purpose to affright and scoff at them: but the King was not of their Opinion, and judged by the terms of the Letter, (which said, *That it should be a terrible Blow*, and the Danger past as soon as you can burn this Letter,) that this must be some Execution by Fire. It was therefore thought necessary to search into all the Cellars and the neighbouring Houses; the first time nothing was discover'd, but the great quantity of Woods and Coals giving some suspicion, they returned again the second time, (this was the Night preceding the Day the Parliament was to Assemble, viz. the Fifth day of *November*.) They then perceived one of *Percy's* Men at the Door, named *Fancks*; he had been observed there before, and his Countenance was now Agait; they seized him therefore, and finding him provided with Match to give fire to the Train, he boldly owned the Design.

"The Conspirators who were retired into the Country till the *Fougaie* had taken Effect, hearing it was discover'd, dispersed several ways, to draw their Friends together, and make the People rise; but they were so roughly handled, that some were slain, others taken, and the rest in great Numbers forced to quit the Kingdom. Most of these last got over to *Calais*, where the King had commanded the Governor to give them shelter, those that governed his Conscience having first perswaded him it was a meer Persecution contrived by the Ministers of State against those of the Catholic Religion.

"The last day of *January*, Eight of the Chief Conspirators suffer'd, in London, the Punishment inflicted on such as are found Guilty of High-Treason. Not one of them accused the Priests, or Friars, being bound not to discover them by terrible Oaths; yet *King James* caused diligent Search to be made for them, especially the Jesuits. Two of those Fathers had made their Escape, viz. *Garnet*, and *Hall*, with a Boy that served them, to the Castle called *Abington*, belonging to a Gentleman; the People hid them in the Tunnel of a Chimney, and fed them with Bread convey'd to them by a long Pipe: But the Searchers having turned out all the Domesticks of the Family, and left a strong Guard

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January.

January, &c.

1606. "there, the poor wretches were fain to produce themselves. They were brought to London; the Boy, whether in despair, or for fear he should by force of tortures discover his Masters Secrets, ript open his own Belly with a Knife, where-
"of he died before he could be examined.

February,
&c.

"King James was perfuaded that *Garret* knew every particular of the Plot, "as being an intimate Confidant of *Catesby's*; but would not put him to the Rack: for he had rather his Confession should be free and voluntary than have "the reproach of being extorted, for Compulsion would have readed it suspec- "ted. He therefore made use of Moderation and Craft, instead of Severities "and the Rack: They allowed him much liberty in Prison, and suborn'd a "Fellow who feigning himself a Catholick, spake so much, till he made him both "speak and write. They permitted him to converse even with his Companion "Hall; and from their Discourse, which was overheard by two Witnesses "who lay conceal'd, they got full proof for his Condemnation. He died as a "Martyr, notwithstanding, and passed for such in the opinion of the *English* Ca- "tholicks. His Apologist writing also four years after, affirm'd that a Gentle- "man who was present at his Death, desiring to have of his Reliques, having "gather'd up some few Straws which he saw stained with his Gore, found *Garret's* "Picture traced in lines of Blood upon one of them; which was at that time "kept by a Lady as a most precious and wonderful Relique.

May.

"The Pope fully justified himself, from the reproach of this horrible attempt, "and shewed by good literal Proofs, that he had forbid the *English* to make use "of any such Bloody ways. The Jesuits labour'd also on their part to make Fa- "ther *Garret's* innocency appear: And King Henry IV. whose honor was much "concerned in their Conduct, since he had recalled them, sent Father *Cornu* to "the *English* Ambassadors, to assure him the Society had no hand in that Con- "spiracy, and that if some particular Members of theirs were concerned, they "disowned and detested them. There was however another Jesuit in England "named *Oldcorne*, who maintain'd that the said Enterprize was good and laudable, "and for so doing was Condemned and Executed as *Garret* had been.

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December.

In France, about the end of the fore-going year, was discover'd the Treason "of *John d' Alagon de Meragues*, a Gentleman of *Provence*, but originally by his "Ancestors of the Kingdom of *Naples*, whence King *Rene* had brought his great, "great, great Grandfather. The resemblance of his Surname had infected him with "the vanity to believe he was of the House of *Arragon*; and upon that score it "came into his head to make himself a Fortune by the *Spaniards*; to deserve "which, by some Signal action, he had undertaken to bring the *Spaniards* into "the Office of *Procureur Syndic* of that Country, and his great Alli- "ances by Marriage; his Wife being related to the Duke of *Montpensier* and the "House of *Joyeuse*, rendered him very considerable; the Command of two Gal- "leys maintained for the King's Service seemed to facilitate the means to make him "Master of the Harbour or Port; and the Office of *Viguier*, which he was assured "of for the next year now at hand, gave him great Power over the City. He had "notwithstanding so few Instruments for so great a Design, that he communicated "it to a Slave belonging to one of his Gallies, whom he would needs employ in it: "the Slave discover'd it to the Duke of *Guise*, and the Duke of *Guise* sent notice "of it to the Court.

"*Meragues* going thither soon after about some Affairs of the Province, *la* "Farenne had order to observe him, and acquitted himself so well, that one evening "slipping into his House, with a Prevost, he surprized him while he was entertain- "ing *Bruneau* Secretary to the Spanish Ambassador with his Design. They seized "upon both, and searching them, found a Writing tied under *Bruneau's* Gar- "ter, which decypher'd the whole Mystery. *Bruneau* was Imprisoned in the "Bastille, *Meragues* in the *Chatelet*, and from thence transfer'd to the "Conciergerie.

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The Spanish Ambassador made great noise at the detention of his Secretary; "he spake of it as a high injury to the Dignity of his Master, an Affront to all "Crowned Heads, and a violation of the Security due to every Ambassador. "Going to the King to redemand him, he was at first but ill received. Sometimes "he talked high, as representing a great Monarch; then chang'd his tone into a "softer note, as knowing his Secretary ran the hazard of being put upon the Rack. "The King, without appearing overmuch concern'd, shewed him what Crime his "Secretary

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Secretary had committed; and made him sensible that such who debauched and "corrupted his Subjects to commit Treason against his State, were those that vio- "lated the Rights of People, not he who only secur'd a man that had so visibly "abused it. The Ambassador having no reply to make to so just a reproach, fell upon "great Complaints, and intanced that the King sent Men and Money to maintain "the *Hollanders*, and had attempted to stir up the *Morisicos* in *Spain*; whereof there "was proof, said he, in the Confessions of divers Criminals that had suffer'd Death "in those Countries.

To the first point, the King made the same answer he had formerly given up- "on the same Subject: To the second, he said, it was an Artifice of the Council of "Spain, who by the extremity of Tortures had forced those Suppositions from the "mouths of some unhappy wretches, Executed for other Crimes, or had thrust "them into their forged Wills and Testaments, thereby to have matter to recrimi- "nate with some appearance of Truth. After divers Replications on either part, "the King assured the Ambassador that his Secretary should have no wrong done to "him, and that he would send him the whole result of the Process, to see whether "he would own it, or not.

Decemb.

During all this Month, the Entertainment of the Politicians in their Conver- "sations, and the subject of their Writings, was to discuss to what Latitude this "Security of Ambassadors and their Servants did extend, and in what cases they "ought to be subjected to the justice of that Country, wherein they did reside. In "the mean while the two Prisoners were interrogated, the Secretary confessed all, "and when they had clearly Convicted him, and gotten sufficient proof from him "to Convict *Meragues*, the King forbade the Parliament to proceed any further "with him, and some few days after sent him back to the Ambassador with a Co- "py of the whole Process. But as for *Meragues*, they went thorow with him; "for an Arrest, or Sentence, of the Nineteenth of the Month made him lose his "Head in *Greve*, and Condemned his Body to be cut in four Quarters, which they "set up over the four principal Gates of *Paris*, and sent his Head to *Marsilles*, to "be there planted upon one of their Gates.

Amidst the Diversifements of the Court, to whom the Birth of a second Son "of France administered new cause of Festivity, the King was seriously minded to "revoke the Duke of *Bouillon* upon his entire and not conditioned Submission. It "was high upon four years he had been out of the Kingdom, and by his Apologies, "Negotiations, and the intercession of divers Princes of his Religion, had contend- "ed with the King, not as to his Duty, which, he said, he was ever ready to pay, "but his Innocency and Honor which he was obliged to maintain. In effect, they "could not Convict him of any Conspiracy, not even of the last, though there "was some reason to suspect him guilty of all. The King knew he had kept his "ears at the instant Solicitations of the *Spaniards*: He remembered the eminent Ser- "vices he had rendered him in his most pressing Necessities, and he desired he might "do him more yet hereafter in the shock he intended to give the House of *Austria*. "On the other hand, he well knew, that this Marechal, so long as he was absent "from Court, would ever keep the *Huguenots* Party in suspicion; and it somewhat "concerned his Honor to make all Europe see, they being well informed of this "Affair, that it was not without good ground he had so used him. Now the on- "ly way to satisfy together, both his Reputation, and his Clemency, was to en- "gage him to come and crave his Pardon, and Surrender his City of *Sedan* into his "hands which he would needs have in his Power, at least for some days, that the "whole world might understand the Marechal held both his Life and Fortune from "his Bounty.

February.

The Marechal did at length resolve to acknowledge he had failed, he named his "faults however, *Imprudence* and *Precipitation*, rather than *Infidelity*; And though "he express'd an impatient desire to wait upon the King, yet he excus'd his coming, "till all those Clouds and Fogs of Crimes wherewith he had been charged, were utterly "dispersed, it being as shameful for a Master to make use of any Servant, while under "such ill-favour'd Circumstances, as for the Servant to have been wanting in his "Fidelity due to so great a Monarch. He apprehended no hurt from the King, but "only from the Counsels of *Sully*: for as he believed him his Capital Enemy, "he imagined he would persuade the King to keep *Sedan*, and that the "apparent Benefit of the State would excuse and cover the Venial Sin of breaking "his word.

1606.
February.

Him whom we have hitherto named *Rafay*, shall be henceforward called the Duke of *Sully*, because at the beginning of this year, the King honour'd him with the Title of Duke and Pair, which he annexed to the Lands of *Sully* purchased by this Lord since his favour. The Letters Patents were sealed the Nineteenth of February, and verified the last day of the Month in Parliament; whither the new Duke went to be received, accompanied as one who had both the King's Treasury and favour to befriend him, and invite them.

The Business was brought to that pass, that the King finding himself in Honor absolutely engaged to have *Sedan*, and the Marechal obstinately bent not to be dissuaded, nothing remained but force that could determine the Controversie. In the Council, *Villeroy* and *Sully* were of different Sentiments concerning this Enterprize; *Sully* openly perswaded the King to go in Person to *Sedan*; *Villeroy* endeavoured to hinder it, but by more private ways: To this end he made the difficulties appear very great, the Consequences worse, the place impregnable, the Marechal's Correspondence both without and within the Kingdom very dangerous: He represented how all the *Huguenot* Party was ready to rise, all *Germany* ready to take up Arms, all *England* to put to Sea to support it, that he had numerous Levies in *Switzerland* and the *Low-Countries* who would begin their March upon the first beat of Drum.

April.

But the King slighted all these Apparitions as vain and airy Fantosmes, and if they had been real Bodies, he ought to have fastened to prevent them. When he was gone to *Donchery*, which is within a League of *Sedan*, with his Forces, and had himself taken a view of the place, the Marechal who had still kept his Negotiation on foot, demanded to confer with *Villeroy*, before *Sully* arrived. It had never been his design to come to the Swords point with his King, but only to make use of his Wits, and retard his March by suggesting many Dangers and things he neither would or indeed could do. On the other hand *Villeroy* had all the desire imaginable to conclude the Treaty, that he might ravish the honour of this Expedition from *Sully*.

So that upon the second Conference he had with the Marechal, he brought him to agree, *To Surrender the Place to the King, and so consent that he should keep a Governor and a Garrison there during the space of four years: The King on his side fully Pardoned him, for all that he could ever have done or said to that day, without any Reservation, whereof he caused Letters of Abolition to be expedited, and sent them to be verified in Parliament, dispensing with his Personal Appearance, and many other customary Forms.*

April.

The next day being the last of April, the Marechal relying on the credit of *Villeroy*, and the Protection of the Queen, who was willing to gain to know and so potent a Lord, came to wait on the King at *Donchery* in the Morning, asked his Pardon, and took a new Oath of Fidelity to him. The following Thursday, the Courier having brought back the Letters of Abolition verified in Parliament, the King made his entrance into *Sedan*, and settled *Neracourt* his Governor there. This done he returned to *Paris*, where he would needs be received as Triumphant, with the noise of all the Cannon in the Arsenal. The Marechal de *Bouillon* came soon after, and the world much admired to see him the very first day as much in the King's favour, and in his most familiar Conversations, as he had been before his absenting.

At the same time, the King went to *Sedan*, the most furious Winds, that ever yet were heard of, agitated the Air and Sea, not only in France, but also in England, the Low-Countries, and Germany; In the Campaigne, it forced back not only those that travel'd on foot, but even Horses, threw several often on the ground; put Carts and Coaches to a full stop, tore up the strongest Trees by the Roots, beat down Towers and Steeples, whose Coverings and Walls buried great numbers of People under their ruines. At *Paris*, so long as this Tempest lasted, which was all Saturday, Easter-Sunday, and Monday, the Tiles, Stacks of Chimneys, nay the very Rafters of the Houses flew about the Streets, and killed or maimed above Seventy Persons. This Storm did, as it were, threaten to tear up the very Foundations of the Earth, and force the vast Element of Waters out of its Natural Bed, to cause a second deluge, after it had caused infinite Shipwrecks in the secur'est Harbours.

In

1606.
June.

In the Month of June, the King coming from *Saint Germain* to *Paris*, by Coach, wherein were the Queen his Wife, the Princes of *Comy*, the Duke of *Montpensier*, and the Duke of *Vendosme*, and designing to cross the *Seine* at *Port Nully*, one of his Horses, instead of going into the Ferry-boat (for as then there was no Bridge) stray'd into the Water, and drew the Coach after him into a place very deep. The Gentlemen that follow'd on Horseback, threw themselves instantly into the River, and happily saved the King, and then all the rest of his Company. The Queen was in the greatest Danger, *la Chasteigneraie* drew her forth, and for this good Service deserved to be Captain of her Guard some while after. The Marchioness de *Vernueil*, as he was wont, play'd with her Wit maliciously upon this Adventure, and told the King, that if she had been there, she would have cryed out, *The Queen Drinks*; which re-inflamed the Queens resentments, and caused new Piqueerings.

Queen *Catherine de Medicis* had given the Counties of *Auvergne* and of *Lauraguais* to *Charles*, Natural Son of her Son King *Charles IX.* Queen *Margaret* pretended that she could not do it, because that by the Contract of Marriage with *Henry II.* those Lands had been substituted to the Children that should proceed from it, of whom none were remaining but her self.

So that taking advantage of the disgrace of *Charles*, she had waged Law with him to retrieve it; and even Six years before the Parliament of *Toulouze* had pronounced in her favour for the County of *Lauraguais*. This favourable Prejudication, and the Juncture of Affairs invited her to bring the like Action before the Parliament of *Paris* for the County of *Auvergne*, and with the like success: for by a Decree in March they adjudged it to her. Immediately she made a Present of the said Lands to the *Dauphin*, by absolute Deed of Gift executed while living, upon condition they should be united to the Crown for ever, and not alienated, but she reserved the Profits to her self, which the King purchased by a large Pension.

The Court enjoying a perfect repose, now celebrated the Ceremonial Baptism of the *Dauphin*, and the two Daughters of France: for the Essential Baptism was administred immediately after their Birth. They had made Magnificent Preparations at the *Louvre* for this Ceremony, but the Plague beginning to infect *Paris* about the end of June, and spreading much in July and August, obliged the King to transfer it to *Fontainebleau*. It was there performed upon Holy-Cross Day, in the Court de *L'Ovale*, where they erected an Amphitheater, as having no place spacious enough within Doors to contain all their Pomp. The Cardinal de *Gondy* was the Minister; they began with the second Daughter, who was the youngest of the three Children. She was named *Catherine*, and for God-father had the Duke of *Lorraine*, the Dutchess of *Tuscany* for her Godmother, represented by *Don John de Medicis*. The Eldest Daughter had no Godfather, only a Godmother who was the Arch-Dutchess *Clara Isabella Eugenia*: Madam d'Angoulême represented her, and gave the Name of *Elizabeth* to the Child. At the Baptism of the *Dauphin*, the Cardinal de *Joyeuse* stood Godfather for Pope *Paul V.* who for this purpose had declared him Legat in France during three Months. The Dutchess of *Mantona* Sister to the Queen, was Godmother. She being invited to come expressly into France, the Queen prevailed she might take place of the Princesses of the Blood; a Novelty not very pleasing to the French, nor to the King himself.

On the day which preceded that of this Ceremony, a light appeared towards the Western Quarter of the Heavens, which expanding by little and little, cast forth as it were long flashes towards the South, and the East with most admirable swiftness. After these Furies, which lasted near a quarter of an hour, appeared divers Chariots of Fire which seemed to shock one the other, and wherein they fancied to discern some appearances of Lances, Pikes and Arms which darted them. This Spectacle ended not till about Midnight, and by a clear Light which made the whole Hemisphere seem to sparkle, then insensibly decay'd in half an hours time. But two days after, about the same hour as at first, all of a sudden a great Light appeared in the Air, towards the West, as if to light the Scene, and give the Spectators the Pleasure of a Combat, wherewith the Demons of the Air, if we may believe so, would entertain the Court, and out-vie their Divertissements. For they formed, as it were, Regiments of Horse and Foot charging with impetuosity; some tumbled off their Horses, and others trampled under-foot, many Muskets and Pistols discharged at each other, the Fire and Smoke

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1606. were visible, nothing was wanting but the report, others laid hands on and grappled together, and did not quit their hold till one was overthrown. This imaginary Battel lasted above an hour, then vanish'd in a moment.

In the general (Abolition, or) Pardon which the *Financiers* had been constrain'd to purchase to deliver themselves from the pursuit of the Chamber-Royal, the Crime of Forgery had been excepted, *as it should ever be*. Some Informers, People of no Credit nor Habitation, and indeed owning themselves for Counterfeits, imagined that this Exception would be of advantage to frighten the said Officers and make them befriend and stand by them in all their villainous Cheats. They first felt their Pulses several times thinking to squeeze somewhat from them, but they were hugely deceived; those Harpies whose greatest pleasure is in slaying the rest of Mankind, stand in less fear of Death, and would sooner suffer it themselves, than lose one single hair of their head. When these Rascals perceived they slighted and scoffed at their menaces, they insisted so far on it to the King, and promis'd him such Mountains of Gold upon this inspection, that he set up a Chamber, or Court of Justice, to proceed against such as should be accused of Forgery.

This Court, to give the greater terror, began with such severity as filled the Houses with Garrisons, the Market-places with Gibbets and Effigies, and Foreign Countries with Run-aways who went to voluntary Banishment: but the most guilty having timely got their Necks out of the Collar, and carried subsistence enough along with them to wait till the Torrent were past, began to treat as that safe distance, and employ'd part of their Spoil and Theft to gain Friends and Protectors; who by divers methods allay'd the heat of their Prosecutions, and spun things out to great length, well knowing the King was soon weary and easily gave over, when he once met with the like difficulties. Just so did it fall out, and when they heard him begin to complain of the great cry and little wool, the Queen Mother implored his Mércy for these wretches, and at the same time they offer'd to redeem themselves, and bid up to Six hundred thousand Crowns. The Richer sort advanced the whole Sum, but re-imbursed themselves doubly by those Taxes the Court allowed them upon the little ones, who had but pilfer'd; In so much, as Honest men were of Opinion these greater Sponges ought to have been squeezed again, and the Taxers a second time Taxed.

Before the year ended, the Marriage of *Eleonora* Sister of the young Prince of *Conde* was completed with *Philip* Eldest Son of *William* Prince of *Orange* and Earl of *Nassau*. He was sent Prisoner into *Spain* by Duke d' *Alva* in the year 1568. and having remained there divers years, recover'd his liberty by renouncing the Protestant Religion. In the mean time *Blacons*, a *Huguenot* Gentleman, had got possession of the Government of *Orange*, with design, said he, to keep it for him: and in effect, Anno 1599. knowing he was at *Genoa* with the Arch-Duke *Albert*, and the new Queen of *Spain*, he went thither to carry the Keys of the place to him, and invite him to come and take possession, as he did; yet did he not leave it intirely at his disposal, for fear, said he, lest the Prince being a Catholic should misuse the inhabitants, who were not so. Now the King, in favour of the said Princes Marriage with *Eleonora*, compelled *Blacons* to restore that Principality to him, and also confirmed its independance by very exprets Letters Patents.

1607. We have but few things to collect in this year 1607. unless some perhaps desire we should observe, that the King pursued his wonted pleasures of Love, Gaming and Hunting: That he had at certain times his fits of the Gout, and observed to dyet himself as he was wont to do every year.

That upon the Popes request he sent the Order of the *Holy-Ghost* to *Alineourt* his Ambassador at *Rome*, to confer it with all possible Solemnity on Duke *Sforza*, and the Duke de *Saint Gemini* of the House of the *Orsini*, dispensing them from the obligation of making proof of their Nobility, as the Pope had dispensed him from the Statute of that Order, which prohibits the conferring it upon Strangers.

That he had a Second Son born the Sixteenth of *April*, who bare the Title of Duke of *Orleans*, and dyed four years after, before the Ceremonies of Baptisme.

May. That in the Month of *May*, a *Chiaux* brought him a Compliment and Letters from the Grand Signior *Mahomet*.

That in the Month of *July* he re-united all his own particular demeanes to the Crown of *France*.

That

That on the twenty sixth of *September*, a Comet appeared, whose long and large Train did point directly to the Sun, it being of the magnitude of *Jupiter*, and the colour of *Saturn*. It's motion at first was so swift, as in few days, within its own Circle which was very great, it ran nine degrees and more: this velocity diminishing dayly together with its magnitude, it disappeared at the end of *October*.

That the grand Master of *Malthe* sent a Bone of the Foot of *Saint Euphemia*, Virgin and Martyr, to the Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, who otherwise had chosen her for their Patroness; and that the University went in a Body to the Temple, where the Ambassador of the Order lodged to receive that Sacred Treasure.

That as to the concerns of one named *la Mothe*, who was accused of being an accessory in the Murder of *Francis de Montmorency Halot*, committed by the Marquis d' *Allegre* at *Vernon* in the year 1593. and who had obtained Letters of abolition from the King, and for his greater Secnrity, had lifted up the Shrine * of *Saint Romain* at *Rouen*, there was great dispute before the Kings Council about this Privilege, by some Advocates of Parliament, who to speak truth, were but little skill'd in the antiquities of *France*. The Grand Council gave an Act to the Kings Ministers of this opposition that had been made as to the allowance of the said Privilege: and then by a Decree of the fix and twentieth of *March* 1608. (having regard to the Kings pardon) banish'd the accused for nine years from Court, as also from *Normandy*, and *Picardy*, and condemned him to some reparations, or to some *Amende*, or Fine. The King made likewise this Modification, or Proviso, in the Privilege of *Saint Romain* for the future. That whomsoever the Chapter should nominate to lift or take up the said Shrine should be bound to take out Letters of Pardon under the Great Seal, that so this favour might be derived indeed from the Prince, and proceed in a judicial order.

We shall pass by these things and many others the like, to observe the management of two very important Affairs without doors, wherein the Kings Authority and Prudence had the best share; I mean the difference between the Pope and the Seignory of *Venice*, and the Truce between the *Spaniards* and the States of the United-Provinces. As to the first, His Holiness complained for that the Seignory had put a certain Canon to death convicted of ravishing a Girl of Eleven years old, and then cutting her Throat; for that they detained two other Ecclesiastiques in Prison, a Canon and an Abbot, the first for having inchoistré, that is to say, besmeard a door, (belonging to a Kinswoman of his) with Ink (which is the highest affront in those Countreys) because he had refused to consent to his infamous desires: The second because he was Accused of incest with his own Sister, of Assassinations, Poisonings, Robbery on the High-ways, Magicks, and of many other Crimes.

He was offended yet more at three or four Decrees made by them against the honour and the liberty of the Church. By one in 1602. they had excluded the Lords Spiritual, under what title or pretence soever, from the right of *emphyteutique* prelation. By a second of the year 1603. they had forbidden the building of any Church, Convent, or Hospital, without permission of the Senate, upon pain of banishment for such as transgress'd, and confiscation of the Ground and Edifice. By a third of the year 1605. they extended that Decree made (first only for the City of *Venice*) in the year 1536. to all the Cities and Territories under their obedience; viz. That no Ecclesiastique should be allowed, to leave, bequeath, or engage any Goods to the Church, and if it were found that they possessed any of that sort, the said Goods should be distrained, and the value restored to whom it should belong. To which was added, That henceforward none should give any Estate in Lands to the Clergy, nor to the Religious Orders, without the consent of the Senate, who would allow of it upon good consideration, still keeping and observing the same Solemnities as are observed upon the alienation of the publick demesnes.

The two first Decrees were made in the time of *Clement VIII*, the third was renewed during the vacancy of the *Holy See*. Paul V. declared to the Ambassador of the Seignory, That he would have this last to be abolished; The Ambassador having written thereof to the Senate, received for answer to his Holiness, That the said Decree contained nothing that was contrary to the Ecclesiastical Liberty; that it respected only the Seculars, over whom the Republick had a Sovereign Power; That it was not just that such Lands as maintained the Subjects of the State, and was to bear the Charges, should fall into Mortmain; and that the Senate had ordained nothing therein but

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what the Emperors Valentinian, and Charlemain, the Kings of France, from Saint Lewis even to Henry III. King of England, the Emperor Charles V. and several others most Christian Princes had ordained in the like matters.

But the Pope, very far from taking these reasons for current payment demanded moreover that they should deliver up the Prisoners to him; and sent two Briefs to his Nuncio, for Martin Grimani Duke of the Seignory, which ordained him to do both the one and the other, under pain of Excommunication, and interdiction. When these Briefs arrived at Venice, the Duke was in his agony, so that they deserr'd the opening of them till the Election of a new one, who was Leonard Donati. Under the Authority of this Duke, the Senate made answer to the Pope; "That they could find nothing in the Decree, nor in their own conduct that did any way deviate from the respect they owed to the Holy See, or which was not of the rights of their Sovereignty in temporals." At the same time they nominated Duodi Ambassador Extraordinary, to go and declare the reasons for their so doing to his Holiness.

In the mean time, he from France, (it was Fresne Canaye) and the Cardinal Delfini, made use of all their skill to allay the Pope's indignation: but on the one side the Cardinals of the Spanish Faction, and on the other, the Catholick Kings Ambassador, Ferdinand Paccio Duke d' Alcala, pufft him up and heated him with specious motives of Religion and Honour. The Cardinals did this to cast the good man into some Embarrass, hoping the troubles of such a perplexed business would shorten his days. As for the Duke of Alcala, he sought to revenge himself for some resentment he had against the Venetians, and thought hereby to give his Master an opportunity that might signalize his power in Italy.

The extraordinary Ambassador from the Seignory coming too late, found all things in a flame; and notwithstanding all the respects he could tender to the Cardinals, and all the Arguments and Reasons he could urge, he saw some time after, a Bull posted up in the publick places of Rome, declaring that the Duke, and the Senate, had by their undertakings against the Authority of the Holy See, the rights of the Church, and the privileges of the Ecclesiastiques, incurred those Censures contained in the Holy Canons, the Councils, and the Constitutions of the Pope, ordained them to deliver up the Prisoners into the hands of his Nuncio, declared their Decrees null and invalid, enjoy'd they should revoke them, raze and tear them out of their Archives and Registers, and cause it to be proclaimed throughout all their Territories, that they had abolished them, and this within four and twenty days which he allowed as the utmost time. And in case they obeyed not, he declared Excommunicate them, their Abettors, Counsellors, and Adherents; And if after the four and twenty days prefixed, they did abide the Excommunication with stubbornness, then he aggravated the Sentence, and subjected the City and State of Venice to interdiction. This made Duodi retire from thence without taking his leave of the Pope, bringing along with him Nani the Ambassador in Ordinary from the Seignory.

May, &c.

This thundering Bull was sent to all the Bishops within the Territories of the Seignory to publish it: the number of those that obey'd was the lesser, the Senate had taken such good order there that this great flash of Lightning could set no part on fire: divine Service went on still in the open Churches, and the Sacraments were administered as before. The Ancient Religious Orders stood firm, but most of the new ones quitted that Country, particularly the Capucins, and the Jesuits, both very strictly tyed to his Holiness interdict: the latter having likewise somewhat to clear before him concerning the great Affair of the point of Grace, with the Dominicans; wherein they ran no less hazard, should they miscarry, then to be charged with temerity and error.

June, July &c.

Whilst both parties were thinking to arm, the one to attack, and the other to defend themselves, their men of Learning began the War by divers writings which they sent piqueering abroad. The most Signal that appeared on the Theatre for the Republick, were Pol Soave of the Order of the Servites, (vulgarly called Fra Paolo) John Marfile a Neapolitan, Doctor in Theology, and Fulgentius of the same fraternity with Pol Soave: on the opposite Cardinal Bellarmine, and the Cardinal Baronius appeared the most zealous defenders of his Holiness. After these had dealt the heaviest blows, a confused multitude of meaner Authors tilted at one another; the meanest Lawyers and Canonists presuming according to the party they espoused either to refrain or extend the Authority of the Pope beneath or above the Council and Canons; and to discomfite of the power of Princes, and the boundaries of their Dominion.

It was to be feared lest a more dangerous flock should follow; the Pope drew his Forces together in the Duchy of Spoleta, and had given the general Command of them

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to Rainutio Farnese, Duke of Parma. He had promis'd himself to make his Censures more biting with the sharp edge of his Sword: and at first breath'd nothing but Battels and Sieges; but these were old mens flashes, which grew cold and dropping as soon as he began to feel the burthen of the expence, the cares attending so great an enterprise, and the perplexity he had run himself into.

The two most potent Princes of Christendom, the Kings of France and Spain, engag'd each other in offering their Assistance, but he perceived plainly that they at the same time treated with the Venetians, and designed only to make an accommodation and gain the honour and credit to themselves. The Spaniard had sent him a very obliging Letter, and dispatched Francis de Castro Ambassador extraordinary to Venice. The King of France also dealt with his Holiness by Alincourt his Ambassador in Ordinary, and towards the end of the year ordered the Cardinal de Joyeuse to go to the Venetians to Negotiate the Treaty which was already much advanced by Fresne Canaye his Ambassador in Ordinary.

The Cardinal found nothing so difficult as the re-establishment of the Jesuits, the Senate perswaded they had not only animated the Pope to lay the interdiction, but also stirr'd every stone and tried all possible means to debauch the people, and the other religious Orders, had caus'd information against them touching other Criminal matters, and, as if they had been Convicted, banish'd them from all their Territories by a solemn Decree. Wherefore they stood stiffly upon it, not to open the Door again for their readmittance; at least, till such time as by a deportment wholly contrary to the former they had taken away all just cause of suspicion and jealousy.

As to the rest of the conditions, they soon agreed upon them. The Senate made a Vote to resign the Prisoners, and not execute their Decrees, till both Parties were satisfied therein; to revoke all their Edicts made against the Interdiction, and recall all the Religious Orders that had retired themselves, excepting the Jesuits. Respectfully the Pope pass'd his word, to take off the Censures; and receive the Seignory into his paternal affection. Joyeuse and d' Alincourt, Procurators for the King in this mediation, promised to subscribe to these conditions, and to become security to his Holiness for performance: and his Holiness, upon the receipt of this writing from their hands, was to give Joyeuse power to take off the Censures.

The Cardinal de Joyeuse went post to Rome with these Articles. The day after his Arrival, which was the Eighteenth of March, the Pope having admitted him to Audience, did again make great Efforts, at least in appearance, for the restoration of the Jesuits: for it concern'd him in honour not to forsake them visibly, since they had been expell'd for his quarrel. The Cardinal did as good as undertake to obtain this point, if they would leave the business absolutely to his management; but the Pope did not think that convenient. The Cardinal du Perron who was then at that Court upon some other account, employ'd his Eloquence to perswade him, he ought not to break off the agreement for the Jesuits sake, since their return was not positively denied, but only deferred. The Pope pretended to yield to his ponderous reasons: but it appear'd at last, that Du Perron's was a needless debate on that point; since the Spaniards, as was afterwards known, had secretly obtained of his Holiness, that he would make no further instance but for fashion-sake only; whereof they failed not to give the Senate Notice.

They had had all the share they could desire in the secret inward managing of this Affair; but they endeavour'd likewise to have the outward publick transacting. The French would never suffer it; which proved none of the least difficulties in the completing it. For these Crafty Politicians refusing to have a hand in't, or to break it, sometimes demanded, that the taking off the Censures should be done at Rome, otherwise they'd to have some new Clause added to the Pope's Brief: Then again they endeavour'd to perswade, they ought to oblige those Bishops that had not obey'd, to come to Rome and desire absolution of his Holiness. None of these succeeding, they try'd to alarm him, by spreading a report; the Senate would protest against the surrender of the Prisoners: but the Cardinal de Joyeuse secur'd him from that apprehension. Having made all these attempts in vain, they demanded that the Cardinal Sapate who had zealously stickled for the interests of his Holiness, might be associated with the Cardinal de Joyeuse for the executing of the Brief: But Joyeuse told them plainly, he would sooner leave all as it was, then suffer any other who ever he were, to partake this honour with him.

Wherefore, thus was their Affair determin'd. After the Cardinal was return'd to Venice, and had consulted with the Seignory, they appointed the one and twentieth of April for the Action. In the morning, of that day, before any other thing was done, the two Prisoners were brought to the Dukes House, and there deliver'd into the hands

1607. January.

February.

March.

April.

1607. hands of a Doctor Commissioned by his Holiness for that purpose, in the presence of several Witnesses. That done the Cardinal entered alone into the Senate; when he had been there some time, they called in two Witnesses, before whom he caused the Brief of interdiction, and Excommunication to be read, by a Herald: After which he gave absolution in due form, with the sign of the Cross, to the Senate, and to all those that had incur'd the said Censures. An Act thereof was drawn up and signed by the Witnesses then present.

The Ceremony being over, and the Gates open'd, the Count de Castro Ambassador of Spain, came to congratulate the Senate upon their reconciliation with the Holy Father; and the Cardinal went to celebrate Mass pontifically, in the Patriarchal Church, where were present the Senate, and the Count de Castro, the people flocking thither from all parts with incredible joy: Those Bishops that had not submitted to the Censures, received absolution likewise; but whilst they were in dispute about the Conditions with those whom the Pope had proposed for this Affair, they wholly abstained from Celebrating, and thus in effect, submitted to the interdict after all.

The Senate honoured such as had written in their defence with good Pensions, and took them into their protection: but their whole power, and care was not enough to secure Fra Paolo from the malice of some Assassins, who having watched him a long time, surprized him one day as he was returning to his Monastery, and wounded him in several places with a Stiletto, but such care was taken in the cure that he recovered. Afterwards he hung up the Stiletto before an Altar in the Church belonging to his Convent with this inscription, Dei Filio liberatori: not so much perhaps to consecrate his acknowledgment to God, as to immortalize the horror of that Assassinate, and stir up the public hatred against those who were believed to be the Authors.

I come now to the Truce between the United Provinces and the King of Spain. The two parties were extremely fatigued with a War of above forty years continuance: they had both of them diversely repented the inconveniencies, and did dread the Event; the Spaniards had expended infinite Sums of Money, and lost more Men than those Countries were worth: They saw no probability of reducing them by force, and apprehended withal that if they should chance to get too much advantage over them, they might cast themselves into the Arms of the French for protection, which would have drawn after them the other Provinces that were yet left them. But the greatest of their fears was, lest they should utterly ruin their Trade to the Indies, and hinder the Arrival of their Flota's, which are their main subsistence. Besides, their Council imagined, that as the War had served only to exasperate and harden those People the more, and taught them better how to defend themselves, a Peace would soften them by little and little, recover their wonted communication, and perhaps incline them to respect their ancient Sovereign, at least the Catholic party who made up near a fourth part of those revolted Provinces. Withal, the Arch-Duke Albert most ardently desired the Peace, thereby to enjoy Flanders quietly, and be able to employ his Money and Friends to gain the Imperial Throne, which he expected would soon be vacant by the death of Rodolphus.

On the other hand, the Provinces finding themselves overwhelmed with debts, almost forsaken by the English, and under the apprehension of being too too by the French, who grew weary of contributing so much towards the expenses of a War without reaping any apparent profit. Many of their Merchants imagined that a Peace would bring them Mines of Gold; and some being greatly alarm'd at the progress of Marquis Spinola, who amongst other places had taken Grof, and Rhimbergue, took the freedom to say, That since they could not subsist of themselves in a separate body of State, it were better they should rejoyce themselves to their natural Lord, then to put themselves under another who would lie more heavily upon them, as being so near a Neighbour. A certain Flemming, named Camingua, one of the first of those who were otherwise called Gueux, having one night held such like discourse, was the next day found dead in his Bed at Embden.

Their dispositions being such on either part, the Arch-Dukes first founded the Food by Valraue, de Wittenhorst, and John Jeurar who in the Month of May of the year 1606, first conferred with some particular Members of the States, then towards the end of the same year were heard in the Assembly of the States themselves. This first time, having represented the long and cruel miseries of War, and praised the mild and good intentions of the Arch-Dukes, they pro-

pounded the re-union of those Provinces, with the rest, under the obedience of their ancient Prince. The States were not over-much pleased with the discourse and sent them back with an Answer directly contrary to their demand; viz. That by the Decree made at Utrecht Anno 1579. the King of Spain had lost his right of Sovereignty over those Provinces, and that they had been United in one Body, and declared a free State and Republick: the which had been confirmed by a prescription of more then five and twenty years, and by several Princes and States, with whom they had made divers Treaties and Confederations.

The Arch-Dukes, as is believed, made this Essay only in point of honour; for their Deputies sent immediately to let the States know, That the intention of their Princes was not to gain, or take advantage of the United-Provinces; but to leave them in the condition they then were in, and to Treat upon that foot.

This proposition did not displease the States: and on their side the Arch-Dukes to they acted sincerely, employ'd in this Negotiation * Father John Neyer or Ney, General of the Cordeliers, but who was a natural Flemming, and had been bred up in the Protestant Religion till the age of two and twenty years: His Father was one Martin Ney otherwise very well known too and employed by the Father of Prince Maurice. As to the rest, his behaviour appeared to have so much of integrity, that notwithstanding his change of Religion, and Habit, the Hollanders had a great deal of confidence in him.

He brought them very obliging Letters from the Arch-Dukes, who offer'd amongst other things, (to take away all suspicion of any surprize) to depute none for this Treaty but Originaries of the Low-Countries; to hold the Conferences in such place as it should please the States to chuse; to agree to a Truce of eight Months, and to get the conditions ratified by the King of Spain. The States accepted of the Truce, to begin on the fourth of May; the Letters of the ratification were deliver'd on either part, and publication thereof made. The difficulty was for the ratification from Spain, Lewis Verreiken, Secretary of State to the Arch-Dukes, brought it the fourteenth of July to the Hague; but as it was only in paper, subscribed Joel Rey, and sealed only with the little Seal; moreover, as it gave the Arch-Dukes the Title of Lords of the Low-Countries, and they had omitted this Clause, That they should treat with those Provinces as holding them for a free Country. The States found it imperfect as well in form as in substance.

Mean time, the King of France who had received notice from the States, that they had accepted of a Truce, fearing the business should be managed to the disadvantage of his interest, resolv'd, that he might share in the Negotiation, and make himself as Arbitrator, to send thither the President Janin, one of the best heads in his Kingdom, and Paul Choard Bazervail, to labour jointly with Elias de la * Planche Russé (whom he had sent Ambassador to the States in the stead of Baservail) by communicating with the said States and fortifying them with their councils. The King of England likewise would needs have his Ambassador there, and by his example the King of Denmark, and the Protestant Princes; but those of France arrived there the eight and twentieth of May; those from England not till the Month of July; and the others about the end of the year.

The Ratification of Spain carried to Madrid, being brought agen to the Hague with some alterations; but not all those the States had mentioned, did not fully content them: Those that desired not the Peace, took occasion from thence, and from some other incidencies, to frame such Obstructions as made them spend four Months in contests only. Notwithstanding in the beginning of November, the States upon the instances of Father Ney, went on to the Negotiation: but put this down for an immoveable and fixed point, That they should not in the least touch upon the foundation of their Liberty, and their right of Sovereignty, which they had acquired at the Expence of all that was dear to them in the world. Now because the Truce expired in January, they left it to the discretion of the Arch-Dukes to prolong it for a Month, or Six Weeks. In these Mellages too and fro was this whole year almost wasted.

It is to be noted, that one of the Considerations which hastned most the Council of Spain to accept of this Truce, was their fear of losing the Indies, and their Maritime Forces; for the Hollanders had taken from them and Burnt, within three years, above Thirty great Gallies, and now newly had defeated their Admiral

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Don

1607.

1607.

February;
and
March.
* They called
him Pater Ney

April, May,
and June.

* Son of la
Blanche first
President in the
Court des aides
Massacred at
the St. Barthol-
mews.

Novemb.
and
Decemb.

1607.
April.

Don Juan Alvarez d'Avila, in the very Port of *Gibraltar*, the Five and twentieth day of April.

This Exploit may well be counted one of the most brave and resolute that ever was performed on the Seas. *Jacob de Heemkerk* Commanding the States Fleet, consisting of Twenty six Vessels, attacked that of Spain, though above a third part stronger than his own, and under shelter of the Cannon both of the Town and Castle. He pursued the Admiral quite through the Enemies Fleet, having given Command not to fire one Gun till they came Yard arm to Yard arm. Upon this near approach, the Valiant *Hollander* had his Legg taken off by a Cannon Ball, whereof he died about an hour after; but in the interim harangued those with such force that were about him, and gave such good Orders, that his Men gained the Victory, Burnt, or Sunk the Spanish Admiral, wherein *d'Avila* was, and Twelve Ships more, took Two hundred Prisoners, amongst whom was the Son of *d'Avila*, and kill'd above Two thousand Men, whereof above Fifty were Persons of Quality. This signal overthrow fill'd all Spain with mourning, and carried a very hot Alarm even to *Madrid*. It was believed that if the Victors had pursued their blow, they might have forced *Gibraltar*, and *Cadiz* too; but they retired to *Tinian*, a place upon the Coast of *Africa*, belonging to the King of *Fez*, to refresh, and to repair themselves.

1608.

We are now in the year 1608. which is to this day called the Great Winter year, for the Cold which began to be very bitter on Saint Thomas's Day, lasted above two Months without relenting in the least degree, excepting one or two days, and congealed, or if we may so express it, petrified all the Rivers, froze most of the young Vine-Roots, and other tender Plants, starved above half the Wildfowl and Small Birds in the Fields, great numbers of Travellers on the Roads, and near a fourth part of the Cattle that were housed, as well by its violent sharpness, as for want of Forrage. It was observed that the heats of the following Summer did almost equal the Severities of the Winter, and yet the year might be reck'ned amongst the most plentiful.

The Thaw caused no less damage than the hard Frost had done, the Cakes of Ice in the Rivers destroy'd a world of Boats, Keys, and Bridges; The Waters raised by the sudden melting of the Snows drowned the Valleys; and the Loire breaking down its Banks in many places, made a second deluge in the Neighbouring Campagnes.

1608.

February.

That which hapned at *Lyon* is a wonder worthy to be describ'd; There was a mountain of Ice-Cakes accumulated on the *Saone*, before the Church of *Poissy*; the whole City trembled, for fear left upon breaking loose, it should carry away the Bridge, and therefore made Publick Prayers to avert that Misfortune and Damage: a simple Artisan undertook to make it break into little shivers, and swim away by degrees without any disorder, for a certain Sum of Money agreed upon by the Magistrates of the Town. To this effect, he on the Shoar right against it, lighted two or three small Fires, with half a dozen Faggots, and a few Coals, and falls a muttering certain words. Immediately this prodigious glaciated Rock burst, with a noise like the report of a Cannon, into an infinity of pieces, the greatest not exceeding four or five foot. But, this poor fellow, instead of receiving his Reward, was in danger of receiving severe Punishment: for the Divines said, That the thing could not possibly be so done, without some operation of the Devil; so that his Recipe, or Charm, was burnt publicly in the Town-Hall. Ten, or Twelve years after he brought his Action in Parliament, for his Reward: I could never learn the success of it.

Henry last Duke of *Montpensier*, after he had languish'd two years with a Hectic Fever, reduced to suck a Nurses Breast, expir'd about the end of February. His only Daughter a little before his Death was Contracted to the King's second Son; who dying young, she afterwards Married the third, whom we have seen Duke of *Orleans*, he came into the world the Five and twentieth of March following. *Henrietta Catherine de Joyeuse*, Widdow of *Henry*, re-married some time after to *Charles* Duke of *Guise*.

In the Month of May, *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine*, a good Prince, liberal and pacifick, passed from this life to the other, and had for Successor his eldest Son *Henry* Duke of *Bar* and *Marquis du Pont*.

Some perhaps would take it amiss should I forget, that the Duke of *Nevers* sent on an extraordinary Embassy to the Pope, to tender him the filial Obedience, made his entrance into *Rome* upon the Five and twentieth of November, the

the most magnificently that ever had been known upon the like occasion; and that the Holy Father caused a Jubile to be published which commenced at *Rome* the Sixth of September, and Six Weeks afterwards at *Paris*.

I think I may in this year place the Invention of Perspective Glasses, because 'tis said of them began now to grow common in Holland and France. A Spectacle-maker of *Midleburg* presented one which he had made to Prince Maurice, which seemed to bring any Object, though two Leagues distant within Two hundred paces of the Eye, for from the Hague they could easily discern the Dial at *Delft*, and the Windows of the Church at *Leyden*: the year following many were to be had in the Shops at *Paris*, but which could not desery a third part so far as those.

Some have named them Galileo's Glasses, as if that famous Mathematician had invented them: but it is most certain: this happy Discovery was made long before his time: We find manifest footsteps of them in the Works of *Baptista Porta*, 1021 we must acknowledge that the Ancients made use of them: if that be true which *Roger Bacon* saith, That *Julius Caesar* being on the *Belgic* Shoar opposite to great *Britain*, did with certain great Burning-Glasses discover the Posture and Disposition of the British Army, and all the Coast along that Country. However it were, they have laboured so happily to bring them to their full Perfection, that it will be difficult to make any further Addition or Improvement: The marvellous Observations which have been made and are daily taken of the Heavens by the help of them are a most illustrious proof of their Success.

As to the Subject of the Fougade at *Westminster*, the King of Great Britain who believed that all these Conspiracies proceeded from that Rome which the Pope pretended over Sovereigns, made an Oath of Fidelity, or Allegiance after a new form, wherein he obliged all his Subjects, to acknowledge that he was their true and lawful Sovereign, and that the Pope had neither of himself, nor from any other, the Power to depose Kings, or to warrant any Stranger Prince to invade their Country, or to dispense their Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance: therefore should Swear to him, that notwithstanding any Sentence whatsoever of the Popes, they would faithfully obey him, and serve him, and his Successors, and should discover whatever Conspiracies they did know either against his Person, or against his State.

The Pope having notice hereof, sent a Brief to the Catholics, to forbid them the taking this Oath. *George Blackwell*, Arch-Bishop of *England*, being imprisoned upon the refusal he made of it, suffered himself at last, to be persuaded, that this Brief had been extorted, and that there was nothing contained in the Formulary of the Oath contrary to the Articles of Faith, so that he took it and caused it to be taken by the rest of the Catholics in *England*. But the Pope by a second Brief, confirmed the first, and *Cardinal Bellarmine* wrote a Letter to *Blackwell*, to shew him that the said Oath wounded the Unity of the Church, and the Authority of the Holy See. He published an Apology for this Oath, the Cardinal made an Answer, the King's reply, which he addressed to the Christian Princes. Some Authors concerned themselves in the quarrel; and it being a contest wherein the power of the Popes was debated, as likewise that of temporal Princes, it became the exercise and entertainment of the most learned men in Europe for some Months together.

The States of the United-Provinces had reason to make the Spaniards believe and see, that in case the Treaty of Peace were broken off, they should be assisted both by France and England; wherefore they had several times made instance to the Ambassadors of those Kings that they would enter into a good Defensive League for their preservation. The King of France did first agree, and Signed it the second day of January, notwithstanding the contrary advice of those of his Council, whom a zeal for the Catholic Religion inclined indirectly to favour the Spaniard; the Ambassadors of the King of England having some points to settle with the States touching the liquidation of Arrears of Moneys, did not conclude it till four or five Months after.

Those of Spain deputed for the Peace; to wit, the *Marquis de Spinola* General of King Philip's Armies in the Low-Countries; *John Crisfel Richardot*, President of the Privy-Council to the Arch-Dukes; *John de Alencicador*, Secretary of War to King Philip; *Frier John Neyer*, or *Ney*, Commilitary-General of the Order of Saint Francis; and *Lewis Verreken*, prime Secretary of State to the Arch Duke, Arrived at the Hague in the Month of January. The States deputed

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1608.

But for the Generality: William of Nassau, and the Lord de Brederode: and the seven Provinces named for each of them one of the most able and best qualify'd they had amongst them.

February.

The Compliments made on either part, they began to assemble the Sixth day of February. In the first Ten Sessions they produced their Procurations, and treated of an Amnesty, of Reprials, and some other such Points which pass'd without much difficulty; but when they came to mention the Commerce of the *East-Indies*, there began the main of the Negotiation, the States insisting to have the full liberty of that Trade; the *Spaniards* to exclude them; thinking there were only a few Merchants interested in that Trade, and that the rest would not concern themselves much for their preservation: but the Company which of late years was set up for the *Indies*, had forty Ships belonging to them, the least of five hundred Tuns burthen, well provided for War, and each of the value of five and twenty thousand Crowns: Besides, fourcore more of six or seven hundred Tuns which traded to the *West-Indies*, not reckning a great number of smaller barks for *Guinea*, and the *Islands Saint Dominique*. Being therefore animated by their profit, and wish'd uphold and countenanc'd by Prince Maurice, they made so much noise, and rous'd the publick by so many Manifestoes and discourses in Print, that their Deputies were oblig'd to stand to it.

Seeing therefore they could not agree upon that point, they quitt'd it to pass on to those concerning the reciprocal Trade in the *Low-Countries*, the remanigation of reprials, the declaration of their limits, the demolition and exchange of places, the Cancellation of Sentences of Proscription and Confiscation, the restitution of Goods, the Priviledges of Cities, the disbanding of Soldiers on each side, and many other points.

In the Memoirs of the President *Jamin* are to be seen the difficulties that were created on either side upon different Articles, particularly about the restitution of places. How the Truce was prolonged two several times, the one to the end of May, the other till July. How Father *Ney* going into Spain for more ample powers, was detain'd there a long time by the slow motions, either natural or artificial, of that Council: How the President *Jamin*, sent for by the King, took a turn into France, and how Don Pedro de Toledo, who was then going to Morocco, came at the same time, with design, as was believ'd, to sound the Kings intentions, and to take him off from espousing the interests of the States.

Septemb.

We there find likewise the great jealousies the States conceived upon the Conference he had with the King, the Intrigues and Artifices of Prince Maurice to break this Treaty, the different Factions that were form'd in that Country for and against it: How the rupture of the said Treaty by the States, upon the *Spaniards* persisting to have the free exercise of the Catholick Religion re-established in all their Territories, and that they should lay down the whole Trade and Navigation to the *Indies*; and in fine upon this rupture, the retreat of the Ambassadors of Spain, who took their leaves of the States the last day of September, and returned to Brussels.

Those of France, and Great Britain, particularly the first, did not for all this leave off their Mediation, but propounded to both parties to make a long Truce, at least, since they could not agree upon the Articles for a perpetual Peace. Prince Maurice oppos'd it openly, because his employment must be as an end with the War: He had subject enough to declaim against the artifice of the *Spaniards*, and to entertain the peoples fears and jealousies; and talk'd the more confident and high, as having all the Sons of War on his side, and the Province of Zealand, besides four or five good places in his disposition, and the desires of the Protestant Princes, who apprehended lest during such a Truce the power of the *Austrian* House should fall upon their Backs.

But the Kings honour was too much concern'd, after he had taken so much pains, and his interest likewise, (to disarm Flanders, which he designed to seize upon) nor to bring this business to a conclusion. He pursu'd it therefore so warmly by intreaties, and menaces to the States, that their Deputies met again at Antwerp on the five and twentieth of March, with those of Spain, and made a Truce for twelve years, which was proclaimed in that City the fourteenth day of April.

1609.
January,
February,
March and
April.

If

1609.

It import'd amongst other things, That the Arch-Dukes traffick with them in quality and as holding them for free Provinces, upon whom they had no manner of pretence; That there should be a Cessation from all Acts of Hostility, but that in Foreign Countries it should not commence till a year after; That Traffick should be free both by Sea and Land, which however the King of Spain limited to the Countries he held in Europe, not meaning the States should Trade into those others *, without his express Licence. That either should hold such places as were then in their possession, That such whose Estates had been seized or confiscated by reason of the War, or their Heirs, should have the enjoyment of them during the Truce, and should re-enter upon them without any other form of Justice; That the Subjects belonging to the States should have in the Kings and Arch-Dukes Countries the same liberty in Religion, as had been granted to the Subjects of the King of Great Britain by the last Treaty of Peace. Reciprocally the States promised, that there should be no alteration made in those Villages of Brabant which depended upon them, where hitherto there had been no other exercise of Religion but the Catholick; for which the Ambassadors gave their Guaranty in writing.

* East and West-Indies.

The President *Jamin* being returned to the Hague after the Publication, exhorted the States in behalf of the King, to grant to their Catholick Subjects the free exercise of their Religion; but all that he could obtain was, that they should be no more prosecuted nor troubled if they did it in their own houses, and for their private Families only.

If the power of Spain received a great shock by this Treaty, that which they procur'd themselves by the expulsion of the *Mosers* was no less. After the eversion of the Kingdom of Granada, great numbers of Mahometans and Jews were remaining in those Countries, who had settled and spread themselves in the Kingdoms of Valencia, Chastille and Andalusia; they were baptized and profess'd Christianity, for which reason they were called *new Christians*; but yet did secretly exercise the impieties of their fore-fathers. They were reckon'd to be above twelve hundred thousand of both sexes. King Philip inform'd that for divers years they had sought for and courted the protection of the King of France, the United-Provinces, the King of England, nay, even the Turks, and the King of Morocco; and suffering himself to be persuaded that upon a certain Good-Friday, they intended to cut the Throats of all the old Christians in those Countries where they inhabited, resolv'd to thrust them out of his Territories, not permitting them to carry away any thing, excepting some Merchandize of the Country; seizing and detaining their Gold and Silver, their Jewels and moveables, only he allow'd the fourth part to the Nobility in recompence of the damage they sustain'd by such their banishment: for they improv'd and made the Lands yield more by one third to the Gentry, then the Spanish Tenants could do.

This Edict was Executed with the utmost severity, even against those that were Priests, Friers, Officers of the Kings, and Allied to the most ancient Christian Families: they haled and tore them from the very Altars, Cloysters, Tribunals of Justice; the Husbands from the Arms of their dearest Wives, the Wives from the Bosoms of their Husbands, the Fathers or Mothers from their tenderest Children. These wretches, part of them transported into Africa, part getting into France, and Italy, did most of them perish after divers manners; some were drowned by those very Mariners who pretended to transport them; others massacred by the *Arabs*; many being first strip and then turn'd away by those from whom they expected shelter, died of hunger, being in excretion to the Christians as Infidels, and to the Infidels as Christians; so that of this huge Multitude, hardly could the fourth part make shift to save themselves. Spain will for a long time feel the smart of this more then barbarous inhumanity for the cruel expulsion of so many Myriads of Men, together with the continual recruits they are ever sending to the *Indies*, and their natural lazy temper, has made of that Country, otherwise the most peopled and the most cultivat'd in Europe, a vast and barren solitude.

Some Christian Pirates were retired to Tunis, and Algier, and had there gotten so many of their own stamp together, that they held the Streight of Gibraltar, as it were shut up, and dar'd even attacke whole Fleets. The *Mulohins* not able to endure these Robberies, fitted out some Vessels to set upon them: Captain *Beaulieu* their Commander, having consider'd of the means to destroy the

whole

1609,
and
1610,
till March.

1608. whole force of these Picaroons at one blow, conceived the boldest design that could be imagined. He resolv'd to attempt to burn their Ships even in the Port of *Tunis*, under the very Castle of *Galea*. The *Spaniards* having joyned him with eight great Gallions, would heads second him in this generous enterprize. When the Wind stood fair, he put himself bravely in the Van, entered the Haven at noon day, pass'd under the Cannon of the Fort, against which he fired a hundred and fifty Broad-sides; then, observing his Vessels could get no nearer, he leaped into a Barque with forty Men only, and piercing thorow a continual Tempest of five and forty great Guns which thundred upon him from the Fort, went and put fire to the greatest Vessel first, whence it was convey'd to all the rest, and consumed three and thirty, whereof sixteen were fitted for Men of War, and one Galliey.

1609. February. The news of the death of *Ferdinand de Medici* Duke of *Tuscany*, Uncle to the Queen, interrupted those diversifications which were the chiefest occupations of the Court during the melancholy Winter Season, and made them lay aside the merry Carousels and the Balets. His Son *Cosmo II.* of that name succeeded him in his Estates.

June. This year two memorable Edicts were published; one of the Month of *June*, to stop the fury of Duels; the other of the Month of *May*, to remedy or prevent the too frequent Bankrupts. The first encreased the penalties ordained by the Precedent Laws against such as fought, and against their Seconds, made several rules for the reparation of affronts, and allowed such as had received any great injury to bring their complaints to the King, or else to the Connestable and Marshals of *France*, and to demand leave to fight; which should be granted them if it were judged expedient for their honour.

The second punished the Bankrupts with death, as Robbers and publick Cheats; declared null all Conveyances, Sales, Grants, or Donations by them fraudulently made; ordained that even those that had received them, or had been assisting towards the receiving of their effects, or had induced or perswaded the Creditors to compound with them, should be chastised as Complices; forbid all their Creditors to give them any Letter of Licence or time of delay, upon pain of forfeiting their respective debts, and more if they transgressed.

Upon this there were great numbers that fled out of the Kingdom; but one of the most notorious, who sheltered himself in *Flanders*, being taken at *Valenciennes* by permission of the Arch-Dukes, was brought to *Paris*, and by Arrest, or judgment, of the Masters of Requests made *amende honorable* with a Torch in hand, was put in the Pillory three several days, and then sent to the Gallies. A most necessary example to suppress the Roguy-thinkings of that sort of Cattle; For having hid their heads a while to oblige their Creditors to give away good part of what is their just due, they soon after appear again proud with the spoil of those they have thus defrauded, and think to cover their Guilt and Shame under the impudence of a brazen fore-head.

1609, and 1610. Whilst the King was acquiring the Title of the Arbitrator of Christendom, by composing all the differences between the Neighbouring States, unhappy discord sliding into his own Family, rusted the tranquility of his mind, fill'd his heart with a thousand discontents, and sowed all the joy of his good success. The disdain of the Marchioness of *Vermuil* had a new encreased his passion, as on the other hand the pursuit he made to have her again within his power, and the Offensive Language she used, redoubled the Queens Jealousie, and their Domesticque quarrels.

Silly, and some other of the Kings Confidants laboured in vain to reduce both the one and the other to the Kings will and pleasure; they threaten'd the Marchioness, that he would make choice of some other, and if once the lost his favour together with his heart, both she and her Children must inevitably be confined to some Monastery. In effect, he endeavour'd to wean himself from her, by making publick love to the Countess of *Moret*, and a while after to the *Damoiselle des Essars*. They at the same time represented to the Queen, that her passion did but alienate the Kings affection more and more, that Complaisance, tenderness and caresses were the only Charms to retain him; and that till she could prevail with him to forsake the illegitimate Objects, she ought in common prudence to make use of all her moderation, if she desired to obtain any favours for her, or hers. But *Conchine*, and *Leonora Galigay*, very remote from putting her into this disposition, having usurped so much power over her will, that

1609. that they governed her desires, her affection, and her passions, as they pleased, encouraged and footed her more and more in her perverse humour.

The King had often been advis'd not to suffer those fatal brands so near her who every day put fire to the House, and would from time to other let the whole Kingdom in a flame: *Don Juan de Medicis*, having essay'd by his Order, to perswade the Queen to discard them, she fell into passion with injurious words and reproaches, and was so bent to do him some injury, whatever the King could do to appease her, that he was constrain'd to retire out of *France*. The impudence of those little rascally people grew to so great a height that they used Menaces, even against the Kings person, if he durst attempt theirs, as many had often counsel'd him to do.

The zealous Catholics of his Council, joyning with and pursuing the Queens intentions, maintained dangerous correspondencies with the Council of *Spain* by means of the Ambassador of *Florence*, and made much ado for the Marrying the Dauphin, and the eldest Daughter of *France*, with the Son and Daughter of King *Philip*: inasmuch, as that Prince, whether of his own Motion, or by their suggestion gave command to *Don Pedro de Toledo*, (related to the Queen) whom he was sending into *Germany*, to sojourn some time in the Court of *France* and sound the Kings intentions.

We know not what Propositions he made to him in private, but it was suspected he had talked about making a League between the two Crowns to force all the Protestants to return to the Catholick Faith, and that he had offer'd to yield up all the Right his Master had to the *United Provinces*, and to give them in Dower to the Dauphin, with his eldest Daughter. But the King answered very coldly as to these Marriages: for he would have no Alliance with the *Spaniards*, he desired to Marry his Dauphin with the eldest Daughter of *Lorraine*, to joyn that Dutchy to *France*: and had resolv'd to bestow the eldest of his Daughters, on the Duke of *Savoy's* eldest Son. It was said, that to indemnifie the *Lorraine* Princes who pretended their Dutchy was a Fief Masculine, he propos'd to give them the Rank and Privilege, as Princes of his Blood immediately next those who really were so.

It had been already for some years past that the Duke of *Savoy*, dissatisfied with the *Spaniards*, as well for that they had not allotted his Wife so good a share as her Sister *Isabella*, as also because they did not assist him in due time and place, fought to make his Fortune better on the *French* side, and omitted no opportunity of renewing the Propositions for the Conquest of *Milan*. In the year 1607. the Cardinal de *Joyeuse*, at his return from *Venice*, and Anno 1608. *Vaucelas*, who had been sent to *Turin* to congratulate the Duke, upon the Marriage of his two Daughters with the Dukes of *Mantova* and of *Modena*, brought the King some hints of it; but he did not then confide enough in him, or did not judge it yet time to declare himself. This year, *Bullion* being gone into *Savoy* upon some other Affairs, had order to declare his intentions to the Duke, and likewise to propound the Conquest of *Milan* for himself, excepting only some places he should leave to the *Venetians*, as being very commodious for them. The Duke opening both ears to such fair proffers, *Bullion* brought *Lesdiguières* to discourse with him; And from that time was a League concluded, between the King and the Duke, Offensive and Defensive, of which the Marriage of his Son, with the eldest Daughter of *France*, was to be as it were the Seal, and Guarantee.

The design to reduce the House of *Austria* within the limits of *Spain* and its Hereditary Countries, was never out of the King's thoughts: Most of the Princes in Christendom, and above all, the Protestants, did eternally sollicit him to go about it; His Commanders desired it to have Employments; and the *Huguenots* push'd the wheel forward, thereby to prevent any League between the two Crowns, which undoubtedly would have tended to exterminate them. On the contrary, the Catholics, in whom some leaven of the old League was yet remaining, omitted nothing that might divert him; they believed it to be even a work of Pity to lend a helping hand to his Pleasures, that so his glass might run on in soft and idle hours: but though in other things he relied much on their Council, he seldom discover'd his Resolutions, nay hardly made any mention to of any thing concerning this great Enterprize; and if he had delay'd it hitherto, it was but because he would take all his Precautions, and make all the necessary preparations before he would declare himself.

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He had been fain, for this purpose, to settle a perfect Tranquillity in his own Kingdom, giving the factions time to cool and be extinguished, and the two Religions to become more compatible, as absolutely expedient. He had been fain to discharge his Debts, restore that Credit which the male-administration of the Treasury had forfeited, and moreover make Provision of Moneys, Ammunitions, Arms, Artillery, and select Men, and engage on his side all the Princes and States he possibly could. The Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark* had given him their Parol at least four years since: The *United Provinces* at the making of their Truce, assured him they would break it, when ever he should desire it: besides the Duke of *Savoy*, the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, and several Imperial Cities: The Duke of *Bavaria* entered into this League, upon the assurance that the Election to the Empire being made free, they would make him King of the *Romans*. The *Venetians* were promised some Cities in *Milanais*, and those of the Kingdom of *Naples* on the *Adriatick Gulf*: To the *Swiss*, the Country of *Tirrol*, the *Franche-Comté*, and *Alsace*. The Pope did even suffer himself to be hook'd in, provided they would help him to re-unite the Kingdom of *Naples* to the Holy See, which would have afforded him most excellent means for accommodating his Nephews. Thus would all the Princes of Christendom have furnish'd themselves with the Spoil of the House of *Austria*, and the King, that the World might not have the same cause of Jealousie against him, as they justly had against the House he was going to help them Plunder, would not have retained one inch of Ground for himself, but have been content with the Glory only of this brave undertaking for his share.

After this, as there are now bounds to no noble a race of Honour, he designed, when he should have settled the Limits and Pretensions of the Christian Princes, established a firm Peace and Union amongst them, and formed a general Council for this Christian Republick they should employ all the Forces of it, to ruine the Mahometan Tyranny. These Designs, without doubt, were not above his Courage, or his Power, but perhaps of an extent longer than his life and his health, being as he was Aged Six and fifty years, subject to the *Cout*, of which he had frequent Fits, and obliged every year to run thorow a course of Physick once at least, and oft-times twice.

Love, if it be permitted to say so, would needs have a hand in the Enterprize, and lend his Flambeau to help kindle this War, as he hath lighted almost all the greatest that ever have consumed Mankind. *Henrietta Charlotte*, Daughter of the Connestable de *Montmorency*, and of *Louisa de Bados* his second Wife, appeared no sooner at Court, but she out-shined all other Beauties there: The first time the King saw her, was in a Masque, or Ballet, where she represented a *Diana*, and held a Dart in her hand: She then inspired him with Sentiments quite contrary to those which that chaste Goddess should inspire mens Hearts withal.

The Confidants of this Prince's Passions, the young Charmers Parents, even those Petticoat Politicians about the Queen who thought by this new, to turn off all his old Mistresses, were disposed to serve him in this Courtship. All flatter'd and soothed his Passion, but she alone that could ease him; he fancied he might overcome her, by raising her to the highest rank in the Court, next the Queen, and in that Prospect married her to the Prince of *Condé*, Young and Poor, who held all from his Power and Bounty, and had as yet neither Governments, nor any Employment, but who being what he was, and withal accomplish'd both in Body and Mind, might with a little more complaisance have been in a capacity to have obtained the Noblest Commands in the Kingdom. The Nuptials were solemnized at *Chantilly* in the Month of *March*.

The Duke of *Vendosme* having attained the Age of Sixteen years, the King was impatient to Consummate his Marriage with *Francis de Lorrain*, only Son of the deceased Duke of *Mercœur*. The Mother, and some of the Virgins Kindred had ever made great opposition: in the end, Father *Cotton*, extremely persuasive and Insinuating, disposed them to give the King this Satisfaction: The *Fiancailles*, or Betrothing, was made the precedent year: And in this the Marriage was celebrated at *Fontainebleau* the Ninth of *July*.

It was about this time of rejoicing that the King's new flame, increasing by the Presence of the Princess of *Condé*, appeared so plain, and shone so bright and hot, as offended the Eyes of her Husband, and gave him a shrewd Fit of the Head-Ach. Then, the scrupulous, the discontented, the King's concealed Enemies, those People whose Malignity is never pleased but in Troubles, without any other

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aim but to make mischief, and even the Queen her self, pecked him with Honour and Jealousie: He flies out and held Discourses very disrespectful, the King chafizes him by taking away his subsistence which was in Pensions, and the Money he had promised upon his Marriage.

This rough treatment had an effect quite contrary to what he desired: the Prince being the more enraged, and withal apprehending some violence from so head-strong a passion, though he had seen no such example in this good King, resolv'd to retire himself from Court. Having therefore dispos'd every thing for his design, he did, as we may say, steal away his wife the nine and twentieth of *August*, set her behind him on Horse-back, and when he had rode some Leagues, put her into a Coach with six Horses. He pass'd by *Landrecy*, without entering there, and from thence travell'd with all speed to *Brussels*, where the Popes Nuncio, and the Arch-Dukes received him with a great deal of joy, and render'd him all the honour that was due to his quality.

Upon the news of this unexpected Evasion, the King full of anger and love, could not dissemble his emotions, not even before the Queen, but yet endeavour'd to colour them with reason of State. His Council was of Opinion he should resolve on nothing in so important a business, till they were certain of the place of his retreat. A Month afterwards they had certain notice he was at *Brussels*; then the King order'd *Fraslin*, Captain of his Guards, to go to the Arch-Dukes and demand they should surrender to him the first Prince of his Blood. To which they answer'd, That the consideration and esteem they had for that Noble Blood having oblig'd them to allow him a retreat, the Laws of Hospitality, and honour would not suffer them to deliver him up: and that there was no ground to fear he would attempt any thing either in word or deed contrary to that respect and service which he owed him.

This Answer did not satisfy the King: he count'd as dishonour all the honour they could shew to him who had incur'd his disfavour, and had carried Reports into stranger Countries which wounded his reputation. Besides, the too great familiarity that Prince had contracted with the Duke of *Anjou* a mortal enemy to his person, gave him a plausible pretence to evaporate his cholerick transports, which were known to be produced by another and a fairer cause. He therefore sent Ambassadors to the Arch-Dukes, who spake yet lower to them than *Fraslin*, yet gained no more than he. Some of his Confidants, thinking to do him good service, would needs employ themselves without Commission, and made attempts to steal away the Princess; and others again, more imprudent than the first, contrived some against the Prince himself, the rumour of it being spread in *Brussels* (this was in *February* Anno 1610.) the whole City put themselves in Arms to defend so Noble a Guest; but, he, fearing some dangerous Event, retired from thence, and pass'd into *Milan*.

The Count de *Fuentes*, a furious Enemy to the King, set maliciously a report on *Wing*, that he had put the price of two hundred thousand Crowns upon his head; and under that pretence, ordered a Guard both of Horse and Foot to attend him, which he did not so much for the safety of his person, as to vilify the reputation of the King, and hinder any Envoy from reclaiming that Prince either by making him some offers very advantageous, or by bringing him to abhor and repent what he had done. He had, in effect, some reason to apprehend such a change, since notwithstanding all this Precaution the Prince, as it was said, began to listen to the propositions were made him by *France*, and was going to submit and comply when the death of the King happened.

Whatever some may have said, the greatest passion the King had was for Fame in the pursuit of his brave and noble design. The death of *John William*, Duke of *Cleves*, *Juliers* and *Bergh*, Count de *la Mark*, and Lord of *Ravestein*, happening the five and twentieth of *March*, afforded him a specious overture. This Prince was Son of Duke *William*, who was so of *John Duke of Cleves*, Count de *la Mark*, and Lord of *Ravestein*, which *John* had espoused *Mary*, Daughter and Heiress of *William Duke of Juliers* and *Bergh*, and Lord of *Ravensburgh*. Observe it was expressly said in their Contract, That those Lands should ever remain united in one hand, thereby to be enabled the better to defend themselves against their Neighbours who became too powerful.

The Succellion of Duke *John William* was extremely litigious amongst his Heirs, as well because of the divers dispositions of the Dukes his Predecessors,

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as the Constitutions of the several Emperors, directly contrary to one another. For some had treated these Duchies as *Fiefs* Masculine; others would have it that they might fall to the *disfist* or females. The Emperor *Frederic III.* had conceded them to *Albert Duke of Saxony*, for services rendered to the Empire in case those who then were in possession should come to die without *Heirs Males*; and *Maximilian I.* had ratified this concession two several times. Afterwards, quite contrary, when *William Son of Duke John*, (and Brother of *Sibylla* married to *John Frederic*, soon after Elector of Saxony) espoused *Mary of Austria*, Queen of Hungary and Sister of *Charles V.* (this was in Anno 1545.) that Emperor granted to him, (and his Successors confirm'd it): "That if they left no Sons of this Marriage, the Daughters should be capable of succeeding in all his Estates; the Eldest first, & then the younger consecutively one after another: and if there were none living at the time of the decease of the Father, the said principalities should appertain to their Male-Children." The same condition had been apposed in the Contract of *Sibylla*, Sister of this *William* in the year 1526. when *Duke John* their Father Marry'd her to the said *Frederic* Elector of Saxony, who was afterwards defeated and delistituted of his Dutchy by the Emperor *Charles V.*

Now this *William*, Son of *Duke John*, had had a Son; to wit, the *John William* whose death we now mention'd; and four Daughters, who were *Mary-Elisabeth*, *Anne*, *Magdalen*, and *Sibylla*. These Daughters had Married, the first, *Albert Frederic*, Duke of *Prussia*, Anno 1572. of whom there were none but Daughters remaining: The second *Philip Ludovic* Duke of *Newburg*, of whom were born *Wolfgang*, and some other Males: The third, *John Duke of Deux-Ponts* &c. Brother of that *Ludovic*, who dyed before *Duke John William*, but had left Sons; and the last *Charles of Austria*, Marquis of *Burgau*, of whom there were no Children. Of *Mary-Elisabeth* and *Albert* were produced many Sons who died young; and four Daughters, the eldest of whom named *Anne*, espoused *John Sigismund* of *Brandenburg*, who was Elector and Duke of *Prussia*: The fourth was wife of *John George* Brother of *Christian II.* Elector of Saxony. We have nothing to do with the other two.

Brandenburg pretended intirely to this Succession for his Son *George William*, who was Issue of *Anne* Daughter of *Mary-Elisabeth* the Eldest of the four Sisters. But the Duke of Saxony demanded all these Principalities likewise, founding his right upon the donation of the Emperors *Frederic* and *Maximilian*, which he maintained to be good, since the said *Fiefs* were Masculine; and urged that the following Emperors could not otherwise dispose of them to the prejudice of the Laws and Customs of the Empire, and contrary to the nature of those Lands. The same Duke had two more claims besides this; the one for *John George* his Brother who had Married the fourth Daughter of *Mary-Elisabeth*, the other was for the Princes of the Branch of *Weymar*, and that of *Koburg*, Issue of *John Frederic*, Elector of Saxony, (dispoliate by *Charles V.*) and of *Sibylla*, Sister of *William II.* Duke of *Cleves*, and *Juliers*, Father of *John William*.

I speak not of the pretensions of the Duke of *Nevers*, and of *Henry de la Mark* Count de *Alancour*, whereof the first said he was Heir of the House of *Cleves*; the other of the House of *la Mark*; for they did not pursue it with much vigour.

Vollgang * Eldest Son of the Duke of *Newburg* entred the first into the Country to make demand of the rights of *Anne* his Mother: Immediately afterwards *Brandenburg* sent his Brother earnest thither for those of his Son. These two Princes not able to come to an agreement made a transaction, by the mediation of the Landgrave of *Hesse*; by which they promised to end their differences amicably, to employ their Forces jointly against any who to their prejudice should offer to seize upon those Lands; and to administer them, *per individuum*, and without prejudice to the rights of the Empire, and the other pretenders. Soon after, an Assembly of the States of that Country being held at *Dusseldorp*, the King of France sent to desire them to approve of this Treaty, and declared himself openly enough for those two Princes.

But the Emperor, in case of litigation, taking himself to be the Natural, and Sovereign Judge between Parties contending for *Fiefs* holding of the Empire, maintain'd that the Sequestration belonged to him till a definitive sentence: therefore he caused them all to be Assigned before him by an Act of the four and twentieth of May, and gave Commiſſion to the Arch-Duke *Leopoldus*, Bishop of *Strasburgh*, and *Passin*, to take those Territories into his hands. The City

* Or Lucc-
Brughen.

* Or Wolf-
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City of *Juliers* received him, having been surprized by their Beneficial, who slip away from the Estates of *Dusseldorp*; but most of the other places gave themselves up to the two Princes. Then the Acts of Hostility began between them and *Leopold*, with several Mandates from the Emperor, Manifesto's and Apologies, which both the one and the other sent into all parts of Christendom.

The Intereſts of all the German Princes were very much perplexed, and incertain, in this Affair; on the one side they all equally apprehended, as well the Catholic, as the Protestants, lest the Emperor under pretence of Sequestration, should make himself Master of those Countries, and aggrandize his own house by it. On the other side, the Catholics feared that the Protestant Princes if they remained in possession, would become the strongest, and oppress them. Upon this consideration, they contrived a League Defensive among themselves, the Duke of *Bavaria* made himself the Head, and drew in the Electors of *Mentz* and *Triers*: altogether sent away dispatches to *Rome* and to *Spain* to have the Assistance of his Holiness, and of the Catholic King; and when they had obtained a favourable Answer, they held an Assembly at *Wirtzburg*, where *Leopold* was present.

A month after the Catholic Electors, and the Princes of the House of *Austria* went to the Emperor at *Prague*, with design to Elect a King of the Romans; whilst the Emperor was yet living * for fear lest after his death the Protestants should make one of their own Religion. There were some so confident as to propound the Duke of *Bavaria*; and the Jesuits who were very powerful in that party, were not much averse to it, because they hoped to Govern that Prince as they pleased: nevertheless that very consideration, and the great interest of the House of *Austria* turned most of the Votes for *Ferdinand* Arch-Duke of *Craitt*, Cousin to *Rodolphus*.

The Protestants at the same time assembled at *Hall* in *Suabia*, where there appeared fourteen Princes of that Religion, above twenty qualified Lords, and Deputies from all the great Protestant Cities. Amongst those Princes, was the Elector of *Brandenburg*, *Frederic-Ludovic* Duke of *Newburg*, and Christian Prince of *Anhalt*. This last being sent by the two others into France, brought word back that the King highly embraced their defence, and that in the Spring, he would March in person to their Assistance; For proof whereof he brought with him an Ambassador from the King, he was named *Boissie*. The States of the United-Provinces, promised likewise to aid the two Princes, but not openly; till they were certain the King had sent four thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse to those Frontiers.

What they Treated at *Hall* was kept very secret, the Princes writing down their resolutions with their own hands not trusting to their Secretaries. It was said that they had agreed and resolved to consider of the means to retrieve the City of *Donaverd* out of the power of the Duke of *Bavaria* (who had taken it upon pretence it was under the Imperial Ban for some Violences Committed against the Catholics;) to satisfy the Duke of Saxony for the succession of *Juliers*; to Elect a King of the Romans, and to make a Counter-League in case the Pope and the House of *Austria* formed any to oppress them.

It would be difficult to judge how intrigues so perplexed as these, could have been disintangled to the content of the Protestants, and satisfaction of the Catholics. The King pretended to say, and had even openly declared to the former, that he did not mean there should be any thing changed as to the Religion of the Countries of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, and had assured the Popes Nuncio that if he assisted them, it was principally to oblige them by his good Offices to Treat the Catholics kindly in their Territories, and perhaps to make them to become so themselves.

This Declaration gave some ombrage to the Protestants, and did not fully satisfy the Catholics. The Nuncio who knew not the intentions of his Master, could not keep silence: those that were yet tainted with the Leaven of the old League, endeavour'd to patch up a new one; And it was said, the foundations of it were laid at *la Flesche*. For a Woman affirmed she had seen in a house where they kept many Scholars, certain Registers in which many had subscribed with Signatures of Blood. It is certain that this year there were great numbers of persons imprisoned at *Paris* and elsewhere for some kind of Conspiracies, and that they were released immediately after the death of the King,

1609.
May, &c.

1609.
November,
and
Decemb.

* He was that
very old, but
very much bris-
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January,

February,
and
March.

1610. King, none daring, or perhaps none desiring to search deeper into so dangerous a Secret.

April and
May.

It could not but notoriously be known by this time that the King, had in hand greater Designs than these only concerning the Affairs of *Cloves* and *Jubilee*; for he had above Thirty thousand Foot, and Six thousand Horse, all select Men, marching towards *Champagne*. *Lefdiguiers*, whom he had made Marechal of *France* after the Death of *Ornans*, had Twelve thousand Foot, and Two thousand Horse; the Duke of *Savoy*, and the *Venetians* were to join him with Thirty thousand more: the Princes of *Germany* had but few left, and the *United Provinces* upward of Sixteen thousand. I do not mention the Sea-forces, which with those of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, would have made up a Fleet of near Six-score Sail, all great Ships, and well mann'd and provided.

It was reckon'd this War, (not including the advance Money and Charges for raising of Men, besides the Ammunition, and Artillery) would cost the King Twelve hundred and Fifty thousand Crowns per annum, and as much for Payment of the Armies of his Allies; viz. The Duke of *Savoy*, the *Venetians*, the *Pope*, the *German Princes*, the *Danes*, the *Swedes*, and the *United Provinces*; and he had wherewithal to maintain these Expences five years together, without grudging his People by new Taxes, for he had above Forty one Millions of ready Money, whereof Two and twenty lay in the *Treasure*, besides his certain Revenue, of which there came effectually into his Coffers, all Charges defray'd, Six Millions yearly. Moreover his Super-Intendant, in case of necessity, promised an Hundred seventy and five more upon Patties extraordinary; but which we may well doubt they could never have gotten in without greatly grieving and burthening the Kingdom.

The House of *Austria* took no great care to provide themselves against so rude a Shoe: which made it be believed they relied upon some strange accident, conceived from their Enemies, but whereof they held the Instruments and secret Engines in their own disposal, which they could let loose to do the certain execution in any case of extremity. Many fancied they were in the bosom of *France*, and even hid in the Royal Family. A certain *Damoiselle*, named *Anne de Comans*, gave Information of a horrible Conspiracy against the Person of the King. After he was dead, she persisted in the same discovery, and gave her Narrative in Writing, but they pretended she was mad, and shut her up. Whether she were so, or not, such as did hear and had examin'd her, might have left us their opinions; but the Juncture of those times; and the too great importance of the Subject have wholly suppressed many strange things.

It is most certain that there were more than one single Conspiracy against this good King: his Enemies had forged of so many sorts, and on so many sides, that it was very improbable if not impossible he should escape. They looked upon his Death as so certain a thing in Foreign Countries, that there came News of it from *Spain* to *France*, that they Published it in *Milan* almost a Month before; that several Merchants of the Low-Countries writing to their Correspondents in *Paris*, desired to be informed whether the report was true; and that on the Eight of the Month *May*, whereas he was killed the Fourteenth, a Courier passed thorow *Liege*, and bawled aloud, that he was going to carry the News to the Princes of *Germany*. Was it that they thought to intimidate him therewith, and would empty their menaces before they would proceed to the execution.

Conchine in the mean time, and those of his Cabal did incessantly encrease the Queens jealousies, and maliciously made her believe that the infinite Love the King had for the Princes might transport him to dangerous Extremities. Aluredly a Prince so good and so just, could not be capable of it; neither did he omit any devoir or tenderness of a Husband to take away all such-like Suspicions. He left the Regency of the Kingdom to her; but because he did but moderate, or qualifie it by a Council and such Orders as were necessary, the precaution did much displease *Conchine*; who to extend his Authority by enlarging the Queens Power, inspired her that it was necessary she should be crowned before the King's departure.

Already the Forces were marching towards the Frontiers of *Champagne*, the Train of Artillery was gone, and they had sent to demand passage of the Arch-Duke thorow his Territories; this demand was to be followed close, the least demurr would have been prejudicial, and besides that Ceremony of a Coronation did not agree well with the great Embarrass of present Affairs, no more than the

Expence

Expence which he required could be compatible with the vast Charges necessary for so great a War. Moreover could the thing in its own Nature have been agreeable to him, the obdurate eagerness he pressed him withal must have given him some aversion. Nevertheless, as he could refuse nothing to importunities, when they were very earnest, he suffer'd himself to be persuaded to give his Satisfaction.

She received it in the Church of *Saint Denis* the 12th day of *May*, with the accustomed Ceremonies, and a Pomp extraordinary Magnificent, himself taking the care to do the Honours, and to give the Orders. There was some contest between the Ambassadors of *Spain*, and those of *Vence*; who proceeding to blows rather augmented the pleasure of the day than any way lessened or discomposed it. The Count de *Soissons* being vicin'd upon I know not what Punctilio of Honour, touching the Ornaments of his Wives Robes, and the Habits of the King's Natural Children, did not appear at this Festival, but retired to his house of *Blandy*; an Absence which in few days proved very prejudicial to his Affairs.

After the Coronation of the Queen, her entrance into *Paris* was appointed for the fifteenth of the Month, they caused Portico's to be Erected, Triumphant Arches, Inscriptions, Statues, and Scaffolds in those Streets she was to pass thorow, and were preparing a stately Treat in the *Palais*; for which reason the Parliament, to leave the place at full liberty, held their Session in the *Augustins*. The King in the interim overwhelmed with cruel anxiety and a melancholly of which he could not possibly divine the cause, felt in himself the Symptoms of that unhappiness which threatened him. One would have said he had the Dagger already in his bosom: He was often heard to send forth doleful sighs and words of ill preface; the Heavens and Earth (if we may be faith to such things) did also afford him some very sinister ones. It was observ'd that some days before, the *May* which had been Planted in the Court-Yard of the *Louvre* was fall'n down of it self. A Star appeared visibly at Noon-day in the Year 1609. the year preceding that a great Comet had been seen; and the *Loire* over-flow'd most furiously, as it had done a while before the violent deaths of the two Kings *Henry II.* and *Henry III.* The same year likewise the Inhabitants of *Angoulmois*, both Gentry and Peasants, affirmed they had beheld a frightful prodigy; it was a fantastick Army, which seem'd to consist of about eight or ten thousand Men, with Ensigns party-colour'd of blew and red *, Drummers ready to beat, and a Commander of great appearance at the head of them, who having Marched upon the Earth for above a League together, lost himself in a Wood. It was about two years past that a Priest found upon an Altar at *Montargis*, a Ticket which gave notice the King would be Assassinated. And about the same time, two Gentlemen of *Gascogne*, of different places, and of different Religions, came expressly to Court to advertise him of the doleful and pressing Visions they affirmed to have had upon the same subject. Of three or four of his Horoscopes terminated his life in his fifty seventh year. Divers Prognosticators, amongst others he who had otherwise foretold the Duke of *Mayenne* the Murder of the Duke of *Guise* his Brother, and the loss of the Battel of *Ivry*, advertis'd him of an approaching and very sudden danger: There was one so bold as to tell the Queen, that Festival would conclude in Mourning and in Tears: and that Princes starting one night out of her sleep, weeping told the King she dreamt they were stabbing him with a Knife. Himself was not ignorant that the number of the years of his Reign, according as a Magician had computed to Queen *Catherine de Medicis*, were even almost accomplished; and he had some kind of confused knowledge of divers Conspiracies which were hatching against his person. He in his life time had discovered above fifty, many contrived or fomented by Church-men or some of the religious Orders, (such pernicious effects does indifferet zeal produce:) but he could not avoid this last, his hour was come, and it seems all the former warnings which Heaven gave him, were not so much to save him from the fatal blow, as to make men certainly see and understand that there is a Sovereign Power, which disposes of futurity. Since it so certainly knows and fore-tells it.

It had been a long time this execrable Monster, named *Francis Ravaillac*, had formed this resolution to Murder him. He was a Native of *Angoulême*, Aged about two and thirty years, Son of a Man belonging to the Law, living at that time. In the beginning he had follow'd the Trade of his Father, then ran into a Convent of the *Franiscans*, and was a Novice there; but they thrust him out

1610.

May.

* Imaginatio
contributes
much towards
the shaping of
these Figures.

May.

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1610. for his extravagant whimsies. Some while after he was imprisoned for a Murder, of which notwithstanding he was never convicted; being freed from thence he began anew to sollicite Law-Suits, of which he had lost one in his own name, for an Estate and Succession; inſomuch as he was reduced to turn Pedant and teach the poor peoples Children in the City of *Angoulême*. The austerity of the Cloister, the obſcurity of his Priſon, the loſs of his proceſs, and the extreme neceſſity whereunto he was reduced, confounded his judgment and irritated more and more his arſtrabulary humour. From his early youth, the Frenzies of the League, their Libels, and the Factious Sermons of their Ignominious and Sanguinary Pulpiters had imprinted in his mind a very great averſion for the King, with this belief, That it was lawful to kill thoſe who brought the Catholick Religion into danger, or made a War upon the Pope: He was ſo very hot in theſe matters, that he could not ſo much as hear any body pronounce the name of *Huguenot*, but he fell into a fury.

Thoſe that had premeditated to ridd themſelves of the King, finding this inſtrument ſo proper to act their Deſign, knew very well how to confirm him in his Sentiments: they had people at their beck who haunted him eternally, though he knew not their intents, who cauſed him to be inſtructed by their Doctors, and enchanted him with ſuppoſed Viſions, and the other like diabolical Arts. There are proofs, that they carried him as far as *Naples*, where in an Aſſembly, at the Vice-Roy's Palace, he met with many others who had all devoted themſelves to the ſame end; They made him come from *Angoulême* to *Paris* two or three times: in fine, they managed and guided him ſo well to their liking and purpoſe, that by his ſacrilegious hand they perpetrated the deteſtable reſolutions of their own wicked and accuſed hearts.

The day after that of the Queens entrance, the King was to have made the Marriage of *Mademoiſelle de Vandoſme*, the eldeſt of his natural Daughters, and the following day the Feaſt; then the next Morning to mount on Horſe-back and go to his Army: But on the Evening of the Day of Entrance, which was a *Friday*, a little before four of the Clock, as he was going to the Arſenal without Guards, to conſer with the Duke of *Sully*, an Embarraſs of certain Carts having ſtopp'd his Coach in the miſt of the Street of *la Feromerie*, and his Valets, or Foot-men, paſſing under the Channels of *Saint Innocents*; this Devil incarnate, ſtept upon a ſpoak of one of the hind Wheels, and advancing his Body into the Coach gave him two ſtabs in the Breaſt with a Knife, the firſt glanced along the fifth and ſixth Ribb, and did not enter his Body; but the ſecond cut the Arterial Vein above the Ventricle of the heart; ſo that the Blood buſſing forth with impetuofity, choaked him in a moment, he not being able to utter one word.

It had been foretold him, he ſhould die in a Coach, ſo that upon the leaſt jolt, he would cry out as if he beheld the Grave open'd ready to ſwallow him: But yet imagin'd he had eſcap'd the effect of that prediction after two great hazards he run thorow, the one at his going to viſit the Dutcheſs of *Beaufort*; the other in the Ferry-boat of *Nully*, whereof we have made mention.

So ſtrange an amazement and terror ſeized upon thoſe who were preſent at this Tragical Accident, that if *Ravaillac* had but dropt his Knife, they could not then have diſcover'd him; but being taken holding it yet in his hand, he owned the Fact as boldly as if he had performed ſome Heroique Action. There were two things then obſerved, from which the Reader may draw what conſequence he pleaſes; the one, That when they had taken him, ſeven or eight Men were ſeen to come up with their drawn Swords, who cried aloud he deſerved and ought to be cut in pieces preſently, and then immediately ſheltred themſelves in the Crowd: the other, That he was not preſently put into Goal, but into the hands of *Montigny*, where they kept him two days in the *Hofel de Rais* with ſo little care, that all ſorts of people ſpake with him: and amongſt others, a Frier who had great Obligations to the King, having accoſted him, and called him *My Friend*, ſaid to him, he ſhould have a care of accuſing honeſt people.

There were in the Kings Coach, the Dukes of *Eſpernon* and of *Montaſon*, the Mareſchals de *Lavardin* and de *Roquelaur*; and the Marqueſſes de *La Force* and de *Mirebeau*: theſe Lords being allighted, and having cover'd his face, and drawn the Curtains, made them drive back towards the *Louvre*, and commanded at their Entrance, they ſhould call out for a Chyrurgeon and ſome Wine, that it might

1610. might be believed he was not yet dead. They laid his Bleeding Corps upon a Bed with negligence enough; and he was there expoſed for ſome hours to any that would ſee him; but attended or regarded only by thoſe who had no great intereſt of Fortune at the Court: All ſuch as were in hopes of any thought more upon their own Affairs, than on him who could now do no more for them: Thus was there but a moment ſpace between their Adorations and Oblivion.

The preſſing neceſſity of Affairs obliged the Queen to diſband her Sorrows and dry up her Tears, ſhe left the care and preſent management of all Affairs to ſuch as ſhe conſided in moſt, particularly to the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and the Mareſchal de *Lavardin*. We ſhall ſhow in the following Reign, if the times will permit us, how the Court wholly changed it's Face, the Government its Maxims; the Miniſters their deſigns: How the Orders which *Henry* the Great had eſtabliſhed were reverſed, his Oeconomies diſſipated, his faithful Servants turned out of doors, and his Alliances forſaken, to take up new ones: ſo that *France*, which was ſo lately triumphant and Miſtreſs of *Europe*, ſaw her ſelf almoſt reduced under the Government and Direction of *Spain*, and the Agents of the Court of *Rome*, who were the Oracles of the Regency. It muſt however be acknowledged, that it proved very happy both for the quiet and the eaſe of the People in general.

So ſoon as the King was dead, the Duke of *Eſpernon* ran to order the Companies of the Regiment that had the Guard, to ſeize upon the Gates of the *Lowvre*, ſent for the reſt who were quarter'd in the *Faubourgs*, to come and poſt themſelves upon the *Pont-neuf*, in the Street *Dauſne*, and about the *Auguſtins*, thereby to inveſt the Parliament, and compel them, if requiſite, to declare the Queen Regent. The Preſident de *Blanc-meſnil* who then held the Afternoon Audience, broke off, upon the dreadful rumour of the King's being wounded; but durſt not, or would not ſtir from thence: And in the mean time, the Preſident *Seguier*, whom the Duke of *Eſpernon* had been with for his advice and aſſiſtance, came thither immediately, with a good number of his Friends: So that the Company was aſſembled to ſerve the Duke in his Deſign.

Amidſt that innumerable and conſuſed multitude of People wherewith *Paris* was then thronged, who were of ſo great diverſity of Humours and Interests; amidſt the Animofities betwixt the Catholicks and the *Huguenots*, the Feuds amongſt the *Grandes*, the Suſpicions which the one caſt upon the other concerning this Murder; the ſpecious pretence there was to animate the People to revenge the Death of a Prince ſo greatly and generally beloved, and the avidity of the Raſcally ſort to be Plundering: it is manifeſt that the leaſt ſpark of Sedition would have ſet all *Paris* in a flame, and the more eaſily, becauſe the *Bourgeois* had their Arms in readineſs, having Muſtered twice or thrice a Week for above a Month, to be prepared for the entrance of the Queen. The Prudence of her Magiſtrates, I mean the *Prevost des Marchands*, and the Lieutenant *Civil* did moſt happily obviate thoſe Diſorders: The firſt, was *James Sanguin*; the ſecond, *Nicolas le Jay*, a man of great Senſe, and who had acquired a great deal of Credit amongſt the Citizens, becauſe he made the Honor of his Office to conſiſt in ſerving the Publick well. Both appeared every where about the Streets, amuſed the populace with divers reports, exhorted the conſiderableſt *Bourgeois* to keep them in awe, managed every thing ſo wiſely, and gave ſuch excellent Orders; the one Commanding the Captains of every Precinct, the other the Commiſſaries, *Archers* and *Huſſiers*, to be in a readineſs, that nothing was able to make the leaſt diſturbance.

Henry IV. died in the miſt of the Fifty ſeventh year of his Age, three Months before the end of the Two and twentieth of his Reign, leaving three Sons, and three Daughters by *Mary de Medici* his Second, or rather his only Wife, ſince the Marriage between him and *Margaret de Valois* was declared Null. The eldeſt named *Lewis*, hath reigned; the ſecond had no Baptiſmal Name, and died within the fourth year of his Childhood: he bare the Title of Duke of *Orleans*: The Third had it likewise, and the Name of *John Baptiſta Gaſton*. The three Daughters were called *Elizabeth*, *Chriſtian*, and *Henriette-Maria*. The eldeſt was Wife of *Philip IV.* King of *Spain*; the ſecond, of *Victor Amadeus*, Prince of *Piedmont*, then Duke of *Savoy* after the death of Duke *Charles* his Father; the laſt, of *Charles I.* King of *Great Britain*.

The number of his Natural Children did by much ſurpaſs his Legitimate ones: for beſides thoſe whom he would not, or could not well own; he had Eleven, ſix by

1616. by *Gabriella d'Estree*, which were *César Duke de Vendosme*, *Levis, Francis*, and *Isabella*, these three died young; *Alexander Grand Prior of France*, and *Catherine Henrietta* Wife of *Charles Duke de Elbauf*; Two by *Henrietta de Balzac d'Entragues*, to wit, *Henry Duke de Verneuil* and *Bishop of Metz*, at present Governor of *Languedoc*, and *Gabriella* Wife of *Bernard de Nogaret*, Duke of *la Vallette*, then Duke of *Espernon*; one, only, by *Jacqueline de Bueil*, which was *Anthony Count de Moret*: And two Daughters by *Charlotte des Essars*, a private Gentlewoman; They were named *Jane*, and *Mary Henrietta*; the former was Abbess of *Pontevault*, and the latter of *Chelles*.

It may be seen and judged by the course of his whole life, whether he justly merited the Title they gave him of *Great*, with that of *Arbitrator of Christendom*. There were some would needs reproach him; That he loved Money too well, and that to gather it he exposed his Kingdom to the avidity of *Parisians*, who amongst a great number of odd Projects they put him upon, made him establish the *Paulette*, or Annual right; That the inquisition he made after such *Catterpillers* served more to confirm their Robberies, than to punish them; That loving a little too much to befoothed, he gave a freer access to *Charlatans* and *Empirers*, than to his prudent and faithful Counsellors; and that he often suffer'd impunity to wrest those favours from him which he had refused to bestow on Merit. They added, That he was very liberal of Careless and fair words towards the Sword men, when he stood in greatest need of them, but the Peril once pass'd, their Services were as soon forgotten; and that he often gave rewards to those who had done him Mischief, than to such as Sacrificed their Fortunes for his Interest and Advantage; That he did not much trouble himself to restrain the concussions of his Lawyers and Justices, though he were well enough acquainted and informed thereof, but let them go on impunitively; provided they did not oppose his absolute Will; and the verification of his Edicts; That he had suffer'd those belonging to the Treasury to ally themselves with the Officers of his Sovereign Courts, who before controul'd their misdemeanour, whence consequently followed, that the one being fortified by the other, they feather'd and deck'd themselves with the richest Plumes and Spoil the War had stripp'd the honest Gentry of: So that the fairest Lands and Estates of a Kingdom, which had been founded and maintained by the Sword, were now, to the indignation and view of all worthy Persons, unhappily made a prey, and shared by those Brothers of the Quill.

If History might make Apologies, the might vindicate him from the greater part of these reproaches; though not altogether from the fondness, not to say frenzy, he had to Gaming, which certainly is very unbecoming in a great Prince, and which begot a great many Academies and Gaming-Houses in *Paris*, most pernicious Schools for Youth, and the fatal Rocks whereon many rich and noble Families do split and sink themselves; and much less yet could the excuse his abandoning himself to Women, which was so Publick and so Universal from his early youth even to the last Period of his days, that it will not so much as admit of the name of Love, or be allowed but Galatery.

But these defects have been in some manner effaced and dispell'd by the lustre of his great and glorious Actions, his continual Victories, and his high Enterprises; by the infinite goodness he manifested towards his People, and above all by his Valour tryed in so many Combats, and his never-failing Clemency salutary to so many People. These two most royal Vertues which marched in the Van of all his Undertakings, were ever contending with each other which should overcome his Enemies in the noblest manner; so as they have left it still a doubt to whether of the two he was most obliged for his good Success, and whether it must be said he recover'd and conquer'd his Kingdom by force of Fighting, or by virtue of Pardoning.

CHURCH.

Church of the Sixteenth Century.

The Heads, or Governors, of the Church having not had that care, incumbent upon them, to maintain its discipline, the irregularities and vices of the Clergy mounted to the highest degree imaginable; and became so publick, as rendered them the Objects both of the hatred and contempt of the people. One cannot without blushing make mention of the Usury, Avarice, Cruelty, and Dissolution of the Priests; of the licentious and villainous Debaucheries of the Monks; the Luxury, Pride and vain Expenses of the Prelates; the shameful sloath, gross ignorance, and superstitious both of the one and the other. Neither durst we say, how the corruption of Simony had invaded and tainted the noblest parts of the Church, nay, even the head itself; had we not for undeniable proof the constitution made by *Julius II.* in the year 1505, which ordained, that such Pope as should have attained the Papal dignity by those means, should be defunct; That they should proceed against him, as against an Heretic, imploring even the Secular power; That the Cardinals accomplices of this impicity, should be degraded, and deprived of all Offices, Honours, and Benefices; That the remaining ones who had no hand in it, should proceed to a new Election, and if it were needful, should assemble a General Council.

These disorders, to speak truth were not new, we must confess there had been the like of a long time, but the general ignorance which reigned in those former barbarous ages, did as it were hide and cover them in her shades of darkness: now in these latter days the light of good Learning being brought into Europe, its beams illuminating the obscurest places, made these stains appear in all their deformity; And as the ignorant, whose weak eyes being dazzled with this brightness, found fault with it, and endeavour'd to cast Dirt on that which exposed their defects, the Learned in revenge treated them in ridicule, and took the greater pleasure in discovering their turpitude and decrying their superstition.

It must be likewise granted that the enterprizes of the Court of *Rome* had highly exasperated the Princes and the Nobility of *Germany*; and that the wicked life of *Alexander VI.* and the contest between the Pope *Julius II.* and *Francis*, had extremely scandalized the most moderate men. *Leo XIII.* the best of Kings, caused a Medal to be stamped whose Inscription bear these words, *Perdam Babylonis nomen*, and procured the Assembly of the Council of *Pisa* to restrain the Attempts of *Julius*. It is true, that Council caused more scandal than good, but there were started some questions very disadvantageous to the Sovereign Authority of the Pope; and which could not but leave very ill impressions in Mens minds.

After the death of *Julius*, *Leo X.* made the Concordat with *Francis I.* by which that Pope obtained an Abolition of the Pragmatic, and secured to himself the Annates payable at every mutation of Bishops and Abbots; (they call these Benefices Consecratorials.) Which in truth encreased the Popes Revenues; but according to the opinion of many, did much blemish their Sanctity. In effect, never was there so odd an exchange as this appeared to be; the Pope whose power is spiritual took the temporal for himself, and gave the spiritual to a temporal Potentate: And indeed, one of the greatest and wisest Prelates * of our times seems to say, the Annates, in respect of the Popes, could not pass but for perfect Simony, were it not that our Kings, in this case, do transmit their temporal right to them. We must refer it to the more learned to judge whether the Elections were *Jure Divino*, and whether they could be taken away; as likewise, whether that observation, which many have made, be true; that from the very time they were Abolished, Heresies have crowded in throngs into the Church, and that Holy City being thereby denuded of her strongest Walls and Ramparts, found her self to be insulted over by Errors, and her temporal Estate invaded by decimations: for *Leo* did grant them so easily to the King, that ever since, the Pope his Successors have made no difficulty to do the same, and have suffer'd them to become very common and frequent.

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* Such

1510.

1513.

* *Alonſus de
Marca, Archbiſhop of
Toulouſe, and of
ſtewards of
Paris.*

Such was the State and disposition of things, when *Luther's* Schisme began first to appear. The great noise it made soon stifled all the lesser disputes, particularly that between the Orders of *Saint Francis* and *Saint Dominique*; about the Conception of *the Virgin Mary*, which had been maintained by the Dominicans still adherence to the Doctrine of *Saint Thomas*.

It likewise put an end to those which some Monks of *Colen* had raised against *John * Reuchlin*, who called himself *Caparin*. Occasioned thus. A certain *Reuchlin*, Renssaw *Jen*, had acquired the knowledge of *Hebrew*, to cause all the *Hebrew Books* of the *Rabins* to be burnt. *Reuchlin* had been consulted by the Emperor upon this Subject, and of a contrary Sentiment, and put down his Reasons in Writing. *Reuchlin* was so much incensed by his Breve, and his Reputation with *Colen* was so much injured, that he took up the cause and quarrel of *Reuchlin*, and some Monks of *Colen* taking up the cause and quarrel of *Reuchlin*, because he had been Baptized in that City, caused his Adversaries to look on him as a schismatic.

It is difficult to know what *Luther* was when an Augustine Monk, Native of *Colen*, in the County of *Magdeburg*, Professor of the Theology in the new University of *Wittenberg*, surrounded by *Frederic* Elector and Duke of *Saxony*, who loved and valued him for the volubility of his Wit and his Eloquence; He was a cheerful Man, and of very gay humors, but so vehement and so intemperate in Speech, extremely confident, who never was content, and delighted too much in the Muck of his own Commendations and Applause. The occasion that brought him into the Lists is known likewise, and that he was not excited to it by the spirit of the *Waller*, because the Breaching of the *Croisade* had been committed in *Germany*, to the *Reuchlin*, against the ancient Custom which ever asserted it to be the *Augustins* in those Countries, in the beginning he Preached only against the abuse of those Indulgences, but this means to ruin the Trade of the *Reuchlin* who yielded them; but being pushed onward from Dispute to Dispute, he was transported so far that he declared himself wholly against the *Roman Church*, Anno 1520.

It was the Breaching of *Frederic* Duke of *Saxony*, then esteemed the wisest of the German Princes, and the Applause of the Nobles of *Francia*, that emboldened him to set up the Standard of Rebellion. So long as *Frederic* lived, he durst make no change in the outward form of Religion, nor quit his habit of a Monk; but after his Death which happened in the year 1524, Duke *John* his Successor being absolutely intoxicated with his Eloquence, permitted him every thing. He therefore cast off his Face, and three years afterwards Married an unrivaled Nun. *Adon* setting at large as we may say, in the whole piece, he shaped a Religion after his own Mode, which he changed, added to, or retrenched so long as he lived; so that one may say, he had no steady or certain belief, and those Articles he framed were rather dubious than Dogmatical, although he published them as Oracles. He died at *Wittenberg*, Anno 1546, the Six and twentieth of *February*, revered of all those who followed his Doctrine as a great Apostle, and on the contrary detested by the Catholics as an Heresiarch and the public Incendiary of *Christianity*.

Some time before he thus unmasked himself, there had appeared several Preachers who fell foul upon the Vices of the Prelates and the Court of *Rome*, threatening them with Divine Punishment, as horrible as sudden and near at hand. A Constitution of *Leo X.* made in the year 1516, which forbids them Preaching the like things, or the farcing their Sermons with Tales, Prophecies, Revelations and Miracles, is an evident proof thereof.

Luther's Credit drew after him one Party of the *Augustins*, startled many more, and read all of them so suspected, that the Pope was like to have abolished the whole Order. This pretended Evangelical Liberty open'd the *Glister Gates* to many other Monks, especially in *Germany*, un-vailed great numbers of Nuns, let loose the People against the Church-men, and pushed on the Nobility to seize upon their rich Possessions.

But *Luther* did not remain long sole Head of this Revolt; for whether it were he gave rise to these Motions, or whether some malign influence disposed mens Minds thus to Brouilleries and Contention, there arose in a short time a Prodigious quantity of new Doctors and of novel Sects, who destroyed the one the

the other, yet notwithstanding agreed all in these six points: The first, That they directly shock'd the Superiority of the Pope: The second, That they would admit no other Judges of the Articles of Faith but the Holy Scriptures only: The third, That they rejected certain Books of it, some more, others fewer, which they said were not Canonical. The fourth, That they retrenched several Sacraments: The Fifth, That they held several Novelities concerning Grace, and free Will: And the Sixth, That they denied Purgatory, Indulgences, Images, Prayers to Saints, and many Ceremonies of the Church.

After his Death, the Confusion was incomparably greater: It would be endless to enumerate all the Authors, the Names, and the Whimsies of these different Sects; there were some that received the Errors of *Ebion*, of *Moses*, of *Paulus Samosatensis*, of *Sabellius*, of *Arius*, of *Eutyches*, and other ancient Heretics. There were such who finding no firm footing or foundation anywhere, did only acknowledge there was one God the Creator of all things; (these were called *Deists*.) Others going farther, and making a last effort of Impiety denied there was any other Divinity besides Nature alone.

The furious Irruptions of the Turks into *Hungary*, and the fatal Discords amongst the three greatest Princes of *Christendom*, *Charles V. Francis I.* and *Henry VIII.* were very favorable to these Sowers of new Seeds: For whilst *Christendom* was affrighted at the Ravages of the Infidels, and every where in Divisions, they had not the leisure to consider of these disputes: And then *Charles V.* standing in need of the Princes of *Germany* to resist *Francis I.* and to get the Empire to be settled upon his Son, (which he could never obtain) would not prosecute them to the utmost, or totally destroy them, as he might have done after the gaining of the Battle of *Mulberg*. On the other hand, *Francis I.* his Rival openly supported them, and entered into League with them, though at the same time he burnt the Sacramentaries in his own Kingdom. Add thereto the difficulties the Popes made for the holding of an Oecumenical Council, whose Authority perhaps might have stifled this Monster in its Birth.

On the opposite there were other Causes and other Conjunctions which obstructed the speedier encrease of it: First, The great Credit of the Faculty of Theology at *Paris*, the Learning of some Zealous Doctors, though but few in number, who made Head both against *Luther*, and the other Sectaries; then the diversity and variety of Opinions, and Pride of other Novators, who all contending to be Heads of Parties, became fiercer Enemies amongst themselves, than against the Church of *Rome*. *Luther* imagined the University of *Paris* being offended, as he was, for the Abolition of the Pragmaticque, would embrace the opportunity to be revenged of the Pope, and upon that Surmise he submitted to their decision the Dispute he had against *John Eckius*, the first Catholic Doctor that durst bid him Battle: but they condemned him in harsh and rude terms, and thus by their Authority retained the Clergy, and People, who were running in Crowds after him.

As to the other Point, in a short time the Sect of *Zuinglius*, and that of *Calvin* were found to be as prevalent and powerful as his; both the one and the other, notwithstanding, shewing ever a great deal of respect for all he said, and acknowledging he was the first that had unveiled the Evangelical Truths, tried often, with profound Submissions, to reconcile themselves with him: but he would never yield to it in the least, unless they would first confess the real presence of *Jesus Christ* in the Eucharist: to which they would not yield; * and to this very day his true Disciples are less compatible with theirs, than with the Catholics: the Princes, and the Cities of their Opinion have labour'd in vain to unite them, and the many Conferences which were held for that purpose, have served to no other end but to make it manifest it is an impossible thing.

Besides these, I find a fourth cause, which was the too sudden and too great Change that *Zuinglius* and *Calvin* would have made as well in the Exterior face of the Church, as in the Essential points of Faith. *Luther* had retrenched but very little or nothing of what the People were accustomed to: he left their Ornaments, Bells, Organs, Tapers, and had not altered the manner of Saying Mass, and Divine Service, only he added some Prayers in the Vulgar Tongue. So that the most part looked at first upon him as a Reformer only of the Abuses

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Causes of the
Progress of Lu-
theranism.

Other Causes
which obstructed
it in

* Therefore, He
treated them as
Heretics all
his life time:

Church. of the Church-men; but when his work was so advanced as in a probability to have made a general Revolution, comes *Zwinglius* cross his way, who began to Preach in *Switzerland*, Anno 1520. and then *Calvin*, Fourteen years after dogmatized in *France*: who instead of following the same footsteps, set themselves upon Preaching against the reality of the Body of *Jesus Christ* in the Holy Sacrament, taking away the Ceremonies and Ornaments, casting out the Reliques, breaking down the Altars and Images, and over-turning the whole Hierarchical Order; in fine, stripping Religion of all that does most take and fix the imagination by the Eye; in so much as almost all the People had them in aversion as Impious and Sacrilegious Persons, and became but the more zealous for that worship they had seen practised by their Fore-fathers.

There is some reason to doubt whether we ought to place the Riches, and vast Incomes of the Church either amongst the Causes that advanced these Errors, or that impeded their Progress: for as it is most certain it was a Bait that allured the avarice of Princes, and the Nobility, and drew them to favour the pretended Reformation, that they might have an opportunity to seize upon that infinite Treasure; so on the other side it is as certain that many Prelates, and people richly Beneficed had leap'd o're the Church pale, had they not been retained by the apprehensions of losing those Means, without which they could not well live in that delicacy and plenty as they were wont.

We shall not need to particularize after what manner the Princes of *Germany*, as *Saxony*, *Brandenbourg*, the Palatine of the *Rhine*, *Brunswick*, *Wittenberg*, and *Hesse*; the *Swiss* and the *Grisons*; the Kingdoms of *Denmark* and *Sweden*; *Priestia*, *Transylvania*, and other Countries abandoned the ancient Faith; who were their first Evangelists; for what reason the Religionaries of *Germany* took up the name of Protestants, which is communicated to all that are separated from the *Roman Church*, and all what passed in those Countries upon the score of Religion; it is foreign to our Subject, and may be seen at large in their several Histories. Come we therefore to what does more particularly concern *France* and the *Gallican Church*.

There were yet some remainders left of the ancient *Vaudois*, or Poor of *Lyons* in the Valleys of *Dauphine**, who had their Pastors, and held their Assemblies a part, in some Forts they had Built for their Security: so that they made, as it were a little Independent Republique, as well for Matters of Religion, as for Government. Pope *Innocent IV.* with the consent of King *Charles VIII.* delegated one *Albert Catalan*, Archdeacon of *Cremona*; who having by force of Arms destroyed their Redoubts, and slain, or taken Prisoners the most mutinous, did the more easily convert the rest by the Sword of the Word, or else drove them out of those Valleys: But they soon after herded together again, and re-establish'd themselves.

In the year 1501. the Gentry of the Country Prosecuting them for the Crime of Heresie, rather with design of getting their Estates than to Convert them, King *Lewis XII.* being then at *Lyons*, understanding they were innocent People, of irreproachable Manners and Conversation in all things else, obtained Bulls of *Alexander VI.* that they might be Visited, and committed the Care to *Lawrence Bureau*, Bishop of *Cisteron* his Confessor, and to *Thomas Pascale*, Doctor in Divinity and Regent of the University of *Orleans*, to take Cognizance of the same, and make Report in Council. The Bishop knowing how agreeable acts of Benignity and Clemency were to that good Prince, ordered all the Informations which had been made against these poor simple Creatures in the Parliament of *Grenoble*, and the Spiritual Courts of *Gap* and *Embrun*, should be brought to him; and having called them together divers times, exhorted them first with great Charity, and then propounded the Articles of Faith to them distinctly. To which having with one voice answered, *Credo*, and Vowed to die in that Belief, he left them in Peace; and stealing suddenly away from *Grenoble*, carried all these Criminal Proceedings to *Guy de Rochefort* Chanceller. Some years after, the News of *Luther's* Predication being come to them, they fancied a new Sun was arisen, and sent him to have the Communication of his pretended Gospel Light; notwithstanding soon after, their Belief and Opinions being less conformable to his, then to that of the Sacramentaries, they quitted him to joyn with them.

About the End of the Fifteenth Age, and in the beginning of the Sixteenth, there were some Seeds of their Heresies already sowed in *France*. For Anno 1492. the

the Morrow after *Corpus-Christi* Day, a Priest who was hearing Mass at *Nötre Dame*, snatched away the Host from the Celebrator after the Consecration, and cast it on the ground to trample it under foot. And in Anno 1502, a *Picard* Scholar, Native of *Abbeville*, committed the like Fact on *Saint Lewis's* Day in the Holy Chappel. Both were seized immediately, and some days after burnt alive in the Market aux *Cochons**, without any signs of Repentance; the first having his Tongue torn out; the second his Hand cut off upon the very place where they brake the Holy Wafer.

King *Lewis XII.* having a great contest with Pope *Julius II.* demanded a general Council to reform the Church both in its Head, and in its Members, and caused one to be assembled at *Pisa* by the Suggestion and with the assistance of certain Cardinals dissatisfied with that Pope. The said Council was soon driven from thence, and retired to *Milan*, from whence they were likewise forced to remove, and came to end their days at *Lyon*. That whole Affair was very ill managed, the Pope opposed him with another Council which he assembled at *Lateran*; and this being grown the more powerful, did in the end constrain *Lewis XII.* to renounce his, and those Cardinals, and Bishops that had been the Promoters of it, to humble themselves before his Holiness to obtain Absolution.

The Officers of the Parliament of *Provence* having been all excommunicated by the Pope in this Council, because they had hindered the execution of his Orders, (if they had not approved of the others) and because they acted daily several things which in those times were taken to be delinquent: The King desired they might submit, and that *Lewis de Souliers*, his Ambassador to the Council having their special Procuration, should in their Name formally disown all they had done against the Liberties of the Church, against the respect due to the Holy See, promise that for the future they would be more circumspect, that they should ratify this Submission within four Months, and that he should desire their Absolution; which was granted them.

The same Council had likewise cited the Prelates of *France* to come and shew the reasons why they still justified and maintained the Pragmatic. It is probable they would to his Decrees have opposed or alledged the Liberties of the *Gallican Church*; but *Francis I.* very far from supporting them, did himself abandon that which his Predecessors had defended with so much resolution and firmness, and passed or agreed to the Concordat with *Leo X.* of which we have made mention in the year 1516. The snarl of so great and desperate a wound, made the Clergy, the Parliament and the University, cry out in vain: those two great Powers being now joyned together, valued not their Complaints. The Clergy had protested to take all Opportunities for the making of Remonstrances to the King for the Re-establishment of Elections; this they pursued very well four or five times under King *Henry III.* and *Henry IV.* but at length they grew weary, whether believing they were no longer obliged to labour to no end, or that several of the Bishops gave it over in Charity to themselves, as knowing they should never have attained the Preferments they enjoy'd if the right of Elections had been restored.

The Authors of the Novel Opinions spared no pains to convey and plant their Doctrines in the remotest Provinces: Printing was a great help to bring their Works to light, and make them spread, the Zealots were at the charge of Printing and Dispersing them, and the Country Pedlers, whom they paid very well, had always some of these new-fashion Wares in their Packs, which they shewed for great Rarities to the curious and inquisitive. Their Disciples crept into the Universities, where under colour of teaching the Law, or Greek, or Hebrew, they infiltrated their Doctrine into the hearts of the younger fry. Others more polite and more dexterous insinuated into the Society of Women, and studied to gain their favour, that they might gain their belief. Thus they gained an Absolute Power over *Anne de Pisseleu* Dutchesse d'*Estampes*, Mistress of *Francis I.* over *Margaret Queen of Navarre*; and over *René de France*, Daughter of good King *Lewis XII.*

There were others who endeavour'd to get into the Houses of such Bishops as they believed to be most susceptible of their fancies. *James le Fevre*, Native of *Estaples*, a little Town in *Boulonois*, who was not Doctor in Divinity at *Paris*, as many will have it, at least he is not to be found in the Registry of that Faculty: *William Farel* a *Dauphinois*, *Arnold* and *Gerard Rosseli*, *Picards*, fell in about

Church.

* Pigge-Mare.

the new Opinions in France, and the cause of their Progress.

Church. about the year 1523; with *William Bricconier* Bishop of Meaux, and entangled his Mind so with those dangerous Opinions, that he began to own and Preach them.

There was the same year in that City, a Wool-Comber by Name *John le Clerc*, who had the Impudence to say, That the Pope was the *Anti-Christ*; he was Whipped for it by the hands of the Hang-man, and Banished the Kingdom. This Punishment corrected him not; he went to *Mers* to vend his Wares, and was there Burnt for having broken down some Images. *Lewis Berquin*, *Aristian* by Birth, a powerful Genius according to the Sentiment of *Erasmus*, suffered a like Death at *Paris* the One and twentieth of April, in Anno 1528.

Now the Bishop of Meaux being charged with the Crime of Heresie, retracted upon the first Admonition, having before-hand sent away his Doctors, amongst whom *Arnold* was so terribly scared that he continued a good Catholic ever after: *Gerard* made his escape to *Ember*: *Farel* went to *Zuinglius* at *Zurich*, and *le Fevre* to *Nerat* to *Queen Margaret*. The two others came also thither some time after, and there began to form a new Church, wherein they used no Mass, nor observed the Canonical hours for Prayer; but communicated by taking Bread and Wine, and giving it to all that were present, in the same manner, but they, as *Jesus Christ* and the Apostles had practised: Before, and after they made Sermons, wherein they explained the Word of God: They called it *Preaching*, and their way of taking the Eucharist, *Manducation*. The Queen went amongst them, and sometimes led her Husband thither, who was very submissive to her Will, and no less Zealous against the Authority of the Pope; because that had furnished the *Spaniard* with a fair pretence to invade the Kingdom of *Navarre*.

In the mean time *Anthony Duprat*, Archbishop of *Sens*, Cardinal and Legate, employed the whole Authority both of the Church and King, to restrain this licentiousness; he assembled a Provincial Council in the City of *Paris*, Anno 1528. where appeared Six of his Suffragants, and a Delegate from the Seventh. They there propounded the Catholic Doctrines; and condemned *Luther's*; they prohibited all Nocturnal Assemblies, and the Reading of any Heretical Books; with Excommunication against them, their Abettors and Adherers.

On their part, they sought by all manner of ways to make some impression upon the Mind of King *Francis I.* A Curate of the Parish of *Saint Eustache*, named *le-Coe*, Preached one day before him; and speaking of the Mytery of the Eucharist, told them that they must lift up the heart towards Heaven, where *Jesus Christ* sat at the right hand of God his Father, not bow down to the Altar, and for this reason, said he; does the Church sing *Suscep Corda*: those Doctors that were present would not let the Proposition pass so, but obliged him to retract.

That King had a mighty tenderness for his Sister *Margaret*, and was no less fond of good Learning when he met with it amongst the Ingenious, and the *Beaux-Esprits*: the Novators employ'd both the one and the other to draw him over to them. At that very time, which was in the year 1533. *Philip Melancthon* a man of as rare a Genius as any of that Age, propounded to compose all the Disputes and Differences in Religion, and did condescend to many Points, in favour of the Catholics: in so much that if things of that Nature could have admitted of a Division, he would have shared the Differences to have reconciled the Parties. The King who had some interest to make himself considerable amongst the German Princes, and to whom it would have gained Immortal Honour to have become the Arbitrator of Christendom, wrote to him by *William du Bellay Langty*, whom he sent into that Country, That he passionately desired to see him, that he should be most extremely Welcom, if he would come and confer with his Divines, for the Reconciliation and Re-union of the Church, and the Re-establishment of the ancient Polity; which he desired to embrace with all Affection. But the Cardinal de *Tournon*, and the Divines of *Paris*, apprehending the Consequences of this interview to be like the opening of a Gap in the Sheep-cote to one whom they looked upon as a Ravenous Wolf, made such frequent and such pressing Remonstrances to the King, that he gave *Melancthon* notice, he did excuse him from taking so great a trouble upon him.

They

They likewise hindered him from reading the Book of *Calvin's Institutions*, which the Author had dedicated to him in Anno 1534. and withal, engaged him to send for his Sister *Margaret*, and her Doctors thence to *Caen*: they were brought thither, together with her, by *Guise* and *Guise's* the King's Lieutenant in *Gueneve*, imbued with the same Sentiments as that Prince: He privately gave her fraternal Correction and Admonition, and sent her Doctors to Prison; but so soon as they retracted he released them upon condition they should never dare again to approach the said Prince. Notwithstanding he restored her *Roussel* to her whom he had provided with the Bishoprick of *Oleron*, and the Abbey of *Clairac*, with which he passed the remainder of his days in an apparent exercise of the Catholic Religion, and a most exemplary Holiness of Life and Conversation, if his inside were equal to his outward deportment; and his heart as sincere as his tongue seemed Pious.

As for the Queen, she protested to her Brother never to depart more from the Catholic Religion, and shewed herself much an Enemy to those that opposed it; nevertheless towards the end of her days, which was in Anno 1549. she seemed to repent of her Repentance, and desired *Calvin* by Letters to come both to instruct and to comfort her, but he did not judge there would be any security for him in the Journey; and ever chusing rather to expose his Council than his Person in case of danger, he would not stir out of *Geneve*, which was his main Fortress.

We have formerly told you * who this *Calvin* was, his Birth, his Begin- * Vide in nings, and his Progress. It is worthy our Observation that in Anno 1534. he held his first Synod at *Poitiers* in a Garden, and from thence sent his Disciples forth to other Cities to plant his new Gospel. Those that have seen him, write that his Speech, his Gestures, and his Presence were but little taking in the Pulpit; but his Books manifest that no man in his time had so Eloquent a Pen as his. His manners were much more regular than *Luther's*; he appeared sober, frugal, continent, settled, edifying both by his Discourse and his Example; notwithstanding he was by Nature furly, violent, jealous, injurious, and implacable towards any that opposed him.

In the year 1535. the Citizens of *Geneve* having withdrawn themselves from the dominion of their Bishop, who was also their Temporal Lord, and then from that of the *Roman Church*, called in *Calvin*, and *Farel* to be their Pastors. Scarce had they been settled there two years and a half when some difference arose between them and the Magistrates of the City, who drove them out; this was in the year 1538. but absent as they were, they still maintain'd their Cabal; and their Party was so strong they were recalled again in Anno 1541. After that *Calvin* never left it more, having as it were established his Pontifical seat in that place, from whence he governed his whole Party as well in Temporals as Spirituals. *Farel* could not long comply with him, and retired into *Switzerland*.

As *Calvin's* temperament was very severe, and an Enemy to all diversifications, that besides he must needs have observed, how the *Lutherans* instead of having retracted their Luxury, Debaucheries, and Oppressions, had rather increased them, he thought it would be much better to use more strictness in reforming those irregularities, so to gain Profelytes by the specious appearance of Austerity. He therefore forbade all Oaths, which then were grown very horrible and very frequent, not permitting his to affirm otherwise than by the word *verily*; he prohibited Dancing, Cabarets, Gaming-houses, and Usury; he punished Fornication and Adultery with death; and recommended modesty of Habits, Frugality and Temperance, that so those of his Sect might appear to be really reformed, and the Catholics by opposition much more irregular and much more dissolute.

The number of his followers encreased daily, they held their Assemblies by night in Cellars or in solitary places, and had *Advertisers* who went from house to house to give them notice of the place and time. *Francis I.* a very merciful Prince was not over rigorous to them till in the year 1535. when they lost all respect to him, as well as to things Holy and Sacred. Some over zealous traitors amongst them, being angry because he would not hear *Melancthon*, nor read the works of their *Calvin*, posted up certain very scandalous placards against him, and against his Religion, and scattered divers very injurious Libels even upon his Table and on his very Bed: nay there were those that cut off the Arms and

Church.

How the Nobles were treated in France.

* Vide in the Year 1534.

From the year 1535.

Church. and heads of some Images. So that being exasperated to the highest degree by this audacious Sacrilege, he quitted *Blis* where he then was, and came to *Paris*; where after he had given order to seize upon a good many of these Sacramentaries, he made on the 21st of January that Solemn Procession which is described in all the Histories of those times: and to expiate those impieties, deliver'd up to the Flames six of those Wretches. He afterwards caused divers others to be Condemned to the same sufferings, but who went to their death with an alacrity and constancy worthy of a much better cause.

From the year 1547.

They had more to undergo yet in the Reign of *Henry II.* the aversion which the Dutchess of *Valentinis* had conceived against them in hatred to the Dutchess of *Essex*, and the more Religious zeal of the Cardinal of *Tournon*, renewed the search and prosecutions of them: and besides their ugly base attempts drew the anger of the Judges and the severity of the Laws upon their own heads. For they fell upon Images, and the Holy Sacrament, not only by virulent writings, but likewise with horrible impieties. In *Anno 1550.* a fantastical Fellow undertook in the open day-light to cut off the head of an Image of the Virgin in the Church of *Notre-Dame at Paris.*

In fine, malgré all punishments, the mischief became so great, that it was not in the power of man to extirpate it by force: and besides the diverse manners and methods of proceeding gave them opportunities to escape, for sometimes they were left to the Judgment of the Secular Magistrates: another while they were taken out of their hands to be carried before the Bishops, then they sent them to the Prefidial Courts, created first, as it was said, by the suggestions of the Sacramentaries themselves with design of becoming Masters thereof by perswading and engaging their Friends to buy those new Offices. Which however brought them little advantage in the end, because at length the cognizance of those Crimes was referred to the Parliaments.

1558.

After the loss of the Battle of *Saint-Quentin* they lifted up their heads in divers parts of the Kingdom. They had the confidence at *Paris* to meet by night in a House of the Street *Saint-Jacques*: The Magistrates having Information went thither well guarded; those that were armed amongst them fought their way thorow the crowd and saved themselves: some less desperate were seized, all the Women were taken, of whom four or five belonged to the Queen: For she her self, to be thought wise and pious, seemed to have some tendency towards that Religion. The accused defended themselves so well upon their Trials, that their friends had time enough to get Letters of intercession from the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, which saved their lives.

Anno 1554. They first began to have a Minister at *Paris*, his Name was *John Macon*. Four years after, on the Nine and Twentieth of July they held their first Synod in the same City; the number of those they have held since is almost infinite. In that of *Châlons*, which was in the year 1563. they propounded to exterminate all Despotique Power, the Papacy, and Chicane or Pestfoggery, which they termed the three Pests of humane kind. It was but very lately they ordained that the singing of Psalms turned into French Meeter, should be part of their Liturgy: *Masses* had done but fifty only; after his death *Besa* set himself about that work and finished the remainder. This Version (if we may so call it) was published, with excellent Tunes set and Composed by the most Famous Musicians of those Times. The more pious of the People received them with applause, and took delight in singing those Psalms and Airs, imagining by this means to suppress all filthy and impure Songs; but when it came once to be understood that they were the Symbole of the Sacramentaries, they not only abstained from them, but also fell foul upon such as offer'd to sing them; which occasioned great Tumults at *Paris*, particularly in the year 1558.

Causes of the Progress of Calvinisme in Fr.

The Ministers of State were accused (whether wrongfully or not) for not having applied the true remedies against this Contagion, whilst it infected none but the poorer sort, by whose loss they could reap little gain; being rather willing it should spread and take hold of the qualified and rich, that they might have fines and great confiscations; the only means whereby those in favour enriched themselves under the Reign of *Henry II.* In effect great numbers of People that were wealthy, of Ecclesiastics, and of the most considerable Officers were found to be tainted, many even of the best Heads belonging to the Parliament were coiled, and possessed with it: who might perhaps have drawn most of the Members of that body after them, had not the King gone in Person to that

that famous Mercurial of the year 1559. and sent divers of them away Prisoners. Some of these would needs justify themselves, the rest retracted: the only *Anno de Bourg* was immolated for his Religion. His example spoiled more than all hundred Ministers could have done by all their zealous Preaching: Then the weakness of the Reign of *Francis II.* the Minority of *Charles IX.* the Causes of discord which animated the Princes of the Blood assisted by the three *Chastillons*, against the Princes of the House of *Guise*, the Maligne and Artificial Ambition of the Regent *Catherine de Medicis* who flatter'd sometimes the *Huguenots*, sometimes the Catholics, according as she had need either of the one or the other; In fine, the Confluence of some great Magistrates, and of several Bishops gave opportunities to this Sect both to strengthen, and multiply and confirm themselves.

We have elsewhere spoken of the Tumult at *Amboise*, the Eddities, and Cabals of the Grandees for the Government, the rift of the name of *Huguenot* given to the Calvinists, who till that were called Sacramentaries; and of the Prince of *Conde's* taking up Arms, with the other Chiefs. We shall not need to observe that those Furies wasted the Kingdom for thirty years together, occasioned the giving of seven or eight battels, and an infinite number of Combats, were the death either by War or by more cruel Maltresses of a Million of brave Men, destroy'd two or three hundred Towns, and reduced the richest and the most noble Families of *France* to the poor and humble subsistence of an Hospital.

It was the Kingdoms misfortune, that this Reformation which the *Huguenots* Preached up so much, was passionately desired by the best of people, and their Cause hapning to be in some manner complicated with the interest of the State, those who had an ambition to show themselves good French-men favour'd and supported them indirectly, and Clubb'd Councils with them. For this reason the Estates of *Orleans* did not endeavour to destroy them, and some even of the Prelates themselves advised to allow them the Colloquy of *Poissy*, and after that to grant them another Conference concerning Images, Reliques, and the Ceremonies; which did greatly heighten their courage.

It would perhaps have been more to the purpose to have at that time called a National Council; and if they had intended to pluck up that Weed by the roots at its first springing, they ought to have held a general one. Those are the proper and sovereign Remedies God has left his Church wherewith to extinguish the like flames, but often-times humane Policies does not suit with it. And in those very days the mistaken interests of Princes, and of the Pope himself, opposed the common good of the whole Christian Church. The Council of *France* put the Court of *Rome* into a Fit of Trembling at every mention they made of calling a National Council, so greatly did they apprehend the Capacity of the French Divines, and the Liberties of the Gallican Church: Nor was this one of the least considerations and motives which obliged Pope *Paul IV.* to recontinue the Council of *Trent*.

The Memoires of this Great Council have been collected by several persons, and its History written and published by divers Authors, but somewhat variously, and in many things rather according to their inclinations and their particular engagements, than the naked truth. Pope *Clement VII.* had been obliged in 1533. to assure the Emperor *Charles V.* he would convocate one that same year; but when he understood how the Protestant Princes (very far from submitting to the conditions he desired) maintain'd and urged that he ought not to be present at it, since he was a party; that the controversies were to be judged by the word of God only, and that the Laity must have their suffrages as well as the Clergy: he made no great haste to forward it, and only promised the said Convocation not setting either the time or place.

Pope *Paul III.* his Successor, indicted it effectually for the two and twentieth of May in the year 1536. at *Manzara*: from thence, because the Duke feared for his City, he would have it held at *Vincenza* in the Territories of the Seignory of *Venice*, and there to begin in the Month of May of the Year 1538. but the Germans complaining that the said place was too remote from them, the *Venetians* being under some apprehensions of exasperating the *Turks*, who dreaded this grand Assembly, and whilst but few Bishops appearing there, he suspended it for as long time as he pleased. *Anno 1541.* by consent of the Catholics of *Germany* who had held a Dyet at *Spire*, he appointed it, by a Bull dated the two and twentieth of May, to be held the first of November of the same year in the

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Church.

From 1560.

Council of Trent.

City

Church.

City of Trent: and nevertheless all Europe being soon after put into a Confusion with the War between Charles V. and Francis I. he was forced to recall the Legates he had sent thither, and to suspend it yet a second time, till a more convenient Season, which he would declare when he judged fit.

The Peace was made between the two Kings Anno 1544. In this Treaty some Propositions were hinted about reforming the abuses of the Church of Rome; The Pope having notice of it, judged it necessary to prevent them, and a second time Summoned the Council of Trent for the fifteenth of March of the year 1545: with this precaution however, that he gave his Legates order, in case any thing were moved against his interests, either to dissolve it or to transfer it. The Assembly was found to be so thin, that he adjourned the opening of it till the thirtieth of December; when the number being little encreased, the French Bishops who were but three had thoughts of retiring; however they did remain, and the Council was opened.

After some Sessions, and divers Prorogations, during the years 1546, and 47, it happened that the Emperor gained great advantage over the Protestant Princes of the League of *Smalkalde*. The Legates who knew the intentions of their Master, perceived then, that it was not for his interest to hold the Council any longer in that place. Taking therefore an occasion upon some flying report of the Plagues being gotten into that Vicinage, they transfer'd it to *Bologna* the eight and twentieth of February in the year 1547. not failing to be informed whether the Emperor and the King would approve of it: the Spanish Bishops refused to follow them, and remained at Trent.

The same year in the Month of April, the Emperor gained a great and entire Victory over the same Protestants; which contrary to all expectation, instead of rejoicing his Holyness, (who could not have believed this?) put him into most terrible apprehensions. He fancied already he saw the Emperor pursuing his advantage, entering into Italy, wresting from him *Parma* and *Piacenza*, making himself Master of the City of *Rome*, restoring the Imperial dignity there; and that which he feared more yet then all this, reforming the abuses of his Court, according as the Bishops even of his own Territories when they were at the Council, had highly declared for in many set Speeches. Amidst these Alarms the King of France to oppose this formidable progress, to rally and support the scatter'd remnants of the Protestants, and even to call in the assistance of the Turk. Thereupon, the tenth day of September hapned the death of the Duke of *Piacenza* his Son; his grief for so Tragical an Accident, joyned with the terror of the Emperors Victory, together with those protestations his Ambassadors made against its Translation, were the chief causes he made the said Council to cease Anno 1548.

It was interrupted till in the year 1551. the vehement instances of the Emperor and the Catholicks of Germany obliged Pope Julius III. to re-intimate the same at Trent the first day of May of that year, and to begin again where they had left off. Some Protestant Princes, and some certain Cities to comply with the Emperor, sent thither their Deputies. But soon after the War of *Parma* broke out, and the King being offended that the Pope should League himself against him with the Emperor, wrote to the Council by *James Amiot*, Abbey of *Bellofane*, a very disobliging Letter for the Pope, and filled with these like protestations, That there being no free access at Trent for his Bishops, he could not send them thither; That he did not hold it for a General Council called to reform Abuses and to restore the Discipline, but looked upon them as an Assembly practised by subtil intrigues and for temporal interests: That therefore he did not believe himself obliged or bound to their Decrees, neither himself nor the Churches of his Kingdom, but declared, That when ever it were needful he should have recourse to the same means and remedies whereof his Predecessors had made use in the like cases.

The Pope being soon weary of the War, dispatched Legates to the Emperor and to the King to Treat of a Peace. The faculties of him that came into France being presented to the Parliament, received the same restrictions as had been put to those of the preceeding ones.

Now the King being well again with the Pope, the Council continued during the whole year 1551. and the following also. Whilst they were thus going on, the terror of the Arms of *Maurice* Duke of *Saxony*, who was advanced as far as *Inpruce*, where he thought to surprize the Emperor; and the rout of the Kings

Church.

Kings who entred into Germany, did so much scare the Prelates, that most of them ran quite away. The Legates therefore suspended the Council for two years only; but by the divers accidents and mutations of Affairs, it was interrupted till the year 1561. when Pope Pius IV. re-assembled them. His Bull of Indiction met with great difficulties both from the Emperor and from the King; their Councils desired it might be a Convocation of a Council wholly new, not, a continuation of the old, and that they might re-examine those Decrees, had been already made; for they had hopes thereby to allude and bring in the Protestants. Withal the true French-men, found fault that the Address was made only to the Emperor, and that the name of King Charles was not express'd, as those of Francis I. and of Henry II. had been in the foregoing ones. In effect they had not comprised him but under the general terms of Kings and Christian Princes. They did the same injustice in their acclamations upon the closing up of the Council.

The Ambassadors of France who were *Louis de Saint Gelais Lansac*, *Arnold de Ferrier* President des Enquestes in the Parliament of *Paris*, and *Guy Fauré Fibrac* Chief Justice of *Tolosa*, Arrived there the eighteenth of May. Queen *Catherine* and her Council, had given them a Charge to press vigorously for the Reformation of Abuses, and to behave themselves in such sort as the Protestants might have reason to believe they intended them all manner of reasonable satisfaction upon their complaints. *Fibrac* harangued them to that purpose, and *Lansac* did second him; to this effect he demanded they should declare it to be a new Council, and that they would stay for those Bishops who were coming thither from France, as likewise the Ambassadors, and Divines from the Queen of England, and from the Protestant Princes. Notwithstanding these instances, the Legates declared it was a continuation, and would have them proceed immediately without waiting for the Prelates of France.

Lansac and his Collegues joyned themselves also, with the Emperors Ambassadors in the demand they made for the use of the Cup, for the Laity of *Bohemia*, to whom the Church had otherwise most benignly allowed it. On the other hand, the French Bishops seconded the Spaniards with all their might and main, to have them declare that Residence was of Divine Right; but neither the Ambassadors, nor they had any satisfaction upon either point, and were divers times in deliberation to be gone. *Fibrac* being recalled to the Court of France by Queen *Catherine*, *Ferrier* was the manager, who harangued upon all occasions with extreme vehemence.

During these transactions, the Cardinal de *Lorraine* Arrived at Trent, accompanied with a great number of Bishops, and took such authority upon him, that the Pope having conceived some jealousy, called him amongst his familiars, the Petty Pope on the other side the Mountains. He knew that he was come to Act in concert with the Imperialists to engage them to give some satisfaction to the Lutherans (whom he desired to unlink from the Huguenots, having to that effect both he and his Brother, conferred with the Duke of *Wurtemberg*, and other Princes of that belief at *Saverne*;) and therefore he had taken care and provided (to be fortify'd against him) a great number of Italian Bishops whom from all parts he sent to the Council of Trent before the Cardinal should Arrive there.

Some Months after his coming, they received two Messages of great News at the Council, the one of the death of the King of *Navarre*, the other some Months after that of the gaining of the Battle of *Dreux*; Both of them gave the Cardinal great reason to believe his Brother might soon make himself Master of all France, and that consideration encreased his credit and power very much in the Council; and by consequence that of the Ambassadors with whom he was very well united in the beginning.

They propounded therefore, according to the instructions they had, four and thirty Articles of Reformation, whereof the most Remarkable were; That none should be ordained Priests, unless they were ancient, as the very word imported; That they should restore the Functions separately to all the Sacred Orders, without allowing one Order to do what belonged to another; That they should not confer them all at once, but observe the interstium; That none should be admitted to the dignity of an Abbot, or of a Prior conventual, who had not read, or taught Theology in some Famous College; That an Ecclesiastick should be capable to hold but one single Benefice; That they should say the Prayers in French after the holy Sacris of the Mass; That they should give the

Church. Communion to the People under the two species, or both kinds; That they should render to the Bishops their entire Jurisdiction, without allowing exemption to any Monasteries, unless to the Heads of Orders; That the Pastors should be capable, and obliged to Preach and to Catechise; That Simony, and the Sale of Benefices should be punished; and that those abuses might be removed, and taken away which had been introduced amongst the vulgar in the worship of Images. The Cardinal de Lorraine would no doubt, have assisted them to his utmost if the death of the Duke of Guise had not interven'd: but as the good Fortune and Prosperity of that Brother had much elevated him, so his loss depressed him most infinitely; he now thought of nothing but an accommodation with the Pope; and letting fall his grand designs oblig'd likewise all the Bishops of his Party to do the same: So that the Legates, and other Persons dependants of the Court of Rome, remaining Masters in the Council, procur'd many things to be pass'd there according to their own desires and intentions.

1563. About this time began the contest for Precedency between the Ambassadors of France, and of Spain, wherein it may be truly said the Pope did not preserve the rights of France in its entirety. If we believe some, he was willing to foment this dispute that he might have some colour to break up the Council; which he had thoughts to do several times before, because he could not govern them as he desired. It had like to have fallen out now, the Ambassadors of France, pickqued at the injustice done to their King, were on the point to leave them, and protest, not against the Legates who depended on the will of the Pope, nor against the Council which was not free; nor against the King of Spain and his Ambassador, who maintained their Pretension; but against a particular man that acted as Pope, and had intruded into Saint Peters Chair by unlawful Cabals, and an unworthy Traffick, of which they had undeniable Proofs before them. Nevertheless such as were sincere and well meaning men amongst them, moderating this difference, found out an expedient to compose matters, but which in truth did in some sort prejudice one advantage France had ever been in possession of: But he knew how to recover her former right afterwards, and to maintain it.

1563. The Cardinal de Lorraine had now no other thought but to hasten the conclusion of the Council, that he might return into France to settle the Affairs of his House. He went to wait on his Holiness at Rome, with whom he had long and private Conferences; and after he came back to Trent, he acted altogether in concert with the Legates. In so much as the said grand Assembly, which during the space of twenty seven years, and under the Pontificat of Five Popes, had been interrupted and refused divers times, finally ended on the second day of December in the year 1563. To the unexpressible satisfaction of his Holiness, who thereby was deliver'd of many great fatigues, and far greater apprehensions of the diminution of his absolute power.

The Decisions have been received in France as to the points of Faith, but not those for Discipline, there being many that infringe the Rights of the Crown, the Liberties of the Gallican Church, the authority of the secular Magistrature, the Privileges of the Chapters and Communities, and divers usages received in the Kingdom: and if several of their Reiglements are practis'd, it is not by virtue of the Decrees of that Council, but of the Kings Ordonnances.

1561, &c. Whilst that was held, Calvinisme which the Edicts of King Francis I. and Henry II. had suppress'd, began to appear again publicly under the favour of those conjunctures we have before specified. The Edict of July deliver'd them from the dangers of death; the Colloquy of Poissy gave them confidence to Preach openly; the Edict of January, the Liberty of Exercise; and the accident of Vassy, the occasion to take up Arms.

From thence followed infinite Murders, Robberies, Destruction of Churches, Burnings, Prophanations, and Sacrilegious Out-rages. Those people enraged for that they had burned so many of their Brethren, revenged it cruelly upon the Clergy; as many as they caught, they cut off their Ears, and their Virilia: some were seen to wear them upon strings hung round like Bandeliers. They spared not the Sepulchres of Saints, nor even the Tombs of their own Ancestors; they burned all the Reliques, (of which notwithstanding, as by a Miracle, we now find as many as ever;) and broke in pieces all the Shrines and Sacred Vases to get the Gold and Silver that enriched them. From all which impieties this good at least accrued to the publick, that they Coynd good store of Money: But one thing was a loss without any the least profit, and never to be repaired, to

to wit, the destruction of the ancient Libraries belonging to Abbeyes, where there were inestimable Treasures for History, and for the works of Antiquity.

The Clergy in these Wars sustained likewise great damage in their Temporal Estates; for besides that the Huguenots invaded them in many places, the Kings also constrained them four or five several times to alienate much Lands for great Sums of Money to be employ'd towards the expences of their War, and gave them so short a time that they were forced to sell at a very mean rate. Shall we say these distractions were their ruine, or their reformation? since it is certain, that as those riches serve them for a decent and necessary subsistence, when they are moderate, so are they the chief cause of their corruption when excessive; and that when ever the Church had the least, then was she always the most holy, and pure.

When Francis Duke of Guise was Assassinated near Orleans, the Queen-Mother and the Huguenots being on either hand delivered from that approaching ruine, wherewith he threatened them, were easily inclined to a Peace. The Queen and the Prince her Prisoner treated it personally; the Edict was dispatched to Anboise the nineteenth of March, 1563. This was the first of the seven granted them by King Charles IX. and Henry III. for so often did they take up Arms, sometimes being thereto necessitated, otherwhile out of choice and design. The Massacre of Saint Bartholomew, which in all probability should have utterly quelled them, did but rather encourage them to undergo all future extremities, since it left them no other prospect to save themselves but by murthering their All.

Now this first Peace in 1563. displeased his Holiness so much, that he resolv'd to discharge his wrath upon those whom he believed to be the most dangerous Enemies of the Catholick Religion in France, particularly upon Jane d'Albret Queen of Navarre, who had banish'd it out of her Kingdom, and pull'd down all the Churches and upon some Prelates who manifestly countenanced Huguenots.

1563. He had a mind to Summon the Queen before the Council, and to have made her process at that grand Tribunal: but foreseeing the Emperors Ambassadors would soon oppose it, as they had done in the like Case concerning the Queen of England, he resolv'd to cite her to Rome, and caused the Citation to be posted up at the Gates of Saint Peters Church, and at the Inquisition, declaring, if she did not make her appearance, that her Lands and Lordships should be procrib'd, and that she should personally incur all the penalties provided against Heretics.

As for the Prelates, he gave orders likewise to the Cardinals of the Inquisition, to cite them to Rome upon a day certain, and if they appeared not personally, to carry on their process to a definitive Sentence, which he would pronounce in his secret Consistory. The Inquisitors, by virtue of this Command, cited Odet de Coligny Chastillon, Cardinal Bishop of Beauvais, but who had quitted his Purple to follow the fortune and opinions of his Brothers, and bare the Title of Count de Beauvais. N. de Saint Romain, Arch-Bishop of Aix, John de Montluc, Bishop of Valence, John Anthony Carraccioli of Troyes, John de Barbanfon of Pannic, Charles Guillard of Chartres, Lewis d'Albret of Lascar, Claude Reyne of Oleron, John de Saint Gelais of Uzès, and Francis de Nouilles of Aqs. In the same number they might very justly have placed Peter du Val, Bishop of Sees, who was of the same sentiments with Montluc.

After these Proceedings in the Court of Rome, the Pope pronounced the Sentence against the Cardinal de Chastillon, whereby, he declared him an Heretick, Seducer, Schismatick, Apostate, and one perjur'd, degraded him of his Cardinalship deprived him of Offices & all Dignities, especially the Bishoprick of Beauvais which he held of the Holy See, & expos'd him to all the faithful that could apprehend him, & deliver him up to justice. The Cardinal to shew that he depended no way on the jurisdiction of the Pope, resumed the Purple, and assisted, clothed in that manner, at the Act of the Majority of the King in the Parliament of Rouen: whereat the Pope was so incensed, that he publicly pronounced the Sentence, and caused it to be affixed in the Markets of Rome, and afterwards dispers'd all over Europe.

But as for the Queen of Navarre, the Kings Council considering the consequences of suffering a Princess to be dispos'd of who was related to the King, and that her Husband died fighting in defence of the Catholick Religion, that her Case would be a prejudgment against all Crowned Heads, and that this Chastil-
ment

ment would turn left to the advantage of Religion then to the profit of the King of Spain, who from thence would take an opportunity to invade her Country, made such effectual Remonstrances to the Pope by the mouth of *Henry Cluvin-Doyel* this Ambassador, that the Citation given against this Queen was revoked. As for the Bishops, the Cardinal de *Lorraine* having likewise informed the Pope, that it was against the Rights and usage of the *Gallican* Church, to suffer their Process to be made at first instance at *Rome*, it stop'd that business for the present; but five years after, *Pius V.* taking advantage of the weakness of the Kingdom to extend his own Authority, pronounced a like Sentence against them as that which had been thundred against the Cardinal de *Castillon*, and caused it to be published in *France*.

The Rebellion of the *Huguenots* produced the Faction of the League, the example of their Confederations with Foreign Princes authorised also the measures these took with Spain. The proceedings of both Parties were almost the same; at first they affected a strict Discipline, then after a little while they fell into all manner of Licentiousness; Their Pulpiters and their Libellers were equally insolent and Factions; they employed the same Maxims, and used the same Language and Arguments against Sovereign Authority which they attacked, and for the Liberty of the Subjects, and of Conscience to those whom they Debauched. In like manner both the one and the other, when they found they were in such extremities they could not possibly extricate themselves by ordinary means, surnamed Assassins to help them out; but all who made use of those cursed means, perished by a like fate: For as *Poltror* murder'd *Francis* Duke of *Guise*, so the Son of that Duke kill'd the Admiral; the *Barbarians* * Murdered this Prince at *Blais*; and those whose hands were stained in his Blood, did most of them come to a Bloody end; the wrath of Heaven punishing the first by the second, and these by a third, who were so too by others. Which had gone on to infinity, if the Clemency of King *Henry IV.* had not put a stop to those Murders, which necessarily trod upon the heels of one another.

The first Lineaments of the League were traced in *Guyenne*, and in *Langue-dor*, during the first Civil War, when there was danger lest the *Huguenots* should make themselves absolute Masters of those two large Provinces. In the year 1585, *Humieres*, with the Nobles in his Government of *Vernandois*, formed one at *Perbome*; and *Lewis de la Trimouille* another in *Poitou*. The House of *Guise* labour'd hard to collect, and join them all together, especially after the Death of the Duke of *Anjou*: Not, perhaps that those Princes were then pushed on with the ambition of usurping the Crown, as they have been accused, but because they were so by the Natural desire of self-preservation. For the Physicians assuring them that *Henry III.* could not live long, they justly feared when he should be no more, to be crushed, either by his Favourites, betwixt whom he had a mind to share his Kingdom, or by the *Huguenots* whose hatred against their Family could not be satiated with less than the blood of all those Princes: therefore it was they so provided and Fore-Arm'd themselves lest they should remain exposed to the Mercy both of the one and the other. It is probable the Forces they afterwards got into their hands by the Confluence of such potent Party's both from within and without the Kingdom, might inspire them with thoughts that were both more high and more Criminal: though it would be yet a much more easie task to find credible Conjectures, than an certain or convincing Proofs of it.

The Pope, the *Sorbonne*, the Jesuits, and almost all the new Religious Orders, contributed with all their might to form the League; But yet their Credit would never have been sufficient to maintain it, if the People had not been so very ill used as they then were, and if the burthen of the Impositions, the Insolence of the Favourites, the Weaknesses and scandalous Manners of *Henry III.* had not given them both an aversion and contempt for the Government.

The Duke of *Nevers* began it out of zeal, and then disowned it out of jealousy; Father *Claude Martheu* a Jesuite was the first Courier for them: *Gregory XIII.* fomented it, *Sixtus V.* approved and protected it. Some will needs have, that the former contributed to the Conspiracy of *Salcedo*: as the latter excommunicated the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Condé* Anno 1585. After the Barricades he wrote to the Duke of *Guise*, comparing him to the *Machabees*, and

* Forty five.

and gave him notice he had Created a Legat, a *Lutere*; (this was *John Francis Morosini*) to whom the Cardinal de *Bourbon* and himself should communicate all their designs. The Death of this Prince murder'd at *Blais*, gave him much grief: that of the Cardinal de *Guise*, and the detention of the Arch-Bishop of *Lyons* furnished him with a pretext of revenging it: with the Ambassadors of the Church. His Monitory against King *Henry III.* was published the four and twentieth of *May*, affixed in the usual places at *Rome* the same Day, and on the Gates of the Cathedral Churches of *Meaux* and *Charvres* the three and twentieth of *June*.

If the Relations we have of those times are true, this Pope was even transported with joy upon the news he received of the Assassination of the said Prince, and highly applauded the act of *Jacques Clement* in the Consistory, comparing it to the most glorious Mysteries of Christianity, and to the generosity of the most glorious and illustrious Martyrs. He thought after this change he was bound openly to take in hand the defence of Religion, and to hinder *Henry IV.* from getting into the Throne so long as he remained out of the Church: He therefore sent the Cardinal *Caspar Legate a Latere*, to the Duke of *Angouleme*. Upon this occasion the Members of Parliament who were remaining still at *Paris*, and those that had withdrawn themselves to *Tours*, being directly opposite, acted after a quite different manner; but with alike heat, the one for the Pope the others for the King.

The *Sorbon* refused nothing to the intreaties of the League, and the desires of his Holiness in an Affair that concerned Religion. It is not known what bloody decrees they made to draw the People from their obedience to *Henry III.* and *Henry IV.* but when the latter of these two Kings was converted, and without become Master of *Paris*, they made one quite contrary in favour of him, not waiting till he had received his absolution from *Rome*.

Gregory XIV. not well informed of the State of the League, engaged himself yet further than his Predecessor, he promised fifteen Thousand Crowns of Gold per Month to maintain and defend the City of *Paris*, and sent an Army into *France*, but it perished almost before it's entrance, and brought much more Scandal by the Vices of their Country, than assistance to the Party.

The Prelates, to preserve their Revenues which indeed was the main thing studied by most of them, and their greatest obligation, followed the Party that was most prevalent in those Countries where they had their Benefices; but in such parts as were Subject to the Incursions of both, they did not know what measures to take; for if they declared for the one, the other immediately gave away their Benefices. *Gregory* by a Bull of the year 1591. commanded all those that then followed the King, to forsake him upon pain of Excommunication; but the present evil touching them more sensibly than his remoter Menaces, they would not obey his Commands.

This Pope held the See but six Months; *Innocent* his Successor, but two; *Clement VIII.* who was Elected afterwards, did at first follow the Steps of *Gregory*, and sent to *Philip de Segn* Bishop of *Piacenza*, (who was made Cardinal by the said *Gregory*) to procure the Election of a Catholic King. This was in the year 1592. The Prelates on their part, finding that all Communication was broke off with *Rome*, made a Proposition for the creating a Patriarch for *France*; and such as were the most powerful at Court, either upon the score of favour or merit, did second it with all their might out of the hopes they had to obtain the said high dignity. But the Cardinal de *Bourbon* who had other thoughts for his own grandeur, opposed it vigorously, under pretence that it would be a means to Confirm the King in his Schism, and exasperate his Holiness the more. So it was ordained, that the Kings nomination to Benefices should be Confirmed by the Bishops, and that each of them should have the power of his Dispensation in his Dioceses as the Pope.

If we should judge of the intent of the Heads of the League, by the effect produced, we might affirm it was good: for the Travels and Troubles they gave *Henry IV.* put him to such a plunge, that fearing worse might follow, he refused and embraced the Religion of his Ancestors to secure himself of the Crown. *Clement* did for some time after keep the Doors of the Church shut against him; but at length finding the weakness of the League, and the Ambition of the King of *Spain*, open'd them wide to him with great demonstration of kindness; but

Church.
1588.

1591.

1591.

1591.

1592.

Not

Church.
1595.

not however without making all his efforts for augmenting the Authority of the Holy See upon so eminent and favourable an occasion.

From that time France was troubled no more with those violent fits occasioned by heats of Religion; although some relics still remained within her bowels of the inflammations of the Holy League: as on the other side the Cabals and Contrivances of the *Huguenots*, gave continual Alarms and Apprehensions to King Henry IV. We have told you he allowed them the exercise of their Religion, and many other advantages by the Edict of *Nantes*.

Of the corruption of the two Parties, a third was generated named *The Politicks*, a People who seeming to profess the Religion of that Party they were engaged in, yet having indeed none, since they placed and made in wholly subversive in all things to Temporal Interests of State, were for that reason more pernicious than all the Hereticks.

Councils of
the Gallican
Church.

During the greatest Heats of War for Religion, under the Reign of *Charles IX.* and the beginning of that of *Henry III.* the Clergy had not the leisure to assemble any Provincial Councils, although the Church stood in much need of them; but after the year 1580. there were held five or six by the Arch-Bishops assisted by their Suffragans. The Cardinal *Charles de Bourbon* Assembled one at *Rouen* Anno 1581. *Anthony Prevost-Sansac* held one at *Bordeaux* the following year: *Simon de Maille* one at *Tours* in 1583. *Reinold de Beaulieu* the following in 1584. *Alexander Canigiani* one at *Aix* Anno 1585. And *Francis de Joyeuse* Cardinal one at *Toulouse* Anno 1590.

I do not reckon amongst these Assemblies neither the diverse Conferences between the Catholick Doctors, and the Protestants, of which the most famous, as also the most pernicious, was the Colloquy of *Poissy*; nor even what they call Assemblies of the Clergy of France, because the Form and Methods of Proceedings, and the reasons of their Convocation differ very much from those of Councils, though upon occasion they do sometimes treat of Discipline, and other Matters Ecclesiastical. It is true that in all times the Prelates have held such Assemblies, either by Order of the King, or by his leave, when it was requisite for them so to do; but they were not held regularly, as they began to be since that Sacred Order was obliged in a Contract of twelve Hundred Thousand Livres of Rent to the * *Hôtel de Ville of Paris*, and upon that Score to pay their Tenths punctually. We may, in my Opinion, put that of *Mélin* which was held in the year 1597. for the first of this kind.

* Town-Hall.

1579.

The Remonstrances they made to the King by the Mouth first of *Arnaud de Pontac* Bishop of *Basle*, then of *Nicholas Anglier* Bishop of *Saint Brice's*, were very pressing for the discharging and taking of those Rents, for reception of the Council of *Trent*, and the re-establishment of Elections. They could obtain nothing as to the first; for the second they were promis'd it should be considered in due time and place; but to the Third, the King replied very roughly that he would do nothing in it, and asked whether they did not hold their Bishopricks from him; To which some answered generously enough, that they were ready to surrender them into his hands again, provided he would be pleased to surrender that right to the Church according to the Holy Canons.

Disorders in
the Church.

As to the remainder we may know by their Remonstrances what the disorders of the Gallican Church then were; we find, how the Bishopricks, the Abbeys, and Collegiate Churches were in the hands of Captains; That these words were often heard in their Mouths, my Bishoprick, my Abbey, my Priest, my Chansons, my Monks. That by an Act the Grand Council Order'd the Monies upon the Sale of a Bishoprick should be employ'd to pay the Debts of the Vendor; that in the Kings Council an Abbey had been adjudged to a Lady, as being given her in Dower, with an expresse Declaration, that after her Decease the Heirs should enjoy it in equal proportions: That many Bishopricks were without Bishops, and their Goods usurped by prophane Persons: that of near eight hundred Abbeys, to which the King named, there were not an hundred Titular or Commendatory Abbeys, and that of those the greater part did but only lend * their names to others, who in effect enjoy'd the Revenue: Thus were the Churches without Pastors, the Monasteries without Religious, the Vicarages without Discipline, the Temples and Sacred Places fallen to ruine, and converted to Dens of Thieves.

* They were
called *Collo-*
nni.

When the Clergy perceived they were thus left a prey to all the World, and that the Licentiousness of a Civil War exposed their Goods to the first occupier, the

the Catholicks falling on them with no less greediness than the *Huguenots*, they endeavour'd to re-unite themselves for their own security, and the Bishops were forced to reside in their Bishopricks, if not to feed their Flocks, yet at least to preserve wherewith to feed themselves. Before this necessity, they ran from them as dismal Solitudes; the diversifications of *Paris*, and Servitude at Court, were a more pleasing exercise. History observes, how Anno 1560. *John de Montluc*, Bishop of *Valence*, speaking his mind freely one day in the Kings Council, complained how forty had been seen at once in *Paris* wallowing in all manner of Debaucheries and Idleness. Therefore the Parliament enjoyed them by a Decree, to return to their Bishopricks and to perform their Duties, otherwise they should be constrained to it by Seizure of their Goods and Equipage. But perhaps considering after what way they lived there for the most part, their absence might be a less scandal to their Flocks, than their residence would have proved.

In this Age were not made any new Orders of Monks; I shall however mention that of the *Minimes* which began in the precedent: *Saint Francis* a Native of *Paolo* in *Calabria* was the Initiator of it, and did plant it in France, at the Religious time he was called thither by King *Lewis XI.* Pope *Sixtus IV.* approved it in Decr. 1473. And *Julius II.* confirmed it in 1506.

All those of the *Mendicants* renewing their Ancient Fervour and Discipline, some sooner, others later, begot divers Reformatations. That of *Saint Francis* which hath ever been more abounding than any other in diversity of Habits and Observations of Rules, produced three new Branches, that of the *Capucines*, that of the *Recollets*, and that of the *Piquepusses*.

That of the *Augustines* did likewise produce one which is the *Hermits* of *Saint Augustine*; as the *Carmelites* also produced the Congregation of those named *Dechaux*. I pass by in silence that of the *Dominicans* or *Jacobins* Reformed, and that of the *Augustins deschauffez*, or *Barefooted*, so far as they belong to the Seventeenth Age.

And to speak first of the *Recollets*, we must know that there having been at divers times many different Congregations in the Order of *Saint Francis*, who vaunted each the observing the Rule of their Patriarch in its greatest purity and simplicity, *Leo X.* had ordained that they should all be comprised and reduced into one, under the name of the Reformed; That notwithstanding there were yet many more of them who affected to be more rigid than the rest, and to observe the Rule literally pursuant to the Declarations of *Nicholas III.* and *Clement V.* That in the year 1531. *Clement VIII.* caused certain Convents to be assigned, by the Superiors of the Order, where they placed those that had the Spirit of Piety and Recollection; for which cause they were named *Recollets*. The Cities of *Tulle* in *Limosin*, and of *Morat* in *Auvergne*, were the first in France who allowed them any Convents, some Religious Friars having brought this Reformation out of Italy about the year 1584. they had one at *Paris*; at present they have in the several parts of the Kingdom near an Hundred and fifty, which are divided into seven Provinces.

The Original of the *Capucins*, so named from the extraordinary form of their Capuchon, * or Hood, was thus. In the year 1525. a Friar Minor Observant, named *Mathew de Basco* of the Dutchy of *Spoleta*, a Votary in the Convent of *Montefalconi*, affirming that God had commanded him by a Vision to the exercise of a more severe Poverty, and that he had shewed him the very manner how *St. Francis* was clothed, cut out a long pointed Hood or Capuchon, and such a Habit as the *Capucins* now wear, and retired himself into Solitude, by permission of the Pope. Some others, prompted by the same Spirit, joined with him, to the number of twelve: The Duke of *Florence* gave them a Hermitage in his Territories, and by so little and little his band increased to that number, that in the year 1528. Pope *Clement VII.* approved this Congregation under the name of *Friars Minors Capucines*. Pope *Paul III.* confirmed it Anno 1536. with permission to settle in any place, and gave them a Vicar General, and Officers and Superiors. Such as have believed that *Bernardinus Ochius*, who Apostatized, and went over into the Camp of the *Philistines* or *Hereticks*, was the Initiator of so Holy a Congregation, were very ill informed: perhaps the advantage he had of being once their General, and one of the first and most noted of those that embraced this Reformation, hath caused the mistake. In the Reign of *Charles IX.* they were received into France, and had first a Convent

* Some had
worn them be-
fore.

F f f f f

at

Church.

at Meudon which the Cardinal de Lorraine caused to be erected for them, and another little one in the place called *Piquepuz*, where now are the Religious Penitents of the Tiers, or third Order of Saint Francis. King Henry III. transferr'd them from that place into a Convent he caused to be Built for them in the *Faux-burg Saint Honoré*. They have nine Provinces in this Kingdom, and above four hundred Convents.

The Tiers Order of St. Francis, named the *Penitents*, were in the beginning only a Congregation of Secular Persons both of the one and the other Sex, but some while after they were made regular. Now in the following Ages, being extremely relaxed, one of the Society named *Vincent Massari* a *Parisian*, undertook to Reform them about the year 1595. The first Convent of this Reformation was built in the Village of *Franconville*, between *Paris* and *Pontoise*; and the second in the place called *Piquepuz*, at the end of the *Faux-burg Saint Antoine*, whence the vulgar hath named them * *Piquepusses*. This Order is divided in four Provinces, and hath about three-score Convents.

Pope *Engenius IV.* having thought fit to mitigate the Rule of the *Carmelites*; the said mitigation having made them fall into a too great relaxation, *Sainte Therese*, a Nun of this Order in the Convent of *Avilla* in *Castille* the place of her Birth, brought them again to their former Austerity. She began with the Sisters for whom she built a Monastery at *Avile*; Afterwards she undertook to reform the Men likewise, being assisted in this good work by two Religious *Carmelites*, who had their first Convent near the same City. Pope *Clement VIII.* separated them from the mitigated, Anno 1693. and allowed them to have their Province apart, and to chuse their Superiors amongst themselves, upon condition however to acknowledge the General of the Order. They came not into France till the year 1505. Their Convent in the *Faux-bourg Saint Germain*, the first that ever they had in the Kingdom, was Built Anno 1611.

The Reformed of the *Hermities* of St. *Augustin*, who are called at *Paris* les *Peits Peres*, (i. e. the Little Fathers) was instituted at the General Chapter of that Order held at *Madrid* Anno 1588. From thence some went and settled themselves in *Italy*, and from *Italy* six or seven were brought into France in the year 1595, by *William d'Avencour* Arch-Bishop of *Embrun* who lodged them at the Priory of *Villars Benoist* in *Dauphiné*. They were not Established at *Paris* till the year 1609. first in the *Faux-burg St. Germain*, where Queen *Margaret* order'd a Convent to be erected for them, which they left to the *Augustines* Reformed who hold it still; then near the Gate *Montmarie* where they have Built another.

The great care which the *Friers De la Charité* took by receiving in, as also tending and administering to the Sick, deserves we should make mention of them. The Blessed *Jean de Dieu*, * Native of the Diocese of *Evora* in *Portugal* a simple Man without Learning, but inflamed with a Charitable zeal towards helping the poor Sick, began this Congregation in *Spain* about the year 1570. He went daily about the Streets, and into many Houses, exhorting all good Christians to bestow their Alms, and having frequently these words in his mouth, *Do good Brethren whilst you have the time*, for which cause in *Italy* they named these *Votaries*, *Fatre ben Fratelli*. *Pious V.* Confirmed it by his Bull of the first of January 1572. *Clement VIII.* reformed it, and *Paul V.* made it a Religious Order, obliging them to the three usual Vows, and a special fourth, which is to tend the sick, under the dependance notwithstanding, and under the Correction of the Ordinaries.

The Congregation of *Fenillens* sprung from the Order of the *Cisterrians*, and began not till the year 1586. in the Abbey of *Fenillens* which is in the Diocese of *Rieux*, within six Leagues of *Toulouse*. It had for Author *John de la Barriere*, who being Abbot Commandatary of that place, had taken on him the Habit of a Frier, *Sixtus V.* approved it, *Clement VIII.* and *Paul V.* allowed them particular Superiors. King Henry III. Founded a Convent for them in the *Faux-burg Saint Honoré*, near the Garden of the *Tuileries*, and Anno 1587. *John de la Barriere* brought thither three-score of his *Friers*. They went then all barefooted, but have since worn Sandals, or Galoches; They have but three Provinces in France, and some thirty Monasteries.

As every Age and every Generation hath its particular gusto and productions, this sixteenth Century was very fertile in Congregations of Cleric's Regulars, who are a kind of midling species between Monks and Priests. Such are those

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of the *Theatins*, the *Somasques*, the Cleric's *Minors*, the *Ministers* of the *Infirmaries*, the *Schools* of *Piety*, the Cleric's *Regulars* of *Saint Paul*, called *Barnabites*, the *Oratorians* of *Rome*, and the *Jesuits*, this last much more potent and of greater extent than all the rest together. I shall observe, *en passant*, that one of these Fathers, a man very devout, named *John Leon*; a *Flamming* by Birth, and Regent in the lower Classes of their College at *Rome*, assembling those Scholars who were desirous to add Piety to Erudition, gave beginning to their Congregation of the Virgin; which hath been found to good and useful; that they have not only made of them for their Scholars, but also for the honest fort of Citizens, and even in some places for Artisans.

Of all the Cleric's Regulars, none have come into France but the *Jesuits*, the *Barnabites*, and the *Theatins*. These last we not established till in our time, under the Regency of Queen *Anne* of *Austria*. It is well known that Saint *Ignatius* was Institutor of the Company of *Jesus*, how, it began in the year 1534. and how it was approved by Pope *Paul III.* and by his Successors. We may elsewhere relate upon what conditions they were admitted into France, the oppositions formed against their reception, and the great and frequent Travels they have undergone divers times. It shall suffice at this moment to say, that they have filled the whole Earth with the loud report of their names; and the Books they have composed both for the advancement of Religion, and of all polite Learning.

The *Barnabites* had been wished for in France by King Henry IV. to have employed them for the Instruction of Youth, and to have substituted them in place of the *Jesuits*, after they were expelled. They came not then, but about six years after their General sent some of his Order to labour for the Conversion of *Bearn*; yet did not they take root in this Kingdom till a long time afterwards: they have here fifteen or sixteen houses, in most of which they have Colleges to teach all manner of good Learning. Their first establishment was at *Montargis* Anno 1620. And two years after they had one at *Paris* near the Palace. Their Congregation took Birth at *Milan*, and was instituted by three Gentlemen, two of that City, another of *Cremona*. They went by the name of *Barnabites*, because they established themselves in *Barnaby's*, and the Church they built there was Consecrated to God under the name of that great Apostle.

Let us now speak of the Religious Orders of the other Sex. We omitted Religious Order in the end of the last Age, how in Anno 1594. *John Tisseran* a *Cordelier*, having desir'd of Women moved and even melted the most obdurate hearts, and converted many Ladies of Pleasure by his Preaching, founded an Order *Des Filles Repenties* * to the honour of Saint *Magdalene*, which was to receive such who by the Mercies of Whores. God should be brought to forsake and abhor their sins. For which reason they were called *Penitents*. There came in at the very first two hundred and twenty; and as the number encreased so much, that the Revenue was not sufficient, they allowed many to go about the Town, to crave the Alms of the Charitable and well disposed people. Which lasted till the year 1550. when by reason of many inconveniences, they were shut up in a most strict confinement. *Lewis Duke of Orleans*, who was afterwards King, gave them his *Hofiel* of *Orleans* * at present near Saint *Eustache*, where they remained till Anno 1572. that Queen *Catherine* the *Hofiel* desir'd to dislodge them to build a Palace there, and transferred them to the Chap. *Solifons*, near Saint *George*, in the Street Saint *Denis*, which till then belonged to the Order of Saint *Aglaire*.

Queen *Jane* Daughter of King *Lewis XI.* being parted from King *Lewis XII.* her Husband, and retired to the City of *Bourges*, had now no further thoughts or desire of pleasing any but him who does bestow the Celestial Crowns of *Virginity*; and since she could not lose her Virginity to become the Mother a Dauphin would needs make her self the Mother of an infinite Company of Virgins by preserving it. She therefore instituted the Order of the *Annunciation*, or the *Annunciades*, which she put under the direction of the *Friers Minors Observantines*. The Rule is not taken either from that of Saint *Benedict*, nor that of Saint *Augustin*, nor any other; but formed of the ten Vertues of the Holy Virgin, which are Chastity, Prudence, Humility, Truth, Devotion, Obedience, Poverty, Patience, Charity and Compassion. The Habit is singular, the Vail black, the Mantle white, the Scapular red, the Robe gray, and a Cord for a Girdle. There are divers Monasteries of them in France and in the *Low-Countries*.

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* or John of God.

Cleric's Regulars.

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We must not confound this Order with that of the *Cathedral Annunziata*, the institution whereof came from *Gmna*, and did not begin till the year 1604: we shall make mention of it in due time and place.

The Rule of the *Capuchins* is almost the same with that of the Men, and their Institution almost as ancient: The *Duchess of Merceur* laid the first Stone for the Foundation of their Convent at *Paris* in the year 1604, pursuant to the intentions of *Queen Louisa* her Mother in Law; who by Will left wherewith to build it, for those Sisters.

The first Convent of the *Macellianites*, was established near *Toulouze* about the year 1590, then transferr'd to *Toulouze* it self. *Antoinette d'Orléans* Widow of *Charles de Gondy*, Marquess of *Belle-Ile*, put her self into it, Anno 1599.

The Pope drew her thence to give her the Government of the Abbey *Font-Evraux*, and some years after she instituted the Congregation of the *Benédictees* under the Title of *Saint Mary of Calvary*, and *Saint Scholastica*.

As for the Sister *Carmelites*, their reform not being brought out of *Spain* till above forty years after their first beginning, it happened that Anno 1604, *Peter de Berulle* who was yet but a simple Priest, though one that had rare natural Talents, and the particular favour of Heaven, took the pains to go into that Country, and to bring thence some Scions of that most happy Nursery to graft and plant in *France*, so that at present there are nine and fifty Monasteries of them.

King Henry III. as we have already mentioned, established the Order of the *Holy Ghost* Anno 1597. and Henry IV. that of *Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel* Anno 1607. The Pope gave him his Bulls for the Erection of it the same year; and the following others whereby he united it with that of *Saint Lazarus*. We must note, touching this last, that at the time when the *Western* Christians held the Holy Land, besides the orders of the *Templers*, the *Teutonic Knights*, and the *Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem*, there was likewise one established under the Title of *Saint Lazarus*, who received *Pierius* into their Houses founded for that purpose, conducted them in their Journeys, and defended them against the *Mahometans*: inasmuch that the Popes gave them great Privileges, as other Princes gave them great Possessions. *Henry VII.* Anno 1154. beflow'd the Lands of *Boigny* near *Orleans* upon them. These Knights there seated themselves after the Christians were beaten out of the Holy-Land, kept their Titles, and always held their Assemblies in that place.

Now being become useless, they also came to be despised, so that the Knights of *Saint John* easily obtained the suppression of that Order and the Uniting of it to their own from *Innocent VIII.* but those in *France* having made complaint to the Parliament, it was ordained they should be kept separate from all other. And in effect they have always had their grand Masters. *Pius IV.* who was ever very curious for the adorning his Family with fair Titles, gave the said Honour of great Master (of those in Italy only) to *Joachim de Chastillon*, his Kinsman; This *Joachim* being dead in the year 1572. Pope Gregory XIII. left it wholly to the Duke *Emanuel Philibert* of *Savoy*, and to all his Successors, and joynd this Order to that of *Saint Maurice*, which he instituted in favour of that Prince. But as that concerned not *France*, *Aymar de Chastes* Knight of *Malta*, had a desire to get it restored, and revived here that he might be graced with that dignity; *Philibert de Nersang*, a Gentleman of extraordinary virtue, and Captain of the *Guards du Corps*, succeeded him in the same design, and so effectually and happily employed the power and interest of *Henry IV.* that he made him Great Master in the year 1608, and obtained a very advantageous Bull of the Pope for the said Order; which is particular for the French only, as that of *Saint Maurice* and of *Saint Lazarus* is for those beyond the Alps. The Knights amongst other Privileges, have the liberty to marry, and hold Penfions of Consistorial Benefices.

I do not know that the *Gallican* Church produced many Prelates in this Age, who encreased the Catalogue of Saints; but she had many that were very illustrious, some for their Learning, others for the management of Affairs as well Spiritual as Temporal, and divers both for the one and the other. The first and the most eminent of them all, was *George de Amboise* Cardinal, a wise Prelate, a generous able and honest Minister, and a Cardinal with but one Benefice; who governed his almost absolute power by sales of justice, and founded the Kings interest upon the publick good.

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The Popes never made so many Cardinals in *France* as during this Age, particularly under the Reigns of *Francis I.* and *Henry II.* There were three in the House of *Bourbon*, *Lewis* Son of *Francis* Duke of *Vendôme*, *Charles* Brother of *Anthony* King of *Navarre*, and another *Charles* Son, of *Louis* Prince of *Condé*. The first was Arch-Bishop of *Sens*; the other two of *Rouen*. There were five of the House of *Lorraine*: The first was *John* Bishop of *Adis*, who kept up the dignity of his Birth at a very great height, and made it appear he was a Prince by such liberalities as amounted even to profusion. The second was *Charles* Arch-Bishop of *Reims*. He was Nephew of the said *John*, and Brother of *Francis* Duke of *Guise*. Heaven, Fortune and his Birth had denied him nothing that was requisite to the making up of a great Man; the learned of his time, said of him, that he was the *Mercury* of *France*, as his Brother was the *Mars*; but many Men believed, he would have been much greater yet, had he been less ambitious and less turbulent. The third was *Lewis* Brother of this *Charles*, who was called the Cardinal of *Guise* Arch-Bishop of *Sens*.

The fourth, another *Lewis* also Arch-Bishop of *Reims*, as *Charles* his Uncle had been; he was Murder'd at *Blois* with *Henry* Duke of *Guise* his Brother: And the fifth, *Charles* called the Cardinal of *Vendôme*, Brother of the *Queen Louisa*. There were others likewise of great Birth, one of the House of *Luxembourg*, which was *Philip* Bishop of *Mans*: one of the House of *Longueville*, i. e. *John* Bishop of *Orléans*: one of the House of *Albret*; which was *Amanjet* Bishop of *Luscar*: one of the House of *Gramont*, who was Bishop of *Poitiers*, then Arch-Bishop of *Toulouze*, named *Gabriel*: one of the House of *Strozzi* (he was called *Lawrence*) Bishop of *Beziers*: one of the House of *Joyeuse*, this was *Francis* Arch-Bishop of *Toulouze*; he lived in the Reigns of *Henry III.* and *Henry IV.* and *Strozzi* in the time of *Charles IX.*

Almost all the rest, to the number of near twenty, were likewise persons of Quality, and attained to this eminent dignity, some, though but very few, by their merit only, as *John du Bellay* Bishop of *Paris*, and *George d'Armaignac*, Son of *Peter*, Baron of *Causade*, *Baltard* of *Charles* last Earl of *Armaignac*: the most part by knowing how to make their Court, or because allied to those in favour: as *Philip de la Chambre*; *Adrian de Gouffier* Bishop of *Orléans*, then Grand Maître of the Kings Household; *John le Fèvre*, Bishop of *Lisieux*, and Grand Almoner of *France*; *Jamés d'Annebault*, Brother to the Admiral of that name; *Claude de Longueville*, Bishop of *Poitiers*; *Anthony Sanguin*, * He was Nephew to the Connestable of *Montmorency*; and *George de Amboise*, second of that name, like * He was Nephew to the Connestable of *Montmorency*; and *George de Amboise*, second of that name, like his wife Arch-Bishop of *Rouen*, as his Uncle was. As for *Peter de Gondy*, Son of *Estampes*, the *Mareschal de Rais*, and Bishop of *Paris*, he was Created Cardinal upon the recommendation of *Queen Catherine*; as also *René de Birague* a Gentleman of *Milan*, who together with this dignity he had the Office of Chancellor of *France*.

There were some others of meaner Birth, who arrived at this dignity by means of their employments in the Finances, or in the Law, as *Anthony Duprat*, *John Bertrandi*, and *Philip Babou la Bourdaisiere*.

But it was neither Blood, nor favour that clothed *Arnold Dossat*, and *Jacques Davy du Perron* with the sacred Purple, it was the recompence of their services, of their great capacity, and of their rare erudition. *Dossat* was but the Son of a Peasant in the Dioceses of *Auch*; and *du Perron* of a *Huguenot* Minister of the lower *Normandy*, but a Gentleman. We have known a Natural Son of the first, who died Curate of *Mesnil-Aubry*, within four Leagues of *Paris*.

There was likewise a great number of Illustrious Bishops, concerning whose promotion one may say the same things as have been hinted of that of the Cardinals. I observe at *Sisteron*, *Lawrence Bureau* an excellent Preacher for those times; he had been a Religious *Carmelite*, and Confessor to King *Charles VIII.* and *Lewis XII.* At *Treguier*, *John du Calloët* a famous Doctor in the Civil and Canon-Law: he died Anno 1504. At *Lucon*, *Peter de Sacierge*, whom *Lewis XII.* made Chancellor and President of *Milan*. At *Marcelles*, *Claude de Seissel* a *Savoyard* by Birth, whose Writings are very well worthy to be read, being every where inter-spersed with those wholesome Maxims, which only can procure immortal Fame to Princes and felicity to their Subjects; he was afterwards Arch-Bishop of *Turin*. At *Renes Bernard Bochetel*, who served as Secretary to the Kings

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Church. *Lewis XII.* and *Francis I.* but in fine, touched with some remorse of Conscience, or by some other motive, he quitted his Bishoprick, whose functions in effect are not altogether compatible with the employments at Court. In the days of these said Kings, I find at *Paris*, then at *Sens*; *Stephen Poncher* a *Tournevaux* by Birth, who had been President in Parliament, Chancellor of *Milan*, and of the Kings Order, and Keeper of the Seals of *France*. Under *Francis I.* at *Riez*, then at *Vence*, and afterwards at *Aurenches*; *Robert Censuls* *, at *Macon*, *Peter Castellain* Great Almoner of *France*. And at *Magulone*, *William Pelicier*. These three were raised upon the consideration of their Learning; *Castellain* was he who with *Budem* put the brave King *Francis* upon the design of instituting the *Regie* Professors at *Paris*, and who chose the first, whereof *Pelicier* was one. In the time of *Henry II.* I find at *Louvain*, *Peter Danes* whom *Francis I.* had called from the University of *Bourges* where he professed the Greek Tongue, to make him Tutor to his *Dauſon*; And at *Vienne*, *Charles de Marillac*, who died in the year 1560. for the great fear he had. left the House of *Guisse*, against whom he had let his Tongue ramble too freely, should draw him within the Noose and Guilt of Heresie, or Accuse him of some Conspiracy.

In the time of *Charles IX.* and *Henry III.* there was at *Mans*, *Charles de Angennes Ramboillet*, in whose praise it is said, that during his Nine and twenty years holding that See, he never gave one Cure, but upon the score of Merit and Integrity, having for that purpose made a Register of all those whom he thought most deserving and capable. At *Nevers*, *Arnold Sorbin*, who was Surnamed de *Sainte Foy* *, because he had been Culate of a Parish so named; he passed for a great Divine and a very Eloquent Preacher. At *Orleans*, *John de Morvillier*, Native of the City of *Blois*; *Queen Catherine* made him one of the King's Council, where he was ever opposed to the Chancellour de l'Hospital, because he aspired to get the Seals, as in effect he did. At *Auxerre*, *James Amiot*, Native of *Melun*, of very mean Extraction, but a man of exquisite Literature: *Henry II.* made him Preceptor to his Children, and Abbot of *Belloſane*; afterwards *Charles IX.* one of his Disciples gave him the Bishoprick of *Auxerre*. At *Valence*, *John de Montluc*, who was too wavering in the Faith, though very Learned, and withal a very dexterous Negotiator. At *Tours*; *Simon de Maille*, a profound Theologer and well read in the Fathers, who was taken out of the Order of the *Cisterrians* where he was Abbot, to be promoted to an Archbishoprick. At *Air*, *Francis de Foix Candale*, Uncle of the Duke d'Espernon's Wife, thorowly versed in Humane Learning, in the Philosophy of *Trismegistus* and of *Plato*, and in Chymistry. At *Chalons*, *Pontus de Thierd*, both Poet and Mathematician, a singular Talent! who died Aged Four-score and four years. At *Evrux*, *Claude de Saintes*, a vehement Preacher, and a Divine of great Reputation; and at *Sens*, *William Rose*, who had likewise made himself very famous by his Sermons. These two were Passionate Leaguers: *Saintes* was taken in *Louviers*, with the City, by the Royalists, Anno 1591. and carried to *Caen*, where he died in Prison, having ran great hazard of making his Exit on a Scaffold for his Writing and Preaching against *Henry III.* *Rose* had many shocks to undergo likewise after the Decadence of the League; but he at length did fortunately extricate himself, and exchanged his Bishoprick with him of *Auxerre*. At *Clermont*, was Bishop *Anthony de Saint Nettaire*, who employ'd himself much in the intrigues of *Catherine de Medicis*; And at *Sens*, *Peter du Val*, in whose time the *Chanoins* of his Church resumed their secular Habits, as they did during this Age in many other Cathedrals. The desire of a Reformation made him lean too much towards the Party of the pretended Reformed. *Lewis Moulines* his Nephew was his Successor. It is observed of him, a rare example of a true Pastor! that during his holding that See for Twenty seven years together, he was never but one Six Months absent from his Bishoprick or Diocese, shewing by this example, that a good Bishop takes delight in his residence, as the evil one both esteems and finds it his Pain and Punishment.

There were none that signalized themselves more during the League than *Peter d'Espinae*, and *Reinold de Beaulne*: the first Archbishop of *Lyons*, and the second of *Bourges*, both Men of great Eloquence, and far greater intrigue; *Epinae* of the Party for the League, and *Beaulne* of that for the King; they both lived a good while in the Reign of *Henry IV.*

Under whom neither must we forget *Alfonso d' Elbene* Bishop of *Alby*, nor *Arnold de Pontac*, and *Nicholas P. Angelier* generous Defenders of the Rights, and the Liberty of the Church, this being Bishop of *Saint Brienc*, the other of *Bazas*;

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nor *René Benoist*, who being Curate of *Saint Eustache* at *Paris*, greatly contributed to the Conversion of King *Henry IV.* and the bringing him into the pale and bosom of the Church, without staying for any Orders from *Rome*. The said Prince chose him for his Confessor, and named him to the Bishoprick of *Troyes*; It is true he could not obtain the Bulls for it, but we may boldly say he deserved them, were it but only for those very reasons for which they were denied him.

We ought not to give the Name of Bishops to those who fell into the Errors of the Sectaries, and whom by the Pope were excommunicated for the same, as we have before mentioned. Yet was there but one of those Ten, that embraced *Calvinisme*; namely *John Caraccioli* Son of *John Prince of Malffy*, Bishop of *Troyes*, who Anno 1565. abandoned his Bishoprick to take a Wife. It is true that about Six years before, viz. in the year 1559. *James Spisano* had quitted his Episcopal See of *Nevers* to Marry and retire to *Geneva*; but if his example did shew the way to *Caraccioli*, certainly his unfortunate end ought as much again to have deter'd him: for upon I know not what suspicion they had of him in that City, he was accused of Adultery, and they caused his Head to be cut off for that pretended Crime.

Even from the Fourteenth Age, Learning did begin to re-flourish, and as we may say, to emit some Infant, yet lively beams, principally in *Italy*. In proportion as they discover'd its beauty and lustre, it inflamed the Love and Curiosity of the Ingenious, who being nauseated with the Barbarity of the Schools, and the Foppies and Ergotifmes, wherewith the Authors of those times were stuffed, applied themselves to search after the Greek and Latin Authors of the more polite Ages, in the select and best furnished Libraries, and rescuing them out of the rubbish and dust, wherein they had been so long Buried, made them more Publick and communicable to the World by the help of Printing.

They then studied to speak Greek and Latin as exquisitely, as in the times of the Republick of *Athens*, and the Empire of *Augustus*: Those that were inclined to the Study of Holy Writ, endeavour'd likewise to attain some Knowledge and Perfection in the Hebrew Tongue, without which it is almost impossible thorowly to understand the Books of the Old Testament; and at the same time the curiosity of such as travelled into the Countries of the *Levant*, brought back with them an itch or desire of learning the Oriental Languages, especially the *Arabian*, of which the *Turkish* is an Idiom. True it is that these Learned Men though able to attain to the greatest purity of Foreign Tongues, could not give it to the *French*; on the contrary, they made it more harsh and more obscure than it was before, perplexing it with a multitude of tedious Allegations, false Phrases, Transpositions, and broken Latin, from all which Sophistication, the Age we now live in, hath had much ado to purge and to refine it.

King *Charles VIII.* loved all the Noble Arts, but had not time to Cultivate and to improve them. *Lewis XII.* favour'd them, had an esteem for, and generosity towards the Learned, and caused search to be made after the Manuscripts of ancient Authors, whereof he gathered and made up a curious Library. *Francis I.* surpass'd him very much in that noble Passion, as he surpassed all the Princes of his time in Magnificence and in liberality. His Reign, to say all in a word, was the Reign of Men of Learning; he had an incredible multitude of them, and those truly accomplished and skilful in the Tongues, in the Knowledge of Antiquity, in the Law, in Philosophy, and Physics; as also in the Mathematics and Astrology. And indeed, that great Prince did so generously favour them with his Gratifications, with the noblest Employments in all his Affairs, and his personal familiarity, that it seemed, as he would share his State and Grandeur with them.

A Volume would not suffice to contain but the names only, and almost all of them were so excellent, each in his way, that whosoever should undertake to select some particular ones out of those Miriads, must run the hazard both of doing wrong to his own Judgment, and to the Merits of those whose Names he should omit. I shall observe only, that the Universities abounded with very learned Professors in Philosophy, & in Humanity; That as much may be said of the *Faculte de Medicina*, which till then had but an imperfect knowledge of the Doctrines of the Divine Hippocrates: That that of Theology had more learned Doctors than ever before,

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before, though not perhaps so clear and so enlighten'd for the Positive, as we find now in our dayes; That all the great Magistracies were supplied and filled with Persons both profound in Science, and most of them of singular Virtues; and that there never was more of Jurisprudence in the Parliaments and at the Bar, nor greater Capacity and solid Reasonings amongst the Advocates.

I shall only add, that the French Poësie, which till this time was almost nothing but a gross gingling pattery way of Rhising, without either much of Art or Fancy, began to be stripp'd of its Pyed-Coat, and to deck it self with the real Ornaments of Antiquity: But yet even those who labour'd to restore it to that Harmonious Composition, invented for no other end but to elevate the Mind and Thoughts to things Noble and Sublime, did most unhappily pervert the same by the ill use they made thereof. For studying by a Criminal complaisance to flatter the Vainity and lascivious Passions of the Court, they Metamorphos'd, if I may so speak, the *Muses* into *Sirens*, and debas'd that Noble Offspring of Heaven, to somewhat of more shameful and fardid than either Mendacity or Slavery.

FINIS.

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His Death. ib.
The Univerfity Condemns *Henry III.*
788
Makes a Decree against *Henry IV.* 807
Declares *Henry IV.* unfit to come to the
Crown. ib.
Assemble at *Navarre* to own *Henry IV.*
838
Warwick, Ambrose Earl, Governor of
Havre de Grace, Surrenders the Place.
689
West-frizeland, the Government is given
to Prince *Maurice.* 767
Wetz erected to a Dutchy, and Pairie.
730

Y.

Yeu a River. 836
Yonne a River. 777
Tuerot, place where the Dukes of *Mayenne*,
of *Parma* and *Montenarcian*, were
hemmd in by *Henry IV.* 822
Tury, the Campagne, or Field, where was
fought the famous Battle of that Name.
705

Z.

Z. Amet the famous Partisan under
Henry IV. 871
Zelande League themselves against the
Spaniards. 757
Ziger a Fortrefs in *Hungary* attacked by
Solyman, 693
Is gained. ib.
Zuinglius, his Sect as much in Vogue, as
that of *Luther.* Church 16th Age.
Zuniga Requestens Amballador of *Spain*,
disputes for Precedency with the
French, and loses it. 685
Zurphen Leagues against the *Spaniards.*
757

FINIS.